RAO BAHADUR K. N. DIKSHIT

MEMORIAL VOLUME

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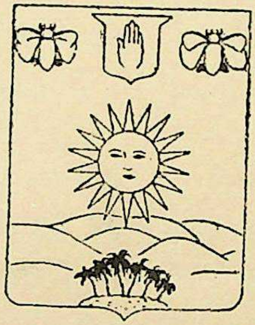

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PREFACE

The late Rao Bahadur K. N. Dikshit, retired Director-General of Archaeology in India, and one of the most distinguished alumni of the Deccan College, passed away on the 12th of August 1946. His intimate connection with this Institute in initiating the series of prehistoric excavations in Gujarat, and as a Member of the Quinquennial Committee appointed by Government in 1944, and finally as a Member of its Council of Management, was cruelly cut short at a time when his presence in Poona was a source of inspiration to the members of the Institute in all their specialised activities. The late Rao Bahadur was very versatile, and his interests knew no bounds. It was his ardent desire to participate in some of the Institute's activities, and ere this could be realised, Death cut short his existence and created a gap which is difficult to fill.

At a meeting of condolence held on the 13th August 1946 by members of this Institute, the staff and students unanimously resolved that this intimate connection of Rao Bahadur Dikshit should be suitably commemorated by the publication of the eighth volume of the Institute's Bulletin as a special commemoration volume. Invitations were accordingly sent to the many friends and admirers of the late Rao Bahadur. The response has been very encouraging, and our only sorrow has been that unforeseen difficulties of printing prevented the publication of the volume on the 12th of August 1948, the second anniversary of his death. We are thankful for the cooperation we have received in response to our appeal inviting contributions.

It has not been possible for us to include in the present volume a biographical sketch or a complete list of the papers contributed by the late Rao Bahadur Dikshit, a very serious omission indeed for a volume of this kind. But the spirit underlying this volume which is an offering to the memory of one who was long connected with the Deccan College and the progress of archaeology and history in the country recognises the debt which this Institute in general, and the teachers and students in particular owe to his inspiring personality. May that spirit which he instilled in all true lovers of research continue to sustain the work which lies ahead of a country which has won its long-due independence.

6th March 1949.

S. M. Katre.

SOME LEXICOGRAPHICAL NOTES ON THE UDYOGA-PARVAN OF THE MAHĀBHĀRATA

By

SUSHIL KUMAR DE

It is intended in the following list, which is more suggestive than exhaustive, to include words and phrases peculiar to Epic usage, or nearly so, occurring chiefly in the critical text of the *Udyoga-Parvan* of the Mahābhārata. A few interesting words are also drawn from the critical texts of the other books of the Epic, especially the *Ādi*, which have been so far published by the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. Some of these words are already recorded in the Petersburg *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch of* BÖHTLINGK and ROTH (here abbreviated PW) or in the lexicon of MONIER WILLIAMS (MW) ; but sometimes the Epic instances are not fully cited, or the words are differently represented by the reading of the Vulgate relied upon by them. Some of the words may be found in classical usage, and may not be peculiar to the Epic, but it is hoped that the Epic examples given here will prove interesting. The meanings assigned, in some cases, are tentative, and may admit of modification ; but they are such as context, probability and other considerations warrant. The main purpose of these notes is to register and tabulate the usages, rather than to attempt authoritative interpretation ; for much more research would perhaps be necessary before finality could be reached. A large number of variants often occurs in the MSS., but only the form adopted in the Critical Edition is given here, unless the variants offer some point of interest. The use of verbs and prepositions furnishes rich and varied material, but since they require a detailed and separate study, they are, as a rule, not considered here. The commentaries and works referred to are :

Dev. = Devabodha's commentary on the *Ādi* and the *Udyoga* edited respectively by R. N. DANDEKAR and S. K. DE.

Arj. = Arjuna Miśra's commentary
Sarv. = Sarvajñanārāyaṇa's commentary
Nīl. = Nīlakaṇṭha's commentary
} on the *Udyoga*, published in the Gujrati Press ed., Bombay, 1920.

HOPKINS = Social and Military Position of the Ruling Caste in Ancient India as represented in the Epics by E. W. HOPKINS. New Haven, Conn., 1889 (*JAOS*, xiii, 1889).

अकस्मात् ‘without reason’ 5. 54. 56 भवान्राजन्नकस्माद् व्यथते कथं ; 73. 10 अकस्मात्स्मयमानश्च रहस्यास्ते रुदन्निव ; 77. 16 अजानन्निव चाकस्मादर्जुनादभिशङ्कसे ; 89. 26 अकस्माद् द्विषसे राजञ्जन्मप्रभृति पाण्डवान् ; 125. 3 अकस्मान्मधुसूदनं भवान् गर्हयते नित्यं.

अकालिकं *adv.* ‘soon, imediately’, 5. 32. 21 अकालिकं कुरवो नाभविष्यन् (S आकालिकं) ; 56. 25 यत्ते कार्यं सपुत्रस्य क्रियतां तदकालिकं (no *v. l.*).

अकाल्य *adj.* ‘having no interval of leisure’, ‘unseasonable’ (Dev. अनवसरः), 5. 32. 5 न चाहमेतस्य भवाम्यकाल्यः ; 33. 5 अहं हि विदुरस्यास्य नाकाल्यो जातु दर्शने ; 33. 6 न हि ते दर्शनेऽकाल्यो जातु राजा. See कल्य, काल्य.

अक्षवती ‘gambling assembly’ (Dev. द्यूतसभा), 1. 1. 105 पराजितं सौबलेनाक्षवत्यां ; 5. 2. 10 तेन जितोऽक्षवत्यां.

अग्र at the end of a compound, ‘aggregate, number’, श्लोकाग्र 1. 2. 135, 177, 189 (Dev. श्लोकसंख्या).

अग्रस्त (वाक्य) ‘not slurred or inarticulately pronounced’, (Dev. अलुप्तपद), 5. 89. 17.

अजैकपाद् अहिर्बुन्ध्य ‘a classs of mythical beings, sons of Sthāṇu, by whom gold is guarded’, 1. 60. 2 ; 5. 112. 4.

अञ्जसा *adv.* ‘straight on, instantly, truly’ 5. 103. 10 अहमप्युत्सहे लोकान् समस्तान्वोढुमञ्जसा ; 5. 120. 16 ययातिं स्वर्गतो भ्रष्टं तारयामासुरञ्जसा.

अति–. Some *ati*-compounds in the Epic are worthy of note : such as.

अति + √क्रम् ‘to pass beyond the limit’, 5. 88. 35 कालो वोऽतिक्रमिष्यति ; ‘to overstep, violate, transgress’, 5. 28. 14 नातिक्रमे वचनं केशवस्य ; 123. 7 अतिक्रामन् केशवस्य तथ्यं वचनं ; 126. 33 अतिक्रामति यः शास्त्रं. Similarly, अतिक्रम, 1. 46. 40 महानातिक्रमो ह्येष तक्षकस्य दुरात्मनः, 5. 33. 54 न्यायागतस्य द्रव्यस्य बोद्धव्यौ द्वावतिक्रमौ ; 126. 33 सर्वेषां कुरुवृद्धानां महानयमतिक्रमः. Again अतिक्रमण, 5. 160. 18 वृद्धातिक्रमण ; व्यतिक्रम 5. 38. 33 ; 71. 26 ; 126. 33 ; 127. 8 व्यतिक्रम्य सुहृद्वचः ; व्यतिक्रान्त ‘past’ or ‘surpassing’ 5. 48. 5 पूर्वदेवौ व्यतिक्रान्तौ नरनारायणावृषी.

अतिकाल्यं *adv.* ‘timely, seasonably’, 5. 32. 13 यावन्नरः कामयतेऽतिकाल्यं तावन्नरोऽयं लभते प्रशंसां.

अति + √जीव् ‘to survive’, 5. 137. 13 वनस्थमपि राज्यस्थः पाण्डवं कोऽतिजीवति.

अतिप्रणीतरश्मि ‘too much restrained’, 5. 75. 14.

अतिवाद *n.* ‘talking too much, bragging, reviling’ (Dev. बहुभाषणं निन्दा वा), 1. 74. 1 यः परेषां नरो नित्यमतिवादांस्तितिक्षति ; 5. 37. 9 ; 40. 4 ; 43. 17 ; 74. 6 अतिवादापविद्धस्तु वक्ष्यामि बलमात्मनः. अतिप्रवाद *adj.* ‘talkative’ 5. 37. 33.

अतिविवित्सा ‘inquistiveness’, 5. 37. 9 (*v. l.* विचिकित्सा, अनुविवित्सा, अतिविधित्सा etc.). Without अति. 5. 43. 8, 16.

अति + √वृत (=अति + √क्रम्) 5. 151. 8 न च भीष्मस्य दुर्मेधाः शृणोति विदुरस्य वा । मम वा भाषितं किंचित्सर्वमेवातिवर्तते.

अतिवेलं *adv.* ‘passing the limit, excessively’, 5. 27. 8 वित्तक्षये हीनसुखोऽतिवेलं दुःखं शेते कामवेगप्रणुन्नः ; 37. 9 यश्चातिवेलं भजते द्विषन्तं ; 47. 11 क्लिश्यमानोऽतिवेलं.

अति + √शङ्क ‘to be concerned about, to apprehend, to suspect’, 5. 94. 43 यद्येतदेवं जानासि न च मामतिशङ्कसे (*v. l.* N अभि–) ; 129. 26 विदित्वैतामवस्थां मे

नातिशङ्कितुमर्हसि (*v. l.* BD नाभि–); 145. 40 मातिशङ्कीर्वचो मम (*v. l.* मा वि–, नाभि–, माभि–); 3. 32. 6 अतिवादान्मदाच्चैव मा धर्ममतिशङ्किथाः। धर्मातिशङ्की पुरुषस्तिर्यग्गतिपरायणः॥.

अतिसर्ग 'giving away' (Dev. दानं), 1. 14. 7 वरातिसर्गं श्रुत्वैव कश्यपादुत्तमं च ते.

अत्यार्य *adj*. 'too noble or too learned' 5. 39. 50.

अत्याह (= अति + आह; Dev. अतिक्रम्य ब्रूते), 5. 33. 91; **प्रत्याह** (Dev. प्रतिकूलं वदति) 5. 37. 24 प्रत्याह यश्चापि नियुज्यमानः.

अधश्चर *adj*. 'cringing or obsequiously serving under', 5. 72. 20 सर्वे वयमधश्चरा नीचैर्भूत्वानुयास्यामः; 145. 21 भृत्यो भूत्वा अधश्चरः; 148. 14 तिष्ठेयुः पाण्डवाः सर्वे हित्वा मानमधश्चराः.

अधिवासित (शस्त्र) '(weapon) consecrated with preliminary purification' 5. 149. 37; but otherwise 'perfumed', 5. 80. 33 पुष्पगन्धाधिवासितं (केशपक्षं).

अधिविन्ना (स्त्री.) 'a neglected or superseded wife', 5. 35. 24.

अनपग *adj*. 'not giving way, not departing from', 5. 30. 10 आचार्य इष्टोऽनपगो विधेयो वेदानीप्सन्ब्रह्मचर्यं चचार (*v. l.* नयगो, अनवमो).

अनपविद्धवाक्य *adj*. 'one whose word cannot be rejected', 5. 37. 13.

अनम्बूकृत (वाक्य) 'free from spluttering or spitting', 5. 89. 17.

अनर्महासिन् 'one who laughs excessively', 5. 50. 5 (perhaps अनर्व or अनर्म in the old Vedic sense 'not limited, not to be obstructed').

अनवशेषतः 'fully, without reserve', 5. 156. 3 एहि संजय मे सर्वमाचक्ष्वानवशेषतः (*v. l.* अशेषतः, विशेषतः); अनवशेषेण *adv*. 156. 8 शृणुष्वानवशेषेण वदतो मम पार्थिव.

अनानृशंस्य (double negative), 'absence of harm or harshness' 5. 32. 19 अनानृशंस्यं कर्म कुर्यादमूढः. Cf. अनास्तिक (double negative), 'not a disbeliever' 5. 33. 16.

अनिर्विष्ट 'unsettled, unpaid' 5. 47. 6 अस्ति नूनं कर्म कृतं पुरस्तादनिर्विष्टं पातकं धार्तराष्ट्रैः.

अनिरस्त (वाक्य) 'not hurriedly pronounced or dropped in pronunciation' (Dev. अत्वरित), 5. 89. 17.

अनीहा 'want of effort, disinclination (Dev. अनुद्यम, अयत्न), 5. 105. 6 कुतः सुखमनीहया; 133. 25 ऐकगुण्यमनीहायामभावः कर्मणां फलम्। अथ द्वैगुण्यमीहायां फलं भवति वा न वा ॥

अनुकर्ष 'axle-tree of a chariot', (MW), or 'axle-plank' (HOPKINS) धारिणी याभ्यां रथयुगं ध्रियते (Dev.) 2. 49. 6; 5. 152. 3.

अनुक्रम 'succession' referring to horses, i. e. 'yoking one horse after another', 5. 34. 38 अश्वान्रक्षेदनुक्रमः; but Dev. धुरि बन्धनं.

अनुग्रह 'reconciliation, peace', 5. 142. 2 (*v. l.* N अविग्रह).

अनुपाक्रुष्ट 'unblamed', 5. 40. 2 महान्तमप्यर्थमधर्मयुक्तं यः संत्यजत्यनुपाक्रुष्ट एव (Dev. अनिन्दित; Sarv. अनिषिद्ध).

अनुप्रिय 'friendly disposed', 2. 5. 63 हितकामाननुप्रियान्; 5. 137. 9 मिथ्योपचरिता ह्येते वर्तमाना ह्यनु प्रिये.

अनुबन्ध 'means, expedient, obstacle', 5. 34. 8 अनुबन्धानवेक्षेत सानुबन्धेषु कर्मसु ; 34. 9 अनुबन्धं च संप्रेक्ष्य विपाकांश्चैव कर्मणां ; 'consequence', 5. 34. 13 भक्ष्योत्तमप्रतिच्छन्नं मत्स्यो वडिशमायतम् । रूपाभिपाती ग्रसते नानुबन्धमवेक्षते ॥ ; 'attachment, result', 5. 70. 57 अनुबन्धश्च पापोऽत्र ; ending a compound, 'inseparable, adjunct, motive or cause', 5. 36. 66 पापानुबन्धं (मन्युं) ; 86. 20 पापानुबन्धिन् ; 1. 99. 19 अर्थमर्थानुबन्धं च धर्मं धर्मानुबन्धनं. See सानुबन्ध.

अनु + √रुध् 'to check', 5. 22. 4 सुखप्रिया नानुरुध्यान्ति कामान् ; 29. 25 राजा नाधार्मिकाननुरुध्येत कामान् ; 'to be fond of, or attached to', 5. 32. 11 सुखप्रिये धर्महीने न पार्थोऽनुरुध्येत ; 122. 32 धर्मार्थावनुरुध्यन्ते त्रिवर्गासंभवे नराः.

अनृजु *n. masc.* 'crooked conduct', 5. 94. 21 न ह्यस्मिन्नाश्रमे युद्धं कुतः शस्त्रं कुतोऽनृजुः ; but *adj.* 'not straight, crooked', 5. 137. 7 मित्रध्रुग् दुष्टभावश्च नास्तिकोऽथानृजुः शठः.

अनेकजनन *adj.* 'spreading over many births', 5. 94. 12 अनेकजननं सख्यं ; but 'birth from many mothers' 1. 495* अनेकजननो यत्र कार्तिकेयस्य प्रभवः (Dev. अनेकाभ्यः कृत्तिकाभ्यो जननमुत्पादः).

अन्तर, with √लभ्, 'surety, protection', 5. 12. 19 सोऽन्तरं लभते त्राणमिच्छन् (*v. l.* त्रातारं).

अन्तरेण *adv.* 'with regard to, with reference to', 5. 16. 29 संचोदयन्नहुषस्यान्तरेण.

अन्तर्गत 'slipped out of memory, forgotten', 'aus dem Gedäctniss geswunden' (PW), 1. 166. 23 अन्तर्गतं तु तद्राज्ञस्तदा ब्राह्मणभाषितं.

अन्वालभ् (अनु–आ + √लभ्) 'to receive, to take hold of', 5. 35. 10 अन्वालभे हिरण्मयं प्राह्रादेऽहं तवासनं (but Dev. वदे ; Arj. कल्पयामि).

अपचिति 'amends, recompense' (Dev. निष्कृति ; Arj. शोधन), 5. 50. 50 यत्त्वस्मदाश्रयं किंचिद्दत्तमिष्टं च संजय । तस्यापचितिमार्यत्वात्कर्तारः स्थविरास्त्रयः ॥ ; 1. 46. 41 भवतां चैव सर्वेषां यास्याम्यपचितिं पितुः (Dev. वैरनिर्यातनं) ; 'respect, homage', 5. 89. 37 तानुवाच महातेजाः कौरवान्मधुसूदनः । सर्वं भवन्तो गच्छन्तु सर्वं मेऽपचितिः कृता । ; 127. 20 भीष्मस्य तु पितुश्चैव मम चापचितिः कृता ; 1. 170. 11 इच्छन्नपचितिं कर्तुं भृगूणां भृगुसत्तमः. Also, ज्येष्ठापचायिन् 'rendering homage to elderly persons', 5. 88. 37.

अपध्यान 'hostile resolve' (Dev. Arj. विरुद्धसंकल्प) 'evil thought, curse', 5. 47. 7 योऽपध्यानान्निर्दहेद्गां दिवं च ; but 1. 91. 6 अपध्यात 'cursed', अपध्यातो भगवता ब्रह्मणा सः.

अपवर्ग 'redemption of a pledge', 5. 104. 22 ; 111. 20 ; 112. 7.

अपरापर *adj.* 'various', 5. 134. 13 अहं हि वचनं त्वत्तः शुश्रूषुरपरापरं.

अपसव्य *adj.* 'not on the left' 'moving from left to right in augury', 5. 141. 16 अपसव्या मृगाः सर्वे धार्तराष्ट्रस्य केशव : hence, 'auguring evil', 'contrary, 5. 136. 26 यदेतदपसव्यं ते भविष्यति वचो मे.

अपहस्त 'striking by the back of the hand', 1. 119. 38 अपहस्तेन जघ्निवान् (Dev. पश्चात्तलप्रहारेण).

अपह्नव 'friendly disposition, affection' (Dev. स्नेह), 5. 66. 3 सापह्नवं पाण्डवेषु पाण्डवानां सुसंमतं. See MW which refers to Rāmāyaṇa. See निह्नव below.

अपाङ्ग, at the end of a compound, 'edge, limit', 1. 67. 28 य इमां सागरापाङ्गां कृत्स्नां भोक्ष्यति मेदिनीं ; 1. 84. 21 यज्ञभूमेर्धूमापाङ्गं प्रतिगृह्य.

अपाचीन 'hostile, ill-omened things', 5. 34. 78 (=2. 72. 8) यस्मै देवाः प्रयच्छन्ति पुरुषाय पराभवम् । बुद्धिं तस्यापकर्षन्ति सोऽपाचीनानि पश्यति ॥ ; अवाचीन *adj*. 'contrary', 5. 72. 6 सुहृदामप्यवाचीनः.

अप्यय 'dissolution, end', often used as the contrary of प्रभव, 5. 67. 3 कर्तारमकृतं देवं भूतानां प्रभवाप्ययं ; 68. 11 असतश्च सतश्चैव सर्वेषां प्रभवाप्ययात् ; 1. 61. 102 प्रभवाप्ययवित्प्राज्ञः.

अप्रतिष्ठा 'death' (Dev. मरणं), 5. 88. 73 वृत्तेः कृपणलब्धाया अप्रतिष्ठैव ज्यायसी.

अपा + √श्रि 'to resort to' (=आ + √श्रि) 5. 49. 45 शतशो यानपाश्रित्य धर्मं राजो व्यवस्थितः (*v. l.* उपाश्रित्य, समाश्रित्य) ; 37. 15 यो हि धर्मं व्यपाश्रित्य हित्वा भर्तुः प्रियाप्रिये । अप्रियाण्याह पथ्यानि तेन राजा सहायवान् ॥ (*v. l.* ibid) ; 5. 22. 24 अपाश्रिताश्चेदिकरूषकाश्च सर्वोत्साहैर्भूमिपालैः समेताः (*v. l.* उपाश्रिताः) ; 92. 25 वेदिकापाश्रिताभिः (षोषिद्भिः) ; अपाश्रय 'resort, refuse' (=आश्रय), 5. 36. 63 अन्योन्यापाश्रयेण च ; 88. 33 योऽपाश्रयः पाण्डवानां देवानामिव वासवः.

अभाव 'extinction', 5. 26. 15 नो चेत्कुरूनामागतः स्यादभावः ; 133. 16 ध्रुवं चाभावमभ्येति गत्वा गङ्गेव सागरं. Cf. भावाभावौ 5. 32. 23 ; सर्वाभावाय 5. 66. 1. See भव.

अभिकाम *adj*. 'desirous', 1. 75. 13 यं काममभिकामासि देवयानि शुचिस्मिते.

अभिचार 'magical formula or spell', 1. 104. 6 अभिचारसंयुक्तं (मन्त्रं) ; 109. 15 अगस्त्येनाभिचारेण युष्माकं वै वपा हुता; 113.34 स मेऽभिचारसंयुक्तमाचष्ट भगवान् वरं.

अभि + √**जन्** 'to be born to, or claim as a birthright', 5. 127. 24 सम्यग्विजेतुं यो वेद स महीमभिजायते ; 130. 25 एतद्धर्ममधर्मं वा जन्मनैवाभ्यजायथाः ; 147. 13 एवं ज्येष्ठोऽप्यथोत्सिक्तो न राज्यमभिजायते । यवीयांसोऽभिजायन्ते राज्यं वृद्धोपसेवया ॥

अभिपद्म *adj*. '(elephants) having red spots on the skin'; 1. 178. 9 ; 4. 65. 2.

अभिभू 'all-powerful', 'all-conquering', often employed in the vocative case, 5. 4. 8 ; 55. 7 ; 141. 40 ; 147. 21 ; 149. 58 ; 168. 19 ; 192. 13. Also 1. 2. 144 ; 13. 20 ; 41. 21 ; 102. 18 ; 108. 1 etc. Cf. Ādi, Prolegomena, p. xcii.

अभिमन्त्रण 'Consecration or invocation by special (magical) formula', 5. 60. 9 मयाभिमन्त्रितः शश्वज्जातवेदाः प्रशंसति ; 60. 11 स्थापयाम्यभिमन्त्रणात्.

अभिलक्ष्य *adj*. 'aiming accurately at a target' (Dev. लक्ष्यादचलद्भिः), 5. 124. 11 (महेष्वासैः) अभिलक्ष्यैर्निपात्यन्ते. Cf. Rāmāyaṇa, ii. 63. 23 शब्दं प्रति गजप्रेप्सुरभिलक्ष्यमपातयत्.

अभिषङ्ग 'agitation, disturbance', 5. 30. 1 मनसोऽभिषङ्गात् ; 190. 21 अभिषङ्गात्प्रकुपितः ; 1. 189. 22 प्रवेपमानो भृशमेवाभिषङ्गात् (Dev. क्रोधात्).

अभिषक्त 'cursed, possessed with evil spirit', 3. 40. 23 ; 4. 4. 9 (अभिषजेत्) तदेवासनमन्विच्छेद्यत्र नाभिषजेत्परः.

अभीक्ष्णदर्शन 'constant observation', 5. 39. 43.

अभ्यतीत्य 'having performed' 5. 82. 23 अभ्यतीत्य तु तत्सर्वमुवाच मधुसूदनः.

अभ्याभव 'defeat, humiliation', 5. 23. 25 अभ्याभवो द्वैतवने च आसीत् (= अभिभव ; S अभ्यागमः).

अभ्युपपत्ति 'strange or mysterious birth', 1. 1. 69 मात्रोरभ्युपपतिश्च धर्मोपनिषदं प्रति। धर्मस्य वायोः शक्रस्य देवयोश्च तथाश्विनौ ॥ (धर्मोपनिषद् = मन्त्रोपनिषद् 'secret spells').

अमित्रसाह 'one who overcomes enemies', 1. 87. 10 तानाक्रम क्षिप्रममित्रसाह; but अमित्रसह (shortening perhaps *metri causa*) 1. 173. 3 वसिष्ठं प्रति दुर्धर्षं यथामित्रसहं नृपं ; analogically, मित्रसह 1. 166. 21 तमुवाचाथ राजर्षिर्द्विजं मित्रसहस्तथा।

अरत्नि 'a measure of length, from the elbow to the little finger', 1. 155. 24 षडरत्नि धनुश्चास्य.

√अर्प् causal of √ ऋ to pierce, 4. 49. 11 समर्पयत्कूर्मनखेन पार्थं ; 52. 7 तूर्णं शरसहस्रेण पार्थमप्रतिमौजसम्। अर्पयित्वा महात्मानं ननाद समरे कृपः ; 5. 94. 29 निमित्तवेधी स मुनिरिषीकाभिः समर्पयत्.

अरिष्ट (= रिष्ट) 'sword', 5. 152. 9 बद्धारिष्टा बद्धकक्ष्या बद्धध्वजपताकिनः (शूराः); but Dev. आयुधसमर्पकाः.

अवकीर्णी 'one who has violated chastity by spilling semen virile' (Dev. क्षतव्रत), 5. 38. 4.

अवरुद्ध 'removed, expelled', 5. 22. 19 अवरुद्धा बालिनः केकयेभ्यः ; 4. 57. 14 अवरुद्धश्चरन्पार्थो दश वर्षाणि त्रीणि च.

अवश 'acting against one's will', 3. 262. 10 किं ते साह्यं मया कार्यं करिष्याम्यवशोऽपि तत्. Cf. 6. 40. 60 (Gītā) 18. 7 कर्तुं नेच्छसि यन्मोहात्करिष्यस्यवशोऽपि तत्.

अवसान 'resting place, residence', 5. 31. 19 ; 70. 15 ; 80. 8.

अवहार 'cessation' 5. 183. 27 एवं राजन्नवहारो बभूव (5. 183. 26 ततो युद्धं प्रत्यवहारयावः).

अव्यय 'freedom from loss or damage', 5. 30. 43 संपृच्छेथाः कुशलं चाव्ययं च (Dev. अहानिः ; Sarv. अनपचयः) ; 123. 23 (= 127. 5) योगक्षेमवदव्ययं.

अब्रह्मण्य *adj*. 'one who has done violence to the dignity of a Brāhman', 5. 15. 22.

असंभावितरूप *adj*. 'unworthy' 5. 133. 5 असंभावितरूपस्त्वं सुनृशंसं करिष्यसि.

असङ्गेन *adv*. 'freely, without obstacle', 5. 81. 52 तच्चेद्दद्यादसङ्गेन सत्कृत्यानवमन्य च। प्रियं मे स्यान्महाबाहो.

असज्जमान 'being without hesitation or lingering', 5. 40. 1 योऽभ्यर्थितः सद्भिरसज्जमानः करोत्यर्थं शक्तिमहापयित्वा. On √सज् see Addenda to Udyoga on 5. 55. 9.

अष्ठीला 'kernel or stone of a fruit, a ball', 5. 73. 19 अष्ठीला शाल्मलेरिव ; 1. 107. 12 (also 18, 19) ततो जज्ञे मांसपेशी लोहाष्ठीलेव संहता.

असांप्रतं 'improper, unreasonable', sometimes pleonastically used with न युक्तं, 5. 70. 87 अथ चेत्ते प्रवर्तेरन्मयि किंचिदसांप्रतं ; 89. 19 न युक्तं भवतास्मासु प्रतिपत्तुमसांप्रतं ; 5. 73. 7, 47 नेह युक्तमसांप्रतं; 126. 11 स्वेषु बन्धुषु कः साधुश्चरेदेवमसांप्रतं.

असौम्य 'not soft, heroic', 5. 134. 7 कृत्वासौम्यमिवात्मानं जयायोत्तिष्ठ संजय.

अस्तब्ध 'not arrogant or obstinate' (Dev. अगर्व), 5. 37. 25 अस्तब्धमक्लीबमदीर्घसूत्रं (दूतं).

अस्त्रं √कृ 'to acquire skill in arms', 5. 22. 23 अस्त्रं द्रोणादर्जुनाद्वासुदेवात्कृपाद्भीष्माद्येन कृतं शृणोमि ; 30. 10 सोऽस्त्रं चतुष्पात्पुनरेव चक्रे ; 61. 17 अस्त्रं कृतवान्. So कृतास्त्र

'skilled in arms', a frequent epithet of warriors 5. 47. 16, 25 ; 49. 33 ; 136. 5 ; 149. 10, 34 ; 162. 21, 28 ; 195. 9 etc. ; कृतप्रहरण 162. 20 ; 197. 16.

अस्त्रे योगः 'skill in arms', 'the art of shooting' (HOPKINS), 5. 47. 44 अस्त्रे योगो वृष्णिसिहस्य भूयान्. See योग and युक्त below.

अस्व *adj*. 'having no property, indigent', 1. 87. 4 अस्वोऽप्यनीशश्च; अस्वता 'poverty', 5. 70. 19 पुरुषस्यास्वता वधः (*v. l.* अधनं); 70. 20 अस्वतो हि निवर्तन्ते ज्ञातयः (*v. l.* N अधनात्).

अहोलाभकार 'one who is content with a small gain' (Dev. स्वल्पेऽपि लाभे आश्चर्यं कुर्वाणं), 5. 131. 25 अहोलाभकरं दीनमल्पजीवनमल्पकम्। नेदृशं बन्धुमासाद्य बान्धवः सुखमेधते ॥

अह्नाय *adv*. 'instantly, always', 3. 36. 10 अह्नाय नरकं गच्छेत्; 5. 44. 15 सूर्यो अह्नाय जायते.

आक्रीड 'place of sport or pleasure', 5. 98. 14 आक्रीडान् पश्य दैत्यानां तथैव शयनान्युत (Arj. क्रीडास्थानं).

आ + √गम (causal), 'to obtain or receive information about, to know or ascertain', 5. 7. 2 सर्वमागमयामास पाण्डवानां विचेष्टितम्। धृतराष्ट्रात्मजो राजा दूतैः प्रणिहितैश्चरैः ॥ ; 35. 56 प्रज्ञामेवागमयति यः प्राज्ञेभ्यः स पण्डितः ; 1. 127. 14 तदप्यागमितं नृपैः.

आचार्यकं 'the office or profession of a teacher (= आचार्यकर्म)', 5. 146. 15 ; 164. 16 ; but आचार्यता 5. 180. 23.

आजात 'well-born' (Dev. कुलीन) 5. 132. 37 यो वै कश्चिदिहाजातः क्षत्रियः क्षत्रधर्मवित्। भयाद्वृत्तिसमीक्षो वा न नमेदिह कस्य चित् ॥ ; आजानेय 'well bred' 5. 131. 8 उद्यम्य धुरमुत्कर्षेदाजानेयकृतं स्मरन् ; 3. 254. 10 आजानेया बलिनः साधु दान्ताः.

आ + √जीव् (transitive) 'to seek or resort to for subsistence', 5. 131. 40 यमाजीवन्ति पुरुषं सर्वभूतानि संजय। पक्वं द्रुममिवासाद्य तस्य जीवितमर्थवत् ॥.

आज्ञाय, generally with मत, 'having perceived, known or heard' (= विज्ञाय), 5. 78. 2 मतमाज्ञाय राज्ञश्च ; 81. 14 (= 24) ततस्तन्मतमाज्ञाय ; 92. 12 तमुपस्थितमाज्ञाय.

आत्मन्, referring not to the subject of the sentence but to the speaker, 1. 141. 14 बलिनं मन्यसे यच्च आत्मानमपराक्रमम्। ज्ञास्यस्यद्य समागम्य मयात्मानं (= मां) बलाधिकं ॥ (noticed also in PW).

आदितः 'in the beginning' (= आदौ), 1. 2. 29 आख्यास्य तत्र पौलोममाख्यानं चादितः परं ; 'from the beginning', 5. 53. 3 त्वया ह्येवादितः पार्था निकृता भरतर्षभ ; 76. 5 किं चैतन्मन्यसे कृच्छ्रमस्माकं पापमादितः ; 122. 35 धर्ममेवादितश्चरन्.

आधान 'placing or kindling of sacrificial fire (= अग्न्याधान)' 5. 120. 5.

आनन्तर्य 'immediate sequence of act, i. e. done without delay or apathy (= अनन्तरकार्य comm.)', 5. 131. 15.

आनृशंस्य 'absence of harshness or: harm, benevolence, compassion', 5. 32. 11 परं धर्मात्पाण्डवस्यानृशंस्यं ; 34. 83 आनृशंस्यादनुक्रोशादसौ धर्मभृतां वरः ; 93. 6 कृपानुकम्पा कारुण्यमानृशंस्यं च भारत ; 144. 19 आनृशंस्यमथो वृत्तं रक्षन् सत्पुरुषोचितं. See नृशंस and अनानृशंस्य.

आ पृष्ठतापात् 'with one's back heated (by the sun)' (Dev. पृष्ठतापमवधीकृत्य) 1. 104. 16 आ पृष्ठतापादादित्यमुपतस्थे स वीर्यवान्; 5. 142. 30 आ पृष्ठतापाज्जप्त्वा सः.

आप्तकारिन् 'confidential agent', 1. 193. 4 विप्रैः सुकृतैराप्तकारिभिः कुन्तीपुत्रान् भेदयामः; 193. 16 वध्यतामाप्तकारिभिः.

आभील (with सु–) 'formidable, terrible', 5. 154. 4 रणयज्ञे प्रतिभये स्वाभीले लोमहर्षणे; 3. 12. 4 रात्रौ निशीथे स्वाभीले.

आ (or प्रति) + √मुच् 'to put on, wear', 5 92 13 कौस्तुभं मणिमामुच्य (= Dev. Arj. निबध्य; *v. l.* S आबध्य); 152. 16 विचित्रकवचामुक्तैः (सादिभिः); 1. 61. 89 आमुक्तकवचः (कर्णः) (Dev. बद्धसंनाहः); 1. 96. 15 आमुञ्चतां च वर्माणि (Dev. बन्धतां); 4. 2. 22 कर्णयोः प्रतिमुच्याहं कुण्डले ज्वलनोपमे.

आयतीयुक्त 'suitable for the future, fore-sighted', 5. 39. 7 सर्वं त्वमायतीयुक्तं भाषसे प्राज्ञसंमतं.

आ + √लभ् 'to touch', 5. 81. 10 ऋषभं पृष्ठ आलभ्य; 'to reach or attain', 5. 107. 18 आलभन्ते यमक्षयं; 'to touch in swearing', 5. 172. 14 मूर्धानमालभे; (with सत्येन) 5. 85. 7 (= 172. 15) सत्येनात्मानमालभे; 5. 73. 14 सत्येनालभसे गदां.

आलोक, at the end of a compound, 'appearance', 5. 114. 3 बहुदेवासुरालोका बहुगन्धर्वदर्शना.

आवरणमुख्य, 'armour (Dev. कवच) 1. 17. 1.

आ + √वह्, 'to bring home a bride', 5. 145. 18 तस्याहमीप्सितं बुद्ध्वा कालीं मातरमावहं; 145. 22 तस्याहं सदृशान् दारान्राजेन्द्र समुदावहं. Similarly, आवाह, 5. 139. 14 आवाहश्च विवाहश्च सह सूतैः कृतो मया. On this word see *ABORI*, xxvi, 1945, p. 213. See संवाहनक्रिया below.

आविष्कृत 'well known', (= प्रख्यात), 1. 161. 4 आविष्कृतः क्षितौ.

आशीविषघट 'pitcher full of snakes employed as a weapon in war', (Dev. सर्पपूर्णघट), 5. 152. 5.

आस्थाय, with मति, 'making up one's mind', 5. 39. 40.

आस्राव or **स्राव** 'pain, affliction' (not given in PW), 5. 27. 1 महास्रावं जीवितं चाप्यनित्यं; 27. 3 (जीवितं) महास्रावं नित्यदुःखं चलं च (numerous *v. l.* in each case); but Dev. Arj. explain: स्रावो मूत्रपूरीषादिनिष्यन्दः प्राणनिर्गमद्वाराणि वा, Sarv. महाप्रयाणं!; 'aberration of mind' 5. 57. 5 जात एव तव स्रावस्त्वं तु मोहान्न बुध्यसे (*v. l.* आस्राव etc.; Dev. आस्राव = क्षति). Cf. बुद्धिनिस्रव below.

इडा 'cow' (as a symbol of nourishment), 5. 134. 4 बद्धवत्सा इडा इव.

ईषत्कार्य 'to be accomplished easily', 5. 71. 22 ईषत्कार्यो वधस्तस्य यस्य चारित्रमीदृशं.

उग्रविभ्रंश *adj*. 'inyolving terrible destruction', 5. 132. 28 राज्यं वाप्युग्रविभ्रंशं संशयो जीवितस्य वा.

उच्चार 'excrement, product of abortion', 5. 131. 21 मातुरुच्चार एव सः (Dev. विष्ठा).

उत *ind*. often used for emphasis at the end of a sentence, 5. 96. 15 दीप्यमानानि दृश्यन्ते सर्वप्रहरणान्युत : 99. 5 सर्वे श्रियमभीप्सन्तो धारयन्ति बलान्युत ; 102. 4 अनेन प्रहृते पूर्वं वलभित्प्रहरत्युत ; 127. 34 स्वेषु चान्येषु वा तस्य सहाया न भवन्त्युत; 153. 29 आसंश्च सर्वयोधानां पातयन्तो मनांस्युत ; 165. 18 भिन्ना हि सेना नृपते दुःसंधेया भवत्युत. With इति or अपि ; इत्युत 5. 91. 17 उभयोः साधयन्नर्थमहमागत इत्युत ; 189. 15 चकार सर्वयत्नेन ब्रुवाणा पुत्र इत्युत ; 193. 24 मिथ्यैतदुक्तं केनापि तन्न श्रद्धेयमित्युत ; 1. 1. 101 ततो ज्ञास्यति मां सौते प्रज्ञाचक्षुषमित्युत. अप्युत—5. 118. 19 कथं वा ज्ञायते स्वर्गे केन वा ज्ञायतेऽप्युत ; 170. 8 तस्य दारक्रियां तात चिकीर्षुरहमप्युत (*v. l.* S उद्यतः) ; 193. 61 मुहूर्तमपि पश्येयं प्रहरेयं न चाप्युत ; 193. 65 यदि भीष्मः स्त्रियं हन्याद्धन्यादात्मानमप्युत.

उत्तार 'escape' 5. 122. 25 स घोरामापदं प्राप्य नोत्तारमधिगच्छति.

उत्थान 'exertion, energy, expedition', 5. 39. 43 ; अनुत्थान, 'want of energy, apathy', 5. 131. 31 ; उत्थित 'energetic', 5. 129. 30 यथा चाशिष्टवन्मन्दो रोषादसकृदुत्थितः ; 39. 9 परस्परविरोधे च यतन्ते सततोत्थितः ; 1. 71. 38 सदोत्थितः कर्मसु चैव दक्षः.

उत् + √वृत् 'to destroy', 5. 47. 59 उद्वर्तयन् दस्युसङ्घान्समेतान् ; 135. 3 लोकमुद्वर्तयिष्यति (Dev. संहरिष्यति) ; उत् + √हृ, 'to exterminate', 5. 190. 23 एष त्वां स्वजनामात्यमुद्धरामि स्थिरो भव ; 191. 15 मां किलोद्धर्तुमिच्छति ; 193. 19 उद्धरिष्यामि ते सद्यः सामात्यसुतबान्धवं. उद्धृतभक्त 'one whose livelihood has been destroyed (?)', 5. 37 28 सेनाजीवी चोद्धृतभक्त एव व्यवहारे वै वर्जनीयाः स्युरेते (*v. l.*).

उदीर्ण 'increased, excited', 5. 67. 18 इन्द्रियाणामुदीर्णानां.

उपधि 'deceit', 5. 71. 12 यत्त्वामुपधिना राजन्द्यूतेनावञ्चयत्तदा ; 93. 57 प्रयुक्त परमोपधिः ; 1. 30. 11 उपधिकृतं मातुर्दास्यं. उपधा, 'trickery, imposition', 5. 12. 7 कृतानीन्द्रेण वै पुरा वैधर्म्याण्युपधाश्चैव (Dev. छद्मानि) ; 5. 30. 18 छन्नोपधः साधुदेवी मताक्षः (Dev. गुप्तधर्मादिनिरूपणः).

उपनिधि 'pledge, deposit', 1. 117. 3 स जातमात्रान्पुत्रांश्च दारांश्च भवतामिह । प्रदायोपनिधिं राजा पाण्डुः स्वर्गमितो गतः ॥

उपपन्न 'joined with, supported by', 5. 142. 3 उपपन्नो ह्यसौ राजा चेदिपाञ्चालकेकयैः ; 143. 12 उपपन्नो गुणैः श्रेष्ठः ; 179. 11 उपपन्नं महाशस्त्रैः (रथं).

उपपादना 'inducement', 5. 140. 2 अपि त्वां न तपेत्कर्ण राज्यलाभोपपादना (Dev. दानं).

उपमा 'illustrative legend or analogy', 5. 130. 8 शृणु चात्रोपमामेकां या वृद्धेभ्यः श्रुता मया.

उपवृत्त 'turned or rolled on the ground, recovered, refreshed (spoken of horses)', 5. 181. 2 स्नातोपवृत्तैस्तुरगैर्लब्धतोयैरविह्वलैः (Dev. Arj. लुठितैः) ; 1. 1. 136 मुक्त्वा हयान् पाययित्वोपवृत्तान् (Dev. भूमौ लुठितान्).

उपश्रुति 'supernatural oracular voice', 5. 13. 25. See Addenda to Udyoga.

उपसंगृह्य 'receiving with respect' (Comm. explain पादौ इति शेषः), 5. 94. 7 उपगम्योपसंगृह्य पर्यपृच्छदनामयं ; 171. 1 अभिगम्योपसंगृह्य दाशेयीमिदमब्रुवन्.

उपस्कर 'appertunances of a chariot', 5. 81. 18 ; 83. 17 ; 179. 10.

उपस्तुति 'artful or ironical praise', 5. 30. 5 न मर्मगां जातु वक्तासि रूक्षां नोपस्तुतिं कटुकां नोत शुक्तां (Dev. Arj. मिथ्यास्तुतिं, Sarv. निन्दां).

उपस्थान 'place of waiting', 5. 35. 8 इहैवास्स्व प्रतीक्षाव उपस्थाने विरोचन.

उपासङ्ग 'quiver', usually 'chariot-quiver', 5. 47. 20 ; 81. 2 ; 2. 49. 9 But Dev. तूणबन्धनपाश ' the cord which binds the quiver'. See Hopkins, p. 274.

उपाध्ययन 'reciting of Mantras', (Dev. जप), 5. 142. 27.

उष्णग 'rainy season', 5. 137. 11 गङ्गावेगमिवोष्णगे.

उष्णप 'a group of seers who drink only heat', 5. 107. 2, like फेनप 5. 100. 5–6 who live on the froth of the ocean of milk.

उष्ट्रवामी, Dev. शीघ्रगा उष्ट्री, 5. 160. 28. See Addenda to Udyoga.

ऊरुग्राहगृहीत 'seized by paralysis of the thighs', 5. 50. 7 ऊरुग्राहगृहीतानां गदां विभ्रद्वृकोदरः। कुरूणामृषभो युद्धे दण्डपाणिरिवान्तकः ॥

ऋष्टि 'spear with wooden handle', 5. 19. 3.

एकायन 'only way of conduct', 5. 67. 15 एष एकायनः पन्था येन यान्ति मनीषिणः ; 'place situated apart', 5. 132. 29 रुद्धमेकायने राज्यं (Cf. एकायने दुर्गे, Rāmāyaṇa 3. 72. 4 ; 4. 1. 11, cited in PW) ; 'footpath wide enough for one' 1. 166. 3 एकायनगतः पथि (ऋषिः) (Dev. एकरथगतः) ; 'sole object of thought', or 'death' (मरण) according to Comm., 219. 30 एकायनगता येऽपि निष्पतन्त्यत्र केचन। राक्षसान् दानवान्नागान् जघ्ने चक्रेण तान् हरिः ॥ ; 5. 167. 12 एकायनगतावेतौ (विराटद्रुपदौ).

√एध्, with **सुख**, 'to prosper or be happy', 5. 22. 8 सुखमेधमानो दुर्योधनः ; 34. 64 सततं सुखमेधते ; 35. 56 प्राज्ञो ह्यवाप्य धर्मार्थौ शक्नोति सुखमेधितुं.

एवं गते absolutive, 5. 85. 2 ; 156. 7 ; 173. 12, 13 ; 174. 4 ; 178. 31.

एष्यत् 'future', 5. 149. 33 सर्वं जानाति धर्मात्मा गतमेष्यच्च केशवः.

औपयिक 'suitable, expedient', 5. 176. 37 यदत्रौपयिकं कार्यं तच्चिन्तयितुमर्हसि.

कक्ष 'forest', 5. 32. 27 कुरून्दहेत्कृष्णवर्त्मेव कक्षं ; 122. 36 कक्षेऽग्निरिव वर्धते ; 164. 13 अस्त्रवेगानिलोद्धूतः सेनाकक्षेन्धनोत्थितः ; 164. 20 कक्षं कृष्णगतिर्यथा ; 1. 221. 3 अयमग्निर्दहन्कक्षं. Hence, कक्षघ्न, 'fire', 1. 133. 10.

कक्ष्य 'girdle, belt', 5. 152. 9 बद्धकक्ष्याः (शूराः); 152. 13 बद्धकक्ष्याः (रथाः).

कक्ष्या 'apartment', 5. 87. 12 तिस्रः कक्ष्या व्यतिक्रम्य केशवो राजवेश्मनः ; 89. 2 तस्य कक्ष्या व्यतिक्रम्य तिस्रो द्वःस्थैरवारितः.

कचग्रह 'hooked weapon for drawing by the hair' (Dev. आकर्षकोऽङ्कुशः) 5. 152. 5.

कन्यकुब्ज 5. 117. 4. On the form of the word, see *BSOS*, 9. 328.

कन्यस (= कनीयस्), 'younger', 1. 98. 13. See prolegomena.

करुणवेदिन् 'compossionate, sympathetic', 5. 70. 56 ये ह्येव वीरा ह्रीमन्त आर्याः करुणवेदिनः.

कर्हिचित् (with negative न) 'at no time', 5. 35. 15 न हि देवेष्वहं स्थाता न मनुष्येषु कर्हिचित् ; 117. 8 एवं न शक्यमप्राप्यं प्राप्तुं गालव कर्हिचित् ; 153. 3 न हि जातु द्वयोर्वृद्धिः समा भवति कर्हिचित्.

कवचह्रद 'lake of armours' (?), 5. 56. 48 युद्धे समागमिष्यन्ति तुमुले कवचह्रदे (*v. l.* S सकचग्रहे, Vulg. शस्त्रसंकुले).

कल्य, काल्य *adj*. 'ready, prepared, fit, able', 5. 32. 5 आचक्ष्व मां सुखिनं काल्यमस्मै (Dev. नीरोगं); 81. 7 कल्यः सत्त्ववतां वरः ; 133. 32 तेषामग्रप्रदायी स्याः कल्योत्थायी प्रियंवदः ; *adv*. 'at day-break', 1. 152. 8 ततो नरा विनिष्क्रान्ता नगरात्काल्यमेव तु (Dev. प्रातः) ; 5. 183. 27 काल्यं काल्यं विंशतिं वै दिनानि. See अकाल्य-अतिकाल्य above. The usual variants are कल्प and काल्प, for the distinction between प and य in Devanāgari MSS is liable to be confused.

कश्मल, with आ + √विश्, 'stupefaction, fainting', 5. 49. 10 सूतं कश्मलमाविशत् ; 181. 15 अथ मां कश्मलाविष्टं सूतस्तूर्णमपावहत् ; 1. 48. 20 कश्मलं चाविशद् घोरं वासुकिं पन्नगेश्वरं ; 91. 9 कश्मलाभिहतौजसः.

कांदिग्भूत *adj*. 'put to flight, running away on all sides', 5. 47. 56 कांदिग्भूतं च्छिन्नगात्रं विसंज्ञं दुर्योधनो द्रक्ष्यति सर्वसैन्यं.

काक, used contemptuously for a greedy or impure person, 5. 35. 40 (Dev. अशुचिः; Sarv. तीर्थग्रहजीवी).

काकनिलीयन, a king of game, 1. 119. 6.

काकरङ्ख 'a timid person who, like a crow, flies away at the clap of hands' (Dev. काकवद् रङ्खति करतालिमात्रेण पलायते ; other Comm. giving other ingenious explanations), 5. 131. 13.

कामकारेण *adv*. 'at will' 5. 103 6 क्रीडसे कामकारेण देवराज यथेच्छकम् ; कामकारवर 'boon of freedom of action', 5. 103. 3 कामकारवरं दत्त्वा पुनश्चलितवानसि; कामतः 5. 114. 21 ; 116. 14.

कामया *adv*. 1. 10. 6. कामया भुजग ब्रूहि कोऽसीमां विक्रियां गतः.

कालीयक 'fragrant aloe wood', अगरु according to Dev., 1. 118. 8.

काव्य *adj*. 'coming from a sage, wise, prophetic, 5. 26. 15 काव्यां वाचं विदुरो भाषमाणः (*v. l.* S काम्यां) ; 29. 42 (= 91. 20) अपि वाचं भाषमाणस्य काव्यां (*v. l.* S काम्यां).

किंपाक 'a fruit of bitter taste', 5. 122. 20 विपाकान्ते दहत्येनं किंपाकमिव भक्षितं (Dev. महाकालफलं).

किमद्यक 'one who depends on fate', 5. 131. 37 किमद्यकानां ये लोका द्विषन्तस्तानवाप्नुयुः (Dev. Arj. किमद्य नो भावीति दैवं परायणं येषां).

कीर्तिभवः शब्दः 'applause' (= साधुकारः Comm.) 5. 139. 55 तावत्कीर्तिभवः शब्दः शाश्वतोऽयं भविष्यति ।

कुण्डाशिन् 'one supported by an adulterine son', 5. 35. 39 अगारदाही गरदः कुण्डाशी सोमविक्रयी पर्वकारश्च सूची च मित्रधुक् पारदारिकः ॥ ; but Dev. apparently takes it as कुण्डाशी in the feminine gender and explains : अमृते भर्तरि जारजातस्यान्नाशी, the alternative explanation being 'voracious' or बहुभुक् !

कुप्यवेतनी 'one getting wages in base metal' (?), 3. 16. 22.

कुहका *fem.* 'juggling, trickery', 5. 158. 35 न माया हीन्द्रजालं वा कुहका वा विभीषणी (Dev. हस्तलाघवेनान्यथाप्रदर्शनं 'sleight of hand').

कृतेन, at the end of a compound, 'for the sake of' (= कृते), 5. 146. 21 (= 165. 10) एते नश्यन्ति कुरवो दुर्योधनकृतेन वै.

√कृष्, generally with प्र–, 'to lead (an army)', 5. 149. 16 सेनामग्रे प्रकर्षतु; 161. 4 द्रोणप्रेप्सुरनीकानि धृष्टद्युम्नः प्रकर्षति ; 191. 13 हिरण्यवर्मा नृपतिः कर्षमानो वरूथिनीं ; 1. 126. 34 सेनां यश्च प्रकर्षति.

कैतव्य patronimic of Ulūka, 5. 56. 23 ; 157. 3 ; 158. 1 ; 159. 2.

कौटव्य 'crookedness' (= कौटिल्य), 5. 2. 8.

कौशल 'well-being' (= कुशल), 5. 64. 9 यथान्यायं कौशलं वन्दनं च समागता मद्वचनेन वाच्या.

क्षणं√कृ 'to give or take an opportunity', 'to wait', 1. 3. 100 श्रेयो हि ते स्यात्क्षणं कुर्वतः ; 3. 123 क्षणः क्रियतां ; 3. 124 कृतक्षण एवासि ; 4. 20. 21 समागतं हनिष्यामि त्वं भीरु कुरु मे क्षणं. Cited in PW.

क्ष्वेड 'murmur, howl of a dog', 5. 70. 1 लाङ्गूलचालनं क्ष्वेडः प्रतिरावो निवर्तनं. (Dev. याञ्चाध्वनिः).

खट्वां समारूढः 'lying on sick-bed', 5. 39. 27 येन खट्वां समारूढः परितप्येत कर्मणा। आदावेन न तत्कुर्यादध्रुवे जीविते सति ॥.

गतश्री 'reaching (the height of) prosperity', 1. 192. 23 को हि द्रुपदमासाद्य मित्रं क्षत्तः सबान्धवं। न बुभूषेद्भवेनार्थी गतश्रीरपि पार्थिवः ॥. Cited in PW. Bhaṭṭa Bhāskara on TS 7. 2. 7. 23 explains the phrase as गता प्राप्ता श्रीर्येन, which sets aside Nīlakaṇṭha's explanation of the present passage, and is in keeping with अपि above.

गताध्वन् 'one whose time of life is gone', 'old, veteran', 3. 123. 5 कथं त्वमसि कल्याणि पित्रा दत्ता गताध्वने ; *v. l.* in 5. 77. 9^{d} द्रोणेन च गताध्वना ; *v. l.* (S) in 5. 84. 5 दाशार्हाय गताध्वने.

गन्ध, at the end of a compound, in the sense of similarity (साम्य), 1. 10. 3 डुण्डुभानहिगन्धेन न त्वं हिंसितुमर्हसि (Dev. अहिसादृश्येन).

गव्यूति 'a measure of distance', 1. 138. 14 गव्यूतिमात्रादागत्य त्वरितो मातरं प्रति.

गाध 'standing ground in water', 5. 158. 39 महागाध 'deep', 5. 158. 37.

गार्धपत्र (w. f. or metathesis for गाध्र–) 'arrows decorated with vulture's feathers', 5. 124. 9 गार्धपत्राः पतन्त्युग्रास्तावच्छाम्यतु वैशसं (*v. l.* S गृध्रपक्षाः).

गुल्म 'a class of camp-followers or scouts', 5. 149. 56. 71 ; defined in 5. 152. 24–25 as follows : पत्ति or सेनामुख = 55 men ; गुल्म = 3 पत्तिs ; गण = 10 गुल्मs.

गृद्ध, गृद्धिन्. See जातगृध्या.

गोपाद 'a small puddle' (used in this sense in Pāli; = गोष्पद) 5. 70. 70 तच्छूनामिव गोपादे पण्डितैरुपलक्षितं (numerous *v. l.*).

गोव्रत. See यत्रतत्रशय below.

गोरुत 'a measure of distance, as far as a cow's lowing can be heard', two Krośas, according to Hemacandra (See PW), 5. 181. 15 (मां) सूतस्तूर्णमपावहद् गोरुतं.

ग्रह. See प्रग्रह.

ग्रामजन्य 'mass fight' (possibly ग्राम = multitude or troop of soldiers ; जन्य = fight, for which sense Raghu iv. 77), 5. 88. 65 हत्वा कुरून् ग्रामजन्ये राज्यं प्राप्य धनंजयः ; 135. 4 हत्वा कुरून् ग्रामजन्ये वासुदेव सहायवान् (Dev. Arj. राजसमूहयुद्ध ; Sarv. समूहयुद्ध).

घण्टाफलक 'leather shield with bells' (Dev. घण्टासहितं वर्म), 5. 152. 6.

चक्र 'circle of troops or chariots', 5. 23. 26 अहं पश्चादर्जुनमभ्यरक्षं माद्रीपुत्रौ भीमसेनश्च चक्रे ; 1. 67. 29 परं चाभिप्रयातस्य चक्रं तस्य महात्मनः। भविष्यत्यप्रतिहतं सततं चक्रवर्तिनः ॥

चारिषु विक्रान्तः 'mightily striding among moving forces or foot-soldiers' 5. 164. 32.

चतुष्पाद् or **चतुष्पाद** (धनुर्वेद), 'science of archery consisting of four parts (according to Dev. मन्त्रोपचारमोक्षसंहाराश्चत्वारः पादाः), 5. 30. 10 योऽस्त्रं चतुष्पात्पुनरेव चक्रे द्रोणः प्रसन्नोऽभिवाद्यो यथार्हः ; 155. 3 शिष्यः कृत्स्नं धनुर्वेदं चतुष्पादमवाप्नुयात् ; 193. 57 प्रतिपदे चतुष्पादं धनुर्वेदं नृपात्मजः ; B. 9. 6. 14 दशाङ्गं यश्चतुष्पादमिष्वस्त्रं वेद.

चित 'piled up, collected', possibly referring to the piling of fuel in sacrifice ; employed with तपस्, 5. 106. 10 देवैश्चात्र तपश्चितं ; 109. 15 न तेषां ज्ञायते सूतिर्नाकृतिर्न तपश्चितं (सूति = सवन ?) ; 119. 19 क्व वानेन तपश्चितं ; referring to sacrifices, 120. 13 शतशः पुण्डरीका मे गोसवाश्च चिताः प्रभो ; with धर्म, 121. 7 चतुष्पादस्त्वया धर्मश्चितो लोक्येन कर्मणा. चिति, piling of fuel in sacrifice, 5. 139. 46 पुनश्चितिस्तदा चास्य यज्ञस्याथ भविष्यति.

चिररात्र- or **चिररात्राय** 'for a long time', 5. 7. 34 चिररात्रेप्सितं कर्म ; 127. 5 अपि नो व्यसनं घोरं दुर्योधनकृतं महत्। शमयेच्चिररात्राय ; 154. 4 रणयज्ञे दीक्षितं चिररात्राय ; 1. 156. 3 चिररात्रोषिताः स्मेह ब्राह्मणस्य निवेशने ; 3. 131. 7 शक्यते दुस्त्यजेऽप्यर्थे चिररात्राय जीवितुं.

चैत्य 'sacred tree', 1. 138. 25 एको वृक्षो हि यो ग्रामे भवेत्पर्णफलान्वितः। चैत्यो भवति निर्ज्ञातिरर्चनीयः सुपूजितः ॥ ; 1. 1. 167 चैत्ययूपाङ्किता भूतिः ; 5. 193. 54 पूजयामास विविधैर्गन्धमाल्यैर्महाधनैः। द्विजातीन्देवताश्चापि चैत्यानथ चतुष्पथान् ॥.

जगतिपर्वत 'a pleasure-mound or hillock in a garden' (Dev. क्रीडापर्वत), 1. 199. 44.

जघन्य, जघन 'rear, behind', 5. 131. 12 मा मध्ये मा जघन्ये त्वं माधो भूस्तिष्ठ चोर्जितः ; 149. 60 जघनार्धे विराटश्च यज्ञसेनश्च सात्यकिः ; 'vile', 5. 159. 9 जघन्यकालमप्येतद् भवेद्यत्सर्वपार्थिवान्। निर्दहेयं ; 'a man of the lowest class' 5. 30. 39 अनामयं परिपृच्छेर्जघन्यं.

जङ्घाजघन्य 'acts done through walking on foot (lit. the lowest with respect to the shanks ; Dev. पादपर्यटनसाध्यत्वेन हीनानि)', 5. 35. 65 बुद्धिश्रेष्ठानि कर्माणि बाहुमध्यानि भारत। तानि जङ्घाजघन्यानि भारप्रत्यवराणि च ॥.

जनि 'birth, origin', 5. 131. 14 ; जनित्र, 'place of origin, parent' 5. 69. 6 शक्रस्य धातारमजं जनित्रं ; 69. 7 त्रैलोक्यनिर्माणकरं जनित्रं ; जनित्री 'mother', 5. 68. 8 न जायते जनित्र्यां यदजस्तस्मात्.

जन्यार्थ 'for the purpose of bridal ceremony ; जन्या = bride', 1. 190. 6 जन्यार्थयुक्तं बहु तत्तद्द्रव्यं समानयामास.

जम्भक 'magic' (Dev. कुहक), 5. 62. 21.

जवतां, haplological for जववतां ?, 1. 15. 3 महौघबलमश्वानामुत्तमं जवतां वरं.

जय a generic name (as suggested by Sukthankar) applied to some episodes of the Epic, and not a specific name of the Epic itself, 1. 56. 19 = 5. 134. 17 जयो नामेतिहासोऽयं श्रोतव्यो विजिगीषुणा.

जलस्थाय 'pond, lake' (= जलाशय), 1. 138. 11 (Vulg. जलस्थान).

जातगृध्या 'affection for offspring', 5. 59. 9 जातगृध्याभिपन्नाश्च पाण्डवानामनेकशः । धर्मादयो भविष्यन्ति समाहूता दिवौकसः ॥ (गृध्या = desire, greediness). गृद्ध, 'full of desire', 'greedy', 5. 27. 5 कामे गृद्धो ह्रीयतेऽर्थानुरोधात् ; 29. 3 यस्मिन् गृद्धो धृतराष्ट्रः सपुत्रः ; 1. 66. 5 गृद्धां वाससि संभ्रान्तां मेनकां मुनिसत्तमः (अपश्यत्) ; अतिगृद्ध 5. 71. 6 ; गृद्धिन् 5. 164. 36 ; पुत्रगृद्धिनी 5. 81. 44 ; पुत्रगृद्धित्व 5. 70. 11.

जात्य 'genuine', 5. 33. 101 महामणिर्जात्य इव प्रसन्नः ; 5. 110. 12 मणीव जात्यौ पश्यामि चक्षुषी ते.

जीवंजीवक kind of bird (lexicons give it as the name of Cakora), 5. 141. 17.

जीवपुत्री 'a woman whose sons are living', 1. 143. 13 जीवपुत्रि सुतस्तेऽयं धर्मपुत्रो युधिष्ठिरः (S जीवपुत्रा) ; but जीवपुत्रा 5. 142. 2 जानासि मे जीवपुत्रे भावं नित्यमनुग्रहे (Vulg. जीवपुत्री)

ततस्ततः 'from all sides', 5. 92. 45 समाजह्रुस्ततस्ततः ; 132. 5 व्यवसाय्य ततस्ततः ; 'hither and thither', 187. 38 तीर्थलोभात्ततस्ततः पतिताः परिधावन्ती. See यतस्ततः.

तत्कुलीन 'of that family' (Dev. तेषां राज्ञां कुले भवन्), 5. 179. 11 तत्कुलीनेन वीरेण ; 1. 126. 34 आचार्य त्रिविधा योनी राज्ञां शास्त्रविनिश्चये । तत्कुलीनश्च शूरश्च सेनां यश्च प्रकर्षति ; तत्कुलेय 1. 169. 13 तस्मिन्नृपतिशार्दूले स्वर्यातेऽथ कदाचन । बभूव तत्कुलेयानां द्रव्यकार्यमुपस्थितं ॥ (*v. l.* तत्कुलीनानां).

तरसा *adv*. 'with energy or strength' (not always 'swiftly'), 5. 47. 17 सैन्याननेकांस्तरसा विमृद्नन् ; 47. 69 गान्धारांस्तरसा संप्रमथ्य ; also 50. 40 ; 166. 6 etc. Hence, तरस्विन् 'energetic, strong or violent', 5. 22. 15 सुशिक्षितः कृतवैरस्तरस्वी दहेत्क्रुद्धस्तरसा धार्तराष्ट्रान् ; 22. 17. 32 धर्मारामो ह्रीनिषधस्तरस्वी (Dev. बलवान्).

तलिन् 'having an arm-guard' (= तलत्रवत्), 5. 155. 18 ततः स कवची खड्गी शरी धन्वी तली रथी.

तुमुल 'confusion, fumult', 5. 61. 11 हन्ता रिपूणां तुमुले प्रगाढे ; *adj*. 5. 56. 46 युद्धे समागमिष्यन्ति तुमुले कवचह्रदे ; 1. 136. 9 अथ प्रवाते तुमुले.

ताल 'a measure of length', usually spoken of the bow, 5. 26. 23 किरीटिना तालमात्रायुधेन ; 158. 25 गाण्डिवं तालमात्रं ; 1. 180. 18 महद् धनुः कर्षति तालमात्रं. Dev. explains (on 5. 26. 23) तालो नववितस्तयो मात्रा मानं यस्य, with which Arj. agrees (वितस्ति = 12 Aṅgulas or about 9 inches); but Sarv., Nīl. तालो हस्तचतुष्टयं. Arj. elsewhere (on 5. 158. 25) explains तालमात्रं चतुर्हस्तप्रमाणं. See Hopkins, p. 270.

तुङ्गरस 'some fragrant or colouring substance used as emollient (Rottleria tinctoria, according to MW), 1. 118. 19 चन्दनेन च मुख्येन शुक्लेन समलेपयन्। कालागरुविमिश्रेण तथा तुङ्गरसेन च ॥; 118. 22 तुङ्गपद्मकमिश्रेण चन्दनेन सुगन्धिना.

तृणोल्का 'torch of hay', 5. 35. 42.

तैलगुडवालुका 'a kind of burning missile of oil etc. projected as a weapon in war', 5. 152. 5.

तोमर 'jalevin, lance', 5. 139. 38 etc.

त्रुटि, त्रुट 'a minute fraction of time', 1. 21. 14 त्वं मुहूर्तस्तिथिस्त्वं च लवस्त्वं वै पुनः क्षणः।......कला काष्टा त्रुटिस्तथा ॥; 158. 7 अशीतिभिस्त्रुटैर्हीनं तं मुहूर्तं प्रचक्षते; 5. 107. 4 त्रुटिशो लवशश्चैव गण्यते कालनिश्चयः. Also found in the enumeration of कालविभाग in the Purāṇas.

त्रेता 'the triad of holy fires', 5. 40. 25 त्रेतापूतं धूममाघ्राय पुण्यं; also त्रिता (= fire in general), 1. 50. 16 और्वत्रिताभ्यामसि तुल्यतेजाः.

दंशित 'armoured, mailed', 5. 124. 7; 128. 11; 132. 25; 149. 20 धनुष्मान् कवची खड्गी रथमास्थाय दंशितः; 179. 12 दंशितः पाण्डुरेणाहं कवचेन वपुष्मता; 180. 21; 196. 11 etc.

दर्शन 'aspect, appearance' (at the end of a compound) 1. 2. 98 नारदाद्देवदर्शनात्; 5. 114. 3 बहुगन्धर्वदर्शना. See आलोक.

दान्त 'made of or inlaid with ivory', 5. 46. 5 अश्मसारमयैर्दान्तैः (आसनैः).

दायाद्य 'inheritance, property', 5. 145. 37 स राजा तस्य ते पुत्राः पितुर्दायाद्यहारिणः; 1. 129. 15 स एष पाण्डोर्दायाद्यं यदि प्राप्नोति पाण्डवः (Dev. रिक्थं).

दारुण 'violence, horror' 5. 70. 70 प्रतिघातेन सान्त्वस्य दारुणं संप्रवर्तते; 158. 18 संसृष्टो दारुणेन वा.

दिग्धहस्त 'with poisoned arrows', 5. 39. 25 दिग्धहस्तं मृग इव स एनस्तस्य विन्दति.

दित्सा (des. of √ दा) 'desire to give', 5. 98. 19 जानामि तु तथात्मानं दित्सात्मकं; दिदित्सु 'ready to give' 5. 49; दित्सितं 'wished to be given', 3. 97. 11 दित्सितं यदि वेत्सि त्वं ततो दास्यामि ते वसु (*v. l.* S ईप्सितं).

दिशापाल 'guardian of the quarters of the sky', 5. 109. 23.

दिष्ट 'destiny', 5. 32. 18 नान्यस्य दिष्टस्य वशादुपैति; 119. 23 इमे त्वां तारयिष्यन्ति दिष्टमेतत्पुरातनं; 154. 24 (= var. 193. 52) दिष्टमेतद् ध्रुवं मन्ये न शक्यमतिवर्तितुं; 1. 116. 23; 190. 2 दिष्टस्य ग्रन्थिरनिवर्तनीयः; distinguished from धातृ, 5. 39. 1 धात्रा तु दिष्टस्य वशे किलायं; distinguished from पौरुष, 5. 40. 30 दिष्टमेव कृतं मन्ये पौरुषं तु निरर्थकं; 156. 4 दिष्टमेव परं मन्ये पौरुषं चाप्यनर्थकं; दिष्टभाव 'destined state, death', 5. 75. 10 यदन्यद्दिष्टभावस्य पुरुषस्य स्वयंकृतं; 131. 34 दिष्टभावं गतस्य; 1. 133. 11 दिष्टभावं गते सति. दिष्टान्त 'end of destined state, death', 5. 170. 4 दिष्टान्तं प्राप धर्मात्मा समये; 1. 2. 192 दिष्टान्तानानिवर्तिनः; 45. 15 दिष्टान्तमापन्नः; 53. 24 जगाम काले धर्मात्मा दिष्टान्ते पुत्रपौत्रवान्.

द्वीप 'place of refuge, shelter, protection', 5. 26. 20 कथं कर्णो नाभवद् द्वीप एषां ; 49. 18. 19 य एषामभवद् द्वीपः कुन्तीपुत्रो वृकोदरः ; 160. 13 द्वीपमेनं भीष्मं.

दीर्घदर्शिवान् 'possessing foresight', 5. 128. 17 विदुरो दीर्घदर्शिवान् ; सर्वप्रत्यक्षदर्शिवान् 'realist', 5. 87. 26 क्षत्तुराचष्ट दाशार्हः सर्वप्रत्यक्षदर्शिवान्.

दीर्घमन्तरं 'for a long time', 5. 127. 22 ह्यवश्येन्द्रियो राज्यमश्नीयाद् दीर्घमन्तरं.

दुरात्मवान् 'wicked', 5. 17. 7.

दुरुत्सह 'hard to resist', 1. 1. 138 नागबलैर्दुरुत्सहं द्रोणानीकं ; 5. 54. 46 देवैरपि दुरुत्सहः.

दुरोदर 'gamester', 5. 2. 10 दुरोदरास्तत्र सहस्रशोऽन्ये (*v. l.* S दरोदर) ; 2. 53. 23, 24 ; 54. 1 (S दरोदर). See Hopkins, Lexicographical Notes in *JAOS*, 20 (1899), p. 18, where the word is explained as 'stake at play'.

दुर्विवक्तृ 'false witness', 5. 35. 23–25.

दृश्यरूप 'worth seeing', 'conspicuous' (Dev. प्रधानभूत), 1. 1. 125 नैषां कश्चिद् वध्यते दृश्यरूपः.

दृष्टिविष (दृष्टी॰) 'poisoned look', 5. 16. 26 तेजोहरं दृष्टिविषं सुघोरं मा त्वं पश्येर्नहुषं वै कदाचित् ; 16. 30 ते चाब्रुवन् नहुषो घोररूपो दृष्टीविषस्तस्य बिभीम देव ; 4. 47* (12cd) दृष्टीविष इवाहीनामग्निस्तेजस्विनामिव.

देवन 'game of dice', 5. 30. 18 निकर्तने देवने योऽद्वितीयः ; प्रतिदेवन 'counter-play', 5. 2. 11 ; देवितव्य, 'gambler at dice' 30. 18 यो दुर्जयो देवितव्येन सख्ये ; देवितृ, 4. 6. 10 ; 17. 22 ; प्रियदेवितृ 4. 1. 20 ; अक्षदेवितृ 4. 15. 35.

देवासुर *adj*. with युद्ध etc., 5. 102. 3 देवासुरेषु युद्धेषु ; 126. 20 व्यूढे देवासुरे युद्धे ; 1. 26. 30 अभूतपूर्वं संग्रामे तदा देवासुरेऽपि च.

देशरूपेण 'with propriety or fitness', 5. 27. 16 देशरूपेण पार्थाः करिष्यध्वं कर्म (Dev. Arj. देशस्थित्या ; Sarv. देशानुरूपेण) ; 34. 55 (= 127. 28) आत्मानमेव प्रथमं देशरूपेण यो जयेत् (Arj. समञ्जसेन ; Sarv. देशरूपं न्यायः स्वोचिदादपभ्रंशः).

देहकर 'father', 5. 102. 4 ; शरीरकर्ता 5. 175. 28.

द्रविण, in the old sense of 'strength, power', 5. 111. 17 बभूवतुस्ततस्तस्य पक्षौ द्रविणवत्तरौ ; 1. 159. 10 बाहुद्रविणमाश्रितः (= बाहुबलं) 1. 160. 13 रूपद्रविणसंपदा.

धिष्ण्य 'meteor', 5. 185. 6 धिष्ण्यमाकाशगं यथा ; 'abode, home' 5. 158. 8 द्वादशैव तु वर्षाणि वने धिष्ण्याद्विवासिताः.

√धृ 'to live', 5. 47. 35 न जातु नः शत्रवो धारयेयुः.

न, the negative particle, as the first member of a compound word : नचिरात् *adv.* 'not long, shortly', 5. 11. 21 समानयिष्ये शक्रेण नचिराद् भवतीमिह ; 35. 54 (नाचिरात्) ; 101. 24 (नाचिरात्) ; 160. 16 (नाचिरात्) ; 38. 26, 44 (नचिरादिव); 122. 24 (नचिरादिव) ; 126. 29 (नाचिरादिव) ; 1. 91. 18 नचिरकालं ; 1. 196. 28 नचिरेण, etc. नगृह *adj*. 'homeless', 1. 86. 5 ; नदीर्घ 1. 117. 8 ; नमन्त्रविद् 5. 38. 3. नैक (for अनेक), 5. 58. 6 नैकरत्नविचित्रं तु काञ्चनं महदासनं ; 1. 64. 17 नैकपक्षिगणाकीर्णा (नदी) ; नैकरूपिणः 5. 97. 8 ; नैकशताः 134. 9. See माचिरं.

नन्दक name of Kṛṣṇa's sword, 5. 129. 9.

नन्दि *f*. 'pleasure, happiness', 5. 49. 30 माद्रीनन्दिकरेण सहदेवेन ; 81. 18 यदूनां नन्दिवर्धनं ; 133. 18 अतो मे भूयसी नन्दिर्यद्देवमनुपश्यसि.

नस्ततः 'from the nose', 5. 129. 11 नेत्राभ्यां नस्ततश्चैव श्रोत्राभ्यां च समन्ततः। प्रादुरासन्महारौद्राः सधूमाः पावकार्चिषः ॥ (*v. l.* S नासिकाभ्यां च).

नातिमनस् not pleased, angry', 5. 178. 9 (Dev. क्रोधाविष्ट).

नालीक 'shaft or arrow of reed'; कर्णिनालीक 'be-eared shaft'; नाराच 'short iron shaft or arrow', 5. 34. 76 ; 139. 38 कर्णिनालीकनाराचाः.

निःशलाक *adj*. 'lonely, solitary', 5. 38. 17 अरण्ये निःशलाके वा (Dev. निर्जने, यत्रान्तर्धातुं शलाकापि नास्ति).

निकर्तन 'slaughter' (but Dev. माया 'artifice'), 5. 30. 18 निकर्तने देवने योऽद्वितीयः.

नित्यदा *adv*. 'always, constantly', 5. 70. 60 जातवैरश्च पुरुषो दुःखं स्वपिति नित्यदा.

निर्यूह 'helmet, crest', 5. 19. 4 खड्गकार्मुकनिर्यूहैः ; 'pinnacle, turret' 1 102. 8 द्वारतोरणनिर्यूहैः.

निर्वचन 'saying, proverb' 1. 102. 21 ततो निर्वचनं लोके सर्वराष्ट्रेष्ववर्तत ; 'etymology, explanation', 5. 68. 2 श्रुतं मे तस्य देवस्य नामनिर्वचनं शुभं.

निर्वाद 'obloquy, consure', 5. 133. 34 निर्वादैर्निवदेदेनं ; 133. 35 निर्वादादास्पदं लब्ध्वा धनवृद्धिर्भविष्यति.

निर् + √**हृ** 'to pull out, remove', 5. 34. 76 कर्णिनालीकनाराचा निर्हरन्ति शरीरतः। वाक्शल्यस्तु न निर्हर्तुं शक्यो हृदिशयो हि यः ॥ ; 40. 14 मृतं पुत्रं दुःखपुष्टं मनुष्या उत्क्षिप्य राजन् स्वगृहान्निर्हरन्ति ; 44. 4 न आत्मानं निर्हरन्तीह देहात्.

निवातस्थ 'living in seclusion', 5. 83. 49 यद्द्रौपदीं निवातस्थां श्वशुराणां समीपगां। आनायितामनार्येण (Arj. अपवरकप्रविष्टां, Sarv. वातागम्यात्यन्तगूढप्रदेशस्थां).

निवेश 'marriage', 1. 13. 29 ततो निवेशाय तदा स विप्रः संशितव्रतः। महीं चचार दारार्थी न च दारानविन्दत ॥ ; 42. 8 एवं विधमहं कुर्यां निवेशं प्राप्नुयां यदि (Dev. विवाहं) ; 42. 6 करिष्ये वः प्रियं कामं निवेक्ष्ये नात्र संशयः (Dev. विवाहयिष्यामि); 182. 8 भवान्निवेष्य प्रथमं (= विवाह्य) ; 187. 23 अहं चाप्यनिविष्टो वै (= अविवाहितः).

निश्रम, with कृत, 'continued practice', (= Dev. फलपर्यन्तावसायी श्रमः) 5. 71. 36 योधाश्च सर्वे कृतनिश्रमास्ते ; 136. 5 कृतास्त्रमर्जुनं प्राप्य भीमं च कृतनिश्रमं ; 152. 8 तथा कवचिनः शूराः शस्त्रेषु कृतनिश्रमाः ; 1. 102. 8 वेदवेदाङ्गतत्त्वज्ञाः सर्वत्र कृतनिश्रमाः ; 127. 24 स च चापि वीरः कृतशस्त्रनिश्रमः.

निषङ्ग 'quiver', 5. 152. 3. See उपासङ्ग.

निष्कल 'divided, diminished', as opposed to सहभूत 'united', 5. 93. 16 स्वयं निष्कलमालक्ष्य संविधत्स्व विशां पते। सहभूतास्तु भरतास्तवैव स्युर्जनेश्वर ॥. But Dev. Arj. निर्मायं, Sarv. निरवयवं निरवशेषं यथा तथा.

निष्टनत् 'roaring', 5. 73. 7 एकान्ते निष्टनञ्छेषे ; 151. 9 निष्टनन् भीमसेनं च विजयं चेदमब्रवीत्.

निष्ठा 'destruction, death', 5. 5. 10 निष्ठामापत्स्यसे मूढ क्रुद्धे गाण्डीवधन्वनि.

निष्ठूरिन् 'rough, coarse, cruel', 5. 37. 32 निष्ठूरिनं कृतवैरं कृतघ्नमेनान् भृशार्तोऽपि न जातु याचेत् ; 72. 4 अदूरदर्शी निष्ठूरी क्षेप्ता क्रूर पराक्रमः.

निह्नव 'intimacy, affection' (Dev. स्नेह), 5. 37. 27 न निह्नवं सत्रगतस्य गच्छेः. See अपह्नव.

नैभृत, नैभृत्य 'quietness (Dev. निश्चलता), firmness, attachment', 5. 39. 34 ययोश्चित्तेन वा चित्तं नैभृतं नैभृतेन वा। समेति प्रज्ञया प्रज्ञा तयोर्मैत्री न जीर्यते ॥; 52. 10 धृत्या च पुरुषव्याघ्र नैभृत्येन च पाण्डवः। अनृशंस्यो वदान्यश्च ह्रीमान् सत्यपराक्रमः ॥; 43. 28 अनैभृत्येन वै तस्य दीक्षितव्रतमाचरेत् (Dev. चाञ्चल्येन).

नो चेत् (with potential) 'would that not ! ', 5. 22. 31 नो चेत्कुरून् संजय निर्दहेतां ; 22. 32 नो चेत्क्रुद्धः प्रदहेद् धार्तराष्ट्रान् ; 26. 15 नो चेत्कुरूनागतः स्यादभावः ; 32. 27 नो चेदिदं तव कामापराधात्कुरून् दहेत्कृष्णवर्त्मेव कक्षं.

पत्र 'conveyance-chariot or horse' (= वाहन), 5. 47. 56 हताश्ववीराग्र्यनरेन्द्रनागं पिपासितं श्रान्तपत्रं भयार्तं (सैन्यं) ; 71. 36 शस्त्राणि पत्रं कवचान्रथांश्च.

पदा भूमिमुपस्पृशन् euphemistic for 'a mortal' (Dev., Arj. मर्त्यः), 5. 158. 18 रणे जीवन्विमुच्येत पदा भूमिमुपस्पृशन् ; 120. 2 न पृथ्वीमस्पृशत्पदा ; 4. 15. 15 येषां वैरं न स्वपिति पदा भूमिमुपस्पृशन् ; 2. 62. 24 न हि मुच्येत जीवन्मे पदा भूमिमुपस्पृशन्। मर्त्यधर्मा परामृश्य पाञ्चाल्या मूर्धजानिमान् ॥.

परश्वध 'hatchet, axe', 5. 149. 81 ; also परश्वधी 5. 176. 17.

परःशत *adj*. 'more than or beyond a hundred', 5. 47. 20 उपासङ्गादुद्धरन् दक्षिणेन परःशतान्नकुलश्चित्रयोधी ; 92. 23 गजाः परःशतास्तत्र ; 4. 23. 1 गन्धर्वैर्निहता राजन्सूतपुत्राः परःशताः. See Addenda to Udyoga.

परापर 'near and distant, this and the other world', 1. 1. 21 परावराणां स्रष्टारं ; 5. 178. 6 विभ्रंशिता त्वया ह्ययं धर्मावाप्तिः परावरात्.

परासिक्त 'set aside, rendered useless, or defeated', 5. 29. 43 परासिक्तान् धार्तराष्ट्रांस्तु विद्धि ; 47. 18 परासिक्तं विपुलं स्वं बलौघं.

परिग्रह (at the end of a compound) 'favoured or taken under protection', 5. 99. 7 कुलं विष्णुपरिग्रहं ; 'taken in marriage as a bride', 172. 22 त्वं च भीष्मपरिग्रहः.

परिच्छद 'parapharnelia, goods and chattle, retinue' (Dev. परिवार), 5. 39. 33 परिच्छदेन क्षत्रेण वेश्मना परिचर्यया। परीक्षेत कुलं राजन् भोजनाच्छादनेन च ॥ ; 146. 28 पानस्य सापाल्यपरिच्छदस्य; 147. 35 प्रयच्छ राज्यार्धमपेतमोहः सवाहनं च सपरिच्छदं च.

परिद्यून 'poor, miserable' 1. 194. 7 (कृष्णा) परिद्यूनान्वृतवती किमुताद्य मृजावतः (Dev. भैक्ष्यभुक्).

परिवर्त 'lapse of time' (Arj. युग ; Sarv. युगान्त), 5. 109. 15 परिवर्तसहस्राणि.

परिवर्तित 'received back', 5. 142. 25 योऽसौ कानीनगर्भो मे पुत्रवत्परिवर्तितः.

परिवाप 'region', 5. 109. 2 उत्तरस्य हिरण्यस्य परिवापस्य (Arj. विस्तारस्य ; Sarv. स्थानस्य).

परिवारित (with instrumental) 'surrounded by', 5. 87. 20 कुरुभिः परिवारितः ; 123. 22 (=128. 32) राजभिः परिवारितं ; 135. 1 उपोपविष्टा नारीभिराश्रमे परिवारिता ; 155. 17 सैन्येन महता परिवारितः ; 173. 9 तापसैः परिवारिता ; 178. 13 ब्राह्मणैः परिवारितः ; 196. 9 मातृभिः परिवारितः. परिवार्य 5. 149. 62 परिवार्य ययुः सर्वे वासुदेवधनंजयौ ; 179. 21 प्रेक्षकाः समपद्यन्त परिवार्य रणाजिरं. परिवारण, probably 'retinue, following' (but Dev. सर्वतो संश्रयणीयतामिति यावत्), 5. 38. 34 अपि संक्षीणकोशोऽपि लभते परिवारणं.

परिष्कार 'decoration' (Dev. Arj. मण्डन), 5. 92. 18 हेमपरिष्काराः (रथाः); 170. 22 ध्वजान् हेमपरिष्कृतान्.

परिसंवत्सर or **परिवत्सर** 'one whole year' 1. 136. 1 परिसंवत्सरोषितान्; 4. 4. 8 परिवत्सरं; 5. 93. 41 द्वादशेमानि वर्षाणि वने निर्व्युषितानि नः। त्रयोदशं तथा ज्ञातैः सजने परिवत्सरं.

परिस्तर 'a round-circling projectile' (HOPKINS, आस्तर) 5. 152. 4.

परिस्तोम 'a form of Vedic chant at sacrifice', 5. 139. 41.

परीत 'contrary, perverse, inverted' (= विपरीत Dev.), 'doomed' (प्रेत Sarv.), 5. 86. 19 परीतो धृतराष्ट्रायं तव पुत्रः सुमन्दधीः (*v. l.* S mostly परेतः). बुद्धिः परीता, 5. 34. 80 सेयं बुद्धिः परीता ते पुत्राणां; 3. 31. 17 राजन् परीतया बुद्ध्या विषमेऽक्षपराजये. परीतकाल 'one whose days are gone or numbered', 5. 128. 18 परीतकालास्ते पुत्राः. कालपरीत 'doomed to death' 5. 58. 23 मद्द्वितीयं पुनः पार्थं कः प्रार्थयितुमिच्छति। यो न कालपरीतो वाप्यपि साक्षात्पुरन्दरः॥.

पर्यय (= विपर्यय?) 'misfortune', 5. 75. 14 नातिप्रणीतरश्मिः स्यात्तथा भवति पर्यये। विषादमृच्छेद् ग्लानिं वा. See पर्याय below.

पर्याय 'probability, reason' (Dev. हेतुः क्रमो वा; Sarv. युक्तिः), 5. 71. 7 न पर्यायोऽस्ति यत्साम्यं त्वयि कुर्युर्विशां पते; 86. 12 न पर्यायोऽस्ति यद्राजञ्छ्रियं निष्केवलामहम्। तैः सहेमामुपाश्नीयां; 'lapse of time', 5. 147. 21 अथ कालस्य पर्याये; 188. 14 कालपर्ययात्; 'rotation or succession (of effect)', 5. 75. 5. पर्यायं न व्यवस्यन्ति दैवमानुषयोर्जनाः. पर्यायधर्म 'the regular development or course of things' (Dev. क्रमधर्मः; Sarv. पर्यायेण सुखदुःखभागः पर्यायः स एव धर्मः), 5. 38. 30 लोकपर्यायवृत्तान्तं प्राज्ञो जानाति नेतरः; 50. 58 मन्ये पर्यायधर्मोऽयं कालस्यात्यन्तगामिनः; 72. 12 पर्यायकाले धर्मस्य प्राप्ते बलिरजायत; 158. 26 न तु पर्यायधर्मेण सिद्धिं प्राप्नोति भूयसीं; 158. 23 पर्यायात्सिद्धिरेतस्य नैतत्सिध्यति कत्थनात्; 'synonym' 5. 132. 13 दारिद्र्यमिति यत्प्रोक्तं पर्यायमरणं हि तत् (Dev. नामान्तरेण मरणं).

पर्वकारः, 5. 35. 39 (Dev. पर्वसु मूल्यं गृहीत्वा क्रियाः कारयन्).

पारक्य 'belonging to another' (opposed to स्वक), 5. 116. 14 कामतो हि धनं राजा पारक्यं यः प्रयच्छति.

पारणीय 'capable of accomplishment', 5. 26. 20 यद्यत्कर्णो मन्यते पारणीयं युद्धे गृहीतायुधमर्जुनेन. अपारणीय 'unattainable', 5. 44. 22 अपारणीयं तमसः परस्तात्.

पांसुविकर्षण 'children's playing with dust' (= पांसुक्रीडन), 5. 166. 24 = (var.) 1. 119. 15 जवे लक्ष्यस्य हरणे भोज्ये पांसुविकर्षणे. But Dev. explains: पांसूनां सूक्ष्माणामपि खण्डने.

पिण्डेन *adv.* 'in the aggregate', 1. 2. 24 अक्षौहिण्यो द्विजश्रेष्ठाः पिण्डेनाष्टादशैव ताः.

पिपीलिकपुट 'ant-hill', 5. 153. 2 दीर्यते युद्धमादाय पिपीलिकपुटं यथा.

पुटभेदन 'city' (Dev. पुर), 1. 94. 10 स हास्तिनापुरे रम्ये कुरूणां पुटभेदने (वसत्).

पुण्डरीक *masc.* 'a kind of sacrifice', 3. 31. 16; 5. 117. 7; 120. 3.

पुनः in the sense of पुनः पुनः (*v. l.* S मुहुः), 5. 141. 49 पुनरुच्चारयन् वाणीं याहि याहीति सारथिं.

पुरुषमानिन् 'one fancying oneself to be a man or hero', 5. 39. 59 स्त्रीधूर्तकेऽलसे चैव चण्डे पुरुषमानिनि ; 56. 3 महारथौ समाख्यातावुभौ पुरुषमानिनौ.

पुष्कर 'a kind of drum', 5. 92. 20 प्रावाद्यन्तैकपुष्कराः ; 153. 27 ततो भेरींश्च शङ्खांश्च शतशश्चैव पुष्करान् । वादयामासुरव्यग्राः पुरुषा राजशासनात् ॥ ; 'the pole of the chariot or the wooden frame to which the yoke is joined', 5. 50. 34 कुर्वन्रथान्विपुरुषान् विध्वजान् भग्नपुष्करान् (Dev. Arj. भग्नकराग्रान् ; *v. l.* ०कूबरान्).

पुष्पशकुन 'a kind of bird', Phasianus Gallus, according to MW ; कुक्कुट according to Sarv., 5. 141. 7.

पूग 'group or multitude', पूगवैर 'enmity towards a body of persons', 5. 33. 96 ; 35. 36 ; पूगयाज्ञिक 'offering sacrifice for a number of deities', 1. 64. 33. Also वर्षपूग 5. 27. 7, 16 ; 157. 4 ; 166. 1 ; राजपूग 1. 61. 61 ; पक्षिपूग 5. 22. 16 ; द्वादशपूगा सरित् 5. 45. 7.

पोथिका (also अवपोथिका) 'some kind of missile', 5. 152. 3.

प्रकाश 'manifest', (Comm. प्रकट), 1. 88. 21 मातामहोऽहं भवतां प्रकाशः.

प्रक्रांति √भज् 'to die', 5. 71. 16 प्रक्रांतिं ते भजिष्यन्ति नष्टप्रकृतयो जनाः.

प्र + √कृप्. See √कृष् .

प्रगृह्य 'lifting up', 5. 160. 2 अभ्यभाषत कौन्तेयं प्रगृह्य विपुलं भुजं (भीमः).

प्रग्रह 'obstinacy, evil intent', 5. 90. 3 दुरात्मा प्रग्रहं गतः (Arj. प्रौढभाव, दुर्ग्रह ; Sarv. असदभिनिवेश); but ग्रह 'state, condition or good fortune', 5. 132. 24 माहेन्द्रं च ग्रहं लेभे लोकानां चेश्वरोऽभवत् (Dev. Arj. ग्रहं सोमरसपानपात्रं, प्रग्रहमिति पाठे प्रग्रहं संमानं !).

प्रति 'in respect of', 'with reference to', 5. 86. 1 अनुरक्तो ह्यसंहार्यो पार्थान् प्रति जनार्दनः ; 118. 20 (राजानः) दृष्ट्वा पप्रच्छुरन्योन्यं ययातिं नृपतिं प्रति ; 1. 1. 69 धर्मोपनिषदं प्रति. चिरं प्रति 'for a long time', 5. 94. 20 आतिथ्यं दीयतामेतत्काङ्क्षितं मे चिरं प्रति.

प्रतिबन्धु 'relative', 5. 119. 13 चतुर्षु प्रतिबन्धुषु मध्ये निपतितो राजा.

प्रतिवासित 'dressed', 5. 54. 5. ते युधिष्ठिरमासीनमजिनैः प्रतिवासितम् । कृष्णप्रधानाः संहत्य पर्युपासन्त भारत ॥ (*v. l.* S परिवारितं).

प्रतिवेल *adv.* 'every time', 5. 152. 30 दिवसे दिवसे तेषां प्रतिवेलं च भारत.

प्रतिभय *adj.* 'exciting fear, terrible', 5. 154. 4 रणयज्ञे प्रतिभये स्वाभीले लोमहर्षणे ; 154. 26 तथा प्रतिभये तस्मिन् देवदानवसंकुले । खाण्डवे युध्यमानस्य कः सहायस्तदाभवत् . प्रतिभयाकार, *adj.* 1. 202. 25 जगत्प्रतिभयाकारं दुष्प्रेक्ष्यमभवत्तदा.

प्रतिसमासितुं 'to withstand', 5. 80. 11 शक्ष्यन्ति हि महाबाहो पाण्डवाः सृञ्जयैः सह । धार्तराष्ट्रबलं घोरं क्रुद्धं प्रतिसमासितुम् ॥.

प्रतीत 'pleased, delighted', 5. 1. 1 विश्रम्य चत्वार्युषसः प्रतीताः ; 33. 94 न स्वे सुखे वै कुरुते प्रहर्षं नान्यस्य दुःखे भवति प्रतीतः ; 117. 20 मनसाभिप्रतीतेन कन्यामिदमुवाच ह ; 'resolved, contented', 145. 19 अराजा चोर्ध्वरेताश्च यथा सुविदितं तव । प्रतीतो निवसाम्येष प्रतिज्ञामनुपालयन् ; 'departed, 134. 4 शोचन्तमनुशोचन्ति प्रतीतानिव बान्धवान् ; 'learned, wise', 81. 8 ब्राह्मणाभीं प्रतीतानामृषीणामिव वासवः. प्रतीतरूप 'of delightful or dignified appearance', 1. 40. 11 (Dev. प्रख्यातरूप).

प्रतीप 'rival', 5. 139. 16 वृतवान् परमं हृष्टः प्रतीपं सव्यसाचिनः ; 'hostile act', 5. 50. 23 प्रतीपानि कुर्वन्.

प्रत्यमित्र 'opposed as an enemy, hostile', 5. 125. 10 अशक्ताः पाण्डवाः कृष्ण प्रहृष्टाः प्रत्यमित्रवत्.

प्रत्यर्थेन 'in opposition or hostility', 5. 49. 1 श्रुत्वेमा बहुलाः सेनाः प्रत्यर्थेन समागताः ; 56. 1 कांस्तत्र संजयापश्यः प्रत्यर्थेन समागतात् (*v. l.* in both cases, S प्रीत्यर्थेन).

प्रथमोत्पतित 'becoming rich for the first time, nouveaux riches', 5. 38. 39 येऽर्थाः स्त्रीषु समासक्ताः प्रथमोत्पतितेषु च। ये चानार्यसमासक्ताः सर्वे ते संशयं गताः॥ (Dev. तत्क्षणेनाढ्यतां गतेषु).

प्रधि 'the felly of a wheel', 5. 50. 58 चक्रप्रधिदिरवासक्तो नास्य शक्यं पलायितुं.

प्रभवाप्यय. See अप्यय.

प्रलब्ध 'seized', 5. 127. 12 स एव मन्युकामाभ्यां प्रलब्धो मोहमास्थितः। 132. 28 प्रलब्धस्य हि शत्रोर्वै शेषं कुर्वन्ति साधवः (but Dev. जितकाशिनः !).

प्रवाद, at the end of a compound, 'allegation, report', 5. 131. 27 कलिपुत्रप्रवादेन संजय त्वामजीजनम्.

प्रवारण 'fulfilment of a wish', 5. 7. 15 प्रवारणं तु बालानां पूर्वं कार्यमिति श्रुतिः (Dev. इच्छापालनं) ; 7. 18 तद्वृणीतां भवानग्रे प्रवार्यस्त्वं हि धर्मतः (Dev. पालनीयाभिलाषः).

प्रवेरित 'cast away, hurled', 5. 173. 5 येनाहं वीर्यशुल्केन पण्यस्त्रीव प्रवेरिता (Arj. प्रक्षिप्ता ; *v. l.* S प्रवेशिता, also प्रचोदिता, प्रचारिता etc.); 1. 17. 23 प्रवेरितं वियति मुहुः क्षितौ तदा (*v. l.* प्रवेपितं, प्रचोदितं) ; 1. 68. 73 यथा हिमवतः पृष्ठे निर्माल्येव प्रवेरिता. Probably irregularly formed as प्र + अव + ईरित ; see PW. But MW suggests √वेल् 'to toss, agitate'. See *ABORI*, xxvi, 1945, p. 289-90.

प्रसक्त 'intense, continual', 5. 9. 45 ततो युद्धं समभवत्...प्रसक्तं.

प्र + √सह् 'to attack, overwhelm', 5. 65. 6 असूया हि त्वां प्रसहेत राजन् ; 127. 14 भिन्नं हि स्वजनेन त्वां प्रसहिष्यन्ति शत्रवः. प्रसह्य 'attacking with force or violence', 5. 2. 11 संरम्भमाणो विजितः प्रसह्य ; 47. 68 उत्साद्य राज्ञां विषयं प्रसह्य ; 128. 5 वयमेव हृषीकेशं निगृह्णीम बलादिव। प्रसह्य पुरुषव्याघ्रं ; 128. 19 इमं हि पुण्डरीकाक्षमभिभूय प्रसह्य च ; 172. 5 नाहमिच्छामि भीष्मेण गृहीतां त्वां प्रसह्य वै ; as *adj*. 'capable' (= शक्य) 5. 36. 60 प्रसह्य एव वातेन शाखास्कन्धं विमर्दितुं. Also वि + √सह् apparently in the same sense, 5. 3. 16 मां चापि विषहेत्को नु कश्च भीमं दुरासदं ; 41. 11 विषहेरन् भयामर्षौ ; 131. 33 पुरं विषहते यस्मात्तस्मात्पुरुष उच्यते ; 'to bear up against, to withstand', 5. 21. 6 को नु पाण्डुसुतं युद्धे विषहेत धनंजयं ; 25. 11 रणे प्रसोढुं विषहेत राजन् ; 47. 73 क एनं विषहेत मर्त्यः ; 54. 34 गदाप्रहारं भीमो मे न जातु विषहेद्युधि ; 149. 32 द्वैरथे विषहेन्नान्यो भीष्मं.

प्रसृत (with the word इन्द्रिय) 'moved, urged', 5. 34. 59 इन्द्रियैः प्रसृतो बालः सुदुःखं मन्यते सुखं ; 122. 34 इन्द्रियैः प्रसृतो लोभाद्धर्मं विप्रजहाति यः. Is it equivalent to लब्धप्रसर ?

प्रसृताग्रभुज् 'one who eats first the handful of groats', 5. 80. 17 गुरुर्हि सर्ववर्णानां ब्राह्मणः प्रसृताग्रभुक्.

प्रस्थान 'conduct, dealing', 5. 25. 5 सर्वैर्धर्मैः समुपेताः स्थ पार्थाः प्रस्थानेन मार्दवेनार्जवेन.

प्राज्ञमानिन् 'one who fancies himself to be wise' (cf. पुरुषमानिन्), 5. 90. 4 कामात्मा प्राज्ञमानी च मित्रध्रुक् सर्वशङ्कितः. Also प्रज्ञाभिमानिन्, 5. 39. 50 प्रज्ञाभिमानिनं चैव श्रीर्भयान्नोपसर्पति.

प्रातिपीय patronymic, 5. 37. 18 ; 56. 2, 7 ; 57. 17. Equally authenti. cated form is प्रातिपेय 5. 23. 9 ; 56. 56 ; प्रातीप 5. 146. 2.

प्रातिपौरुषिक 'relating to manliness or valour', 5. 71. 26 प्रातिपौरुषिकान् गुणान् तव संकीर्तयिष्यामि.

प्रातिप्रस्थानिकं कर्म 'the office of the Pratiprasthātṛ priest in the somagraha of that name', 5. 139. 42.

प्रातिभाव्य 'the act of becoming a surety', 5. 33. 91 न दुर्बलः प्रातिभाव्यं करोति.

प्रादेश 'measure of length', (between the extended thumb and forefinger, according to Comm.), 5. 166. 20 प्रादेशेनाधिकाः पुंभिः (Dev. विततागुष्ठतर्जन्योः प्रमाणेन).

प्राप्त 'authoritative (= प्र + आप्त), right, expedient', 5. 91. 3 सत्यं प्राप्तं च युक्तं चाप्येवमेव यथात्थ मां ; 122. 22 यस्तु निःश्रेयसं श्रुत्वा प्राप्तमेवाभिपद्यते। आत्मनो मतमुत्सृज्य स लोके सुखमेधते ; 148. 5 यदत्र युक्तं प्राप्तं च तद्विधत्स्व विशां पते.

प्रास 'sharp projectile, lance', 5. 152. 7.

प्रोष्ठपदौ, names of a double Nakṣatra, the Uttara- and Pūrva-Bhādrapada, 5. 112. 3.

फल्गु 'the feeblest part of an army' which is classified into सार, मध्य and फल्गु, 5. 152. 1 नरहास्तिरथाश्वानां सारं मध्यं च फल्गु च। सर्वेष्वेतेष्वनीकेषु संदिदेश महीपतिः.

फेनप. See उष्णप.

बड (spelt as बल in 1. 85. 4 ; 3. 263. 22) 'a carnivorous bird', 5. 47. 98 गृध्रा बडाश्चैव तरक्षवश्च ; 141. 18 गृध्राः काका बडाः श्येना यातुधानाः शलावृकाः ; 179. 3 गृध्रकङ्कबडाशनं ; 183. 23 गृध्रा बडाश्च कङ्काश्च (*v. l.* बल or बळ in most cases).

बिभीषा 'desire to frighten' (= विभीषयिषा), 1. 11. 4 यथावीर्यस्त्वया सर्पः कृतोऽयं मद्बिभीषया.

बुद्धिनिस्रव 'stream of of intelligence', 5. 197. 11 मोहयन् धृतराष्ट्रस्य पुत्राणां बुद्धिनिस्रवं.

बुद्धिसत्तम 'of superior understanding', 5. 87. 25 प्रीयमाणस्य सुहृदो विदुषो बुद्धिसत्तमः.

बुध्यवज्ञान 'disregard of understanding', 5. 39. 2 अप्राप्तकालं वचनं बृहस्पतिरपि ब्रुवन्। लभते बुध्यवज्ञानमवमानं च भारत ॥ (but Dev. मूर्खता).

ब्रह्मभूय with √गम्, 'becoming one with Brahman (= ब्रह्मभाव), 1. 56. 58 धूतपाप्मा जितस्वर्गो ब्रह्मभूयं स गच्छति.

भव existence, well-being', 5. 25. 8 ततः कुरूणां नियतो वै भवः स्यात् (Dev. उत्तरोत्तरसत्ता) ; 34. 5 भवमिच्छन् कुरून्प्रति ; 39. 54 विद्धि मूलं भवस्य तत् (Dev. विभूतेः).

भवाभव 5. 39. 1 अनीश्वरोऽयं पुरुषो भवाभवे (Dev. उत्पत्तिविनाशे). विनाभव 5. 88. 68 न मां माधव वैधव्यं...तथा शोकाय भवति यथा पुत्रैर्विनाभवः. पुत्रभव 5. 116. 15 ददात्यतो भवान् मम। कुमारीं देवगर्भाभामेकपुत्रभवाय मे. पुनर्भव 5. 157. 11 राज्यस्य च पुनर्भवः. न√भू 'cease to exist', 5. 32. 21 अकालिकं कुरवो नाभविष्यन्; 86. 21 तव पुत्रः सहामात्यः क्षणेन न भविष्यति ; 128. 20 आसाद्य न भविष्यन्ति पतङ्गा इव पावकं ; 128. 52 पतङ्गोऽग्निमिवासाद्य सामात्यो न भविष्यति. Similarly न√अस् , 5. 47. 90 (=5. 47. 95) युध्यमाना धार्तराष्ट्रा न सन्ति ; 127. 48 धृष्टद्युम्ने च संक्रुद्धे न स्युः सर्वाः प्रजा ध्रुवं.

भाण्ड 'trappings or equipment for horse', 5. 152. 17 हेमभाण्डपरिच्छदाः (हयाः) ; 197. 8 भाण्डं समारोपयतां.

भावितात्मन् 'devout, emancipated', 5. 92. 43 मुनीनां भावितात्मनां.

भारप्रत्यवर (कर्म) 'inferior (work) by reason of carrying loads', 5. 35. 65. See जङ्गजघन्य above.

भास 'a bird of prey, vulture', 1. 123. 46 कृत्रिमं भासमारोप्य वृक्षाग्रे शिल्पिभिः कृतं ; 123. 47 भासमेतं समुद्दिश्य तिष्ठन्तां संहितेषवः.

√भुज् 'to bend', 5. 73. 8 आरुज्य वृक्षान्निर्मूलान् गजः परिभुजन्निव. भुज = curve (Nīl. कौटिल्य), 5. 23. 20 मौर्वीभुजाग्रप्रहितान् (बाणान्) (= curve of the drawn bowstring).

भोज्या 'princess of the Bhojas', epithet of Rukmiṇī, 5. 47.68.

मताक्ष 'skilled in dice', 5. 30. 18 ; 128. 2 ; 4. 1. 20.

मतिक्षय 'dwelling in or governing the mind', 5. 34. 65 यः पञ्चाभ्यन्तराञ्छत्रूनविजित्य मतिक्षयान् .

मध्वक्ष 'having honey-coloured eyes', 5. 50. 20 अव्यक्तजल्पी मध्वक्षो मध्यमः पाण्डवो बली ; 192. 23 यक्षः स्थूणो मध्वक्षसंयुतः.

मनुष्यकार 'human exertion' (= पुरुषकार), 5. 32. 22. See अमानुष्य (= अपौरुष) above. मानुष्यकं कर्म 'manly deeds', 5. 131. 14.

मन्त्रविस्रव 'breach of counsel' (= मन्त्रभेद), 5. 33. 44 सराष्ट्रं सप्रजं हन्ति राजानं मन्त्रविस्रवः.

मन्थान 'churning rod', 5. 100. 11 मन्थानं मन्दरं कृत्वा.

महत् with √अश् or √विद्, 'greatness or highest knowledge', 5. 36. 50 तपसा विन्दते महत् ; 131. 31 निरीहो नाश्नुते महत् .

महाजन 'multitude of men', 5. 33. 41 एकः पापानि कुरुते फलं भुङ्क्ते महाजनः.

महात्यय 'great evil or harm', 5. 174. 13 यथा परेऽपि लोके मे न स्यादेवं महात्ययः ; *adj*. 178. 21 जानन् स्त्रीणां दोषान्महात्ययान् .

महामात्र 'a man of high rank', 5. 22. 36 जनार्दनं चापि समेत्य तात महामात्रं ; 84. 2 महामना महावीर्यो महामात्रो जनार्दनः ; 141. 37 त्रय एते महामात्राः ; 1. 2. 216 संजयश्च महामात्रः.

महास्राव See आस्राव.

माचिरं *adv*. 'not long, quickly, without delay', 5. 96. 25 तस्माद्गच्छाव माचिरं ; 97. 20 अन्यतो व्रज माचिरं ; 102. 7 ; 104. 26 (= 105. 19) गच्छ गालव माचिरं ; 150. 16 ; 177. 5 ; 178. 22 etc. See नाचिर.

मात्रा 'right measure', 5. 33. 86 जानाति मात्रां च तथा क्षमां च (*v. l.* S mostly पथ्यं). मात्रावत् 'of limited duration', 5. 27. 14 मात्रावता हृदयस्य प्रियेण (Dev. मानवता क्षयिणा); मात्रार्थे 'for a trifle', 5. 33. 70 न मात्रार्थे रोचयते विवादं (Dev. Arj. स्वल्पे वस्तुनि; Nil. अल्पार्थे); अर्थमात्रा 5. 75. 13 तत्रेयमर्थमात्रा मे भीमसेन विवक्षिता (Dev. अर्थगुणाः); नीतिमात्र 5. 70. 49 बलं तु नीतिमात्राय हठे जयपराजयौ (Dev. नीतिरक्षणाय).

माया 'sorcery, witchcraft, supernatural power', 5. 47. 11 मायोपधः; 35. 35 न छन्दांसि वृजिनात्तारयन्ति मायाविनं मायया वर्तमानं; 94. 29 तेषामक्षीणि कर्णांश्च नस्तकांश्चैव मायया। निमित्तवेधी स मुनिरीषिकाभिः समर्पयत्॥; 98. 1 दैत्यानां दानवानां च मायाशतविचारिणां; 98. 3; 169. 6 etc.; 'duplicity', 5. 67. 5 मायां न सेवे भद्रं ते न वृथाधर्ममाचरे; 91. 8 सोऽहं यतिष्ये प्रशमं क्षत्तः कर्तुममायया; 121. 15 न शाठ्येन न मायाभिर्लोको भवति शाश्वतः.

मारिष a respectful form of address, 5. 57. 18 यावद्धि सूच्यास्तीक्ष्णाया विध्येदग्रेण मारिष (*v. l.* S भारत); also see *v. l.* in 5. 163. 5^{b}.

मांसयोनि 'flesh-born creature, mortal', 5. 53. 11 अप्यर्णवा विशुष्येयुः किं पुनर्मांसयोनयः

√**मिष्** 'to wink', 5. 160. 8 मिषतां सर्वधन्विनां ('before the winking eyes of'); 1. 196. 24 मिषतः सर्वलोकस्य.

मुख at the end of a compound, 'leading to or chief among', (See अर्धर्चादिगण to Pāṇini 2. 4. 31), 1. 7. 16 देवमुखः (अग्निः) 5. 149. 50 पञ्चाला भीमसेनमुखा ययुः. प्रमुखे 'at the head of', 5. 56. 11 स तस्य सेनाप्रमुखे धृष्टद्युम्नो महामनाः. मुख्य 5. 11. 8, 9 पिबन्ती वारिमुख्यानि, चरन्ती शष्पमुख्यानि.

मुखप्रेक्ष *adj*. 'looking up to one's face for favour', 3. 222. 5 (पाण्डवाः) मुखप्रेक्षाश्च ते सर्वे.

√**मूर्च्छ्** 'to rouse, excite or increase', 5. 22. 39 तत्तद्भाषेथाः संजय राजमध्ये न मूर्च्छयेद् यन्न भवेच्च युद्धं; 29. 3 कस्मादेषां कलहो नात्र मूर्च्छेत्; 3. 3. 92 न मूर्च्छितः कटुकान्याह किंचित्; 50. 3 पश्यामीवाग्रतो भीमं क्रोधमूर्च्छितमाहवे; 96. 24 (सलिलं) तमसा मूर्च्छितं याति (*v. l.* mostly S मिश्रतां).

मृगचक्र 'zodiac' according to MW (quoting Divyāvadāna), 5. 47. 93 दिव्याः प्रश्ना मृगचक्रा मुहूर्ताः (*v. l.* S ग्रहचर्या), Dev. taking the phrase adjectivally explains : शुभाशुभफलप्रदाः।

मेढीभूत 'become the central pivot', 5. 36. 71 मेढीभूतः कौरवाणां त्वमद्य (*v. l.* S मेधीभूतः).

मौला 'existing originally or from generation to generation' (Dev. पारंपर्यागता), 5. 165. 18 भिन्ना हि सेना...मौलापि पुरुषव्याघ्र किमु नाना समुत्थिता.

यतस्ततः 'by whatsoever means', 5. 67. 19 बुद्धिश्च मा ते च्यवतु नियच्छैतां यतस्ततः; 177. 5 मम दुःखं भगवता व्यपनेयं यतस्ततः.

यत्रतत्रशय: 'lying down here and there', 5. 97. 14 यत्रतत्रशयो नित्यं येन केनचिदाशितः। येनकेनचिदाच्छन्नः स गोव्रत इहोच्यते. यत्रसायंगृह 1. 41. 1 चचार पृथिवीं कृत्स्नां यत्रसायंगृहो मुनिः.

यथा 'properly, correctly' (= यथावत्), 1. 82. 2 फलमूलाशनो दान्तो यथा स्वर्गमितो गतः. यथावत् 5. 16. 29 स तान् यथावत्प्रतिभाष्य शक्रः.

यथा as a particle of comparison, used pleonastically with इव (noticed in PW), 4. 13. 11 अधार्यमाणा स्रगिवोत्तमा यथा ; 13. 21 किं मातुरङ्के शयितो यथा शिशुश्चन्द्रं जिघृक्षुरिव मन्यसे मां ; 2. 33. 6 विचिक्षिपुर्यथा श्येना नभोगतमिवामिषं ; 5. 19. 15 काञ्चनैरिव संवृतं...कर्णिकारवनं यथा. See *JRAS*, 1940, p. 72.

यथोपजोषं according to inclination or pleasure', 1. 190. 4 गृह्णन्त्विमे विधिवत्पाणिमस्या यथोपजोषं विहितैषां हि कृष्णा ; 3. 111. 10 कौश्यां बृस्यामास्व यथोपजुषं.

यदि चेदपि 'even if', 1. 75. 13 तत्तेऽहं संप्रदास्यामि यदि चेदपि दुर्लभं.

√यम् with **उत्** 'to offer or present (as food)', 1. 42. 7 भविष्यति च या काचित् भैक्षवत्स्वयमुद्यता ; 42. 15 भैक्षवच्चोद्यता भवेत्.

युक्त 'intent upon, ready, well-versed', 5. 34. 11 युक्तो धर्मार्थयोर्ज्ञाने (= अभियुक्तः) ; 47. 92 संवत्सरा ज्योतिषि चापि युक्ताः ; 133. 30 स्पर्धिनश्चैव ये केचित्तान् युक्त उपधारय ; 160. 29 युक्ता तिष्ठत्यनीकिनी. See योग below.

युक्तरूप 'worthy, suitable', 5. 30. 41 पश्याम्यहं युक्तरूपांस्तथैव (Dev. विधैरनपेतान्).

योग 'knowledge of means or expedients, application, practice', 5. 34. 7 तथैव योगविहितं न सिध्येत्कर्म यन्नृप । उपाययुक्तं मेधावी न तत्र ग्लपयेन्मनः ; 34. 37 विद्या योगेन रक्षति (Dev. अभ्यासेन) ; 39. 43 मङ्गलालम्भनं योगः श्रुतमुत्थानमार्जवं (Dev. उपायज्ञता).

योग 'equipping or arraying an army, a call to arms', 5. 149. 48 योग इत्यथ सैन्यानां त्वरतां संप्रधावतां (Dev. संनहनं) ; 151. 17 योगमाज्ञापयामास ; 151. 18 आज्ञापिते तथा योगे समहृष्यन्त सैनिकाः ; 160. 29 आज्ञापयन्तो राज्ञस्तान् योगः प्रागुदयादिति ; 170. 15 योगो योग इति क्रुद्धाः सारथीं-श्चाप्यचोदयत्.

योगक्षेम 'prosperity, well-being', sometimes श्रेयस् , 5. 36. 55 योगक्षेमं कल्पते नोत तेषां ; 38. 38 येषु दुष्टेषु दोषः स्याद् योगक्षेमस्य भारत ; 123. 23 (= 127. 5) आदत्स्व शिवमत्यन्तं योगक्षेमवदव्ययं. See Adenda to Udyoga.

यौवन 'group of young persons, especially women', 1. 79. 6 यौवनेन चरेयं वै विषयास्तव पुत्रक.

रणाजि 'battle' (tautologous expressions), 5. 24. 6.

रथ 'warrior', also आतरथ, रथसत्तम, रथादार 'excellent warrior', 5. 56. 29; 149. 72 ; 162. 19 ; 166. 16 ; 167. 5 etc. रथवंश 'group of chariots', 5. 56. 42 ; 162. 3, 4 ; 168. 3 etc.

रथशक्ति 'the staff which supports the banner of a chariot' (PW), but HOPKINS (*JAOS*, xx, 1899, p. 30 ; xiii, p. 241) takes it to be a sharp-pointed polished heavy spear, apparently carried in a chariot, 5. 139. 37.

रभस *adj*. 'impetuous, violent', 5. 50. 10 बाल्येऽपि रभसः सदा.

रहित 'lonely place' (= एकान्त), 5. 42. 1 सनत्सुजातं रहिते महात्मा पप्रच्छ ; 65. 2 रहिते संजयं राजा परिप्रष्टुं प्रचक्रमे ; 65. 6 न त्वां ब्रूयां रहिते जातु किंचित् ; 184. 2 शयनं प्राप्य रहिते मनसा समचिन्तयं.

राद्धापराद्ध ‘propitiation and offence’, 5. 36. 17 नानर्थकं सान्त्वयति प्रतिज्ञाय ददाति च। राद्धापराद्धे जानाति यः स मध्यमपूरुषः॥ (Dev. सेवापराधौ).

रुशती *v. l.* रुषती) ‘hurting, injuring’, 5. 36. 7 तस्माद्वाचं रुशतीं रूक्षरूपां धर्मारामो नित्यशो वर्जयीत ; 73. 5 घोरामशान्तां रुशतीं सदा वाचं प्रभाषसे.

लता ‘creeper-like slender woman’, 1. 139. 18 विलज्जमानेव लता दिव्याभरणभूषिता। स्मितपूर्वमिदं वाक्यं भीमसेनमथाब्रवीत्.

लव ‘a minute fraction of time’, 5. 107. 4 त्रुटिशो लवशश्चात्र गण्यते कालनिश्चयः. See त्रुटि above.

लोकायतिक ‘experienced in the ways of the world’, 1. 64. 37 स्थापनाक्षेपसिद्धान्तपरमार्थज्ञतां गतैः। लोकायतिकमुख्यैश्च समन्तादनुनादितं॥ (Dev. लोक ऐन्द्रियिकं ज्ञानं तेनैव आयताः ‘materialist’).

लोक्य ‘conducive to the good of the world, customary, correct’, 5. 121. 7 चतुष्पादस्त्वया धर्माश्रितो लोक्येन कर्मणा (Dev. लोकहितेन); 122. 2 स्वर्ग्यं लोक्यं च मामात्थ धर्म्यं नाट्यं च केशव ; 1. 57. 6 लोक्यं धर्मं पालय त्वं ; 173. 2 जानता च परं धर्मं लोक्यं तेन महात्मना. पापलोक्य 1. 82. 8 ययास्य वाचा पर उद्विजेत न तां वदेद्रुशतीं पापलोक्यां.

लोप्त्रहार ‘thief, plunderer’, 1. 193. 6 ते लोप्त्रहारैः संधाय वध्यन्तामाप्तकारिभिः.

लोमवाहिन् ‘sharp enough to cut a hair’ or ‘quick as the eye-lashes, (Dev. अक्षिपक्ष्मवद् वहन्तीति शीघ्रचारित्वमुक्तं)’ usually applied to arrows, 5. 181. 29 अवाकिरन्मां विश्रब्धो बाणैस्तैर्लोमवाहिभिः.

लोहाभिहार ‘a military ceremony’, 5. 157. 18 लोहाभिहारो निर्वृत्तः कुरुक्षेत्रमकर्दमं (Dev. लोहेषु मन्त्रेण देवताह्वानम्, राज्ञां नीराजनविधिर्वा).

वणिज्याचार ‘tradesman’, 5. 38. 12 भृत्यैर्वणिज्याचारं च पुत्रैः सेवेत ब्राह्मणान्.

वत्सदन्त ‘a kind of arrow pointed like calf’s tooth’ (HOPKINS, p. 279), 5. 139. 38.

वध्यघात ‘hangman’, 1. 101. 11 स वध्यघातैरज्ञातः शूले प्रोतो महातपाः. वध्यघातिन् 1. 166. 28 संस्थानं वध्यघातिनां.

वध्र ‘leather strap’, 1. 26. 12 न तां वध्रः परिणहेत्.

वनज ‘lotus’, 1. 160. 40 वनजपत्राक्षी.

वनौक (for वनौकस्) ‘one living in the forest’, 5. 118. 3 शैलद्रुमवनौकानामासीदत्र समागमः ; but वनौकस् also ‘hermit’, in 1. 11. 5 तमवोचं वनौकसं ; 1. 116. 18 कथं त्वमभ्यतिक्रान्तः शापं जानन्वनौकसः.

वपुष्मत् ‘strong, handsome’, 5. 103. 27 वपुष्मता भुजेन ; 179. 12 दंशितः पाण्डुरेणाहं कवचेन वपुष्मता.

वर्ग ‘herd, one’s own class or set’, 2. 41. 17 वर्गपाल (applied to Kṛṣṇa); 5. 43. 11 वर्गप्रशंसिन्.

वर्म ‘the armour or covering of a horse’, 5. 82. 22 दारुकोऽपि हयान्मुक्त्वा परिचर्य च शास्त्रतः। मुमोच सर्वं वर्माणि मुक्त्वा चैनानवासृजत्॥.

वसती–ति ‘night where one stays to rest’, 1. 150. 8 शेते वसतीः सर्वाः (Cf. Mallinātha on Raghu xv. 11 where वसतिः is explained as रात्रिः); ‘dwelling, residence’, 5. 70. 40 यथा राज्यात्परिभ्रष्टो वसामि वसतीरिमाः.

वस्ति ‘a kind of (syringe-like ?) weapon’, 5. 152. 7.

वा particle of comparison (= इव), 1. 50. 16 दुष्प्रेक्षणीयोऽसि भगीरथो वा ; 213. 61 मखे निर्मथ्यमानाद्वा शमीगर्भाद् हुताशनः.

वातिक ‘sorcerer’, 5. 62. 21.

वासी ‘a sharp-pointed knife or axe used as a projectile’, 5. 152. 6. Explained by HOPKINS as ‘a concealed knife’, distinguished from नखर ‘a claw-knife’ ; but Dev. काण्डतक्षणशस्त्र.

वि + √कृ ‘to act in a hostile way’, 5. 128. 15 पुरा विकुर्वते मूढाः पापात्मानः समागताः ; 132. 33 यस्त्वादृशो विकुर्वीत यशस्वी लोकविश्रुतः ; 144. 16 अनवेक्ष्य कृतं पापा विकुर्वन्त्यनवस्थिताः. विकुर्वत् or विकुर्वाण with अस्त्र, ‘employing a special weapon’, 140. 6 ऐन्द्रमस्त्रं विकुर्वाणं ; 149. 30 दिव्यमस्त्रं विकुर्वतः.

विचरत् realising or ascertaining’, 5. 29. 4 तत्त्वं धर्मं विचरन् संजयेह.

विचिकित्सा ‘doubt’, 5. 43. 32 अभिजानामि ब्राह्मणमाख्यातारं विचक्षणं । यश्छिन्नविचिकित्सः सन्नाचष्टे सर्वसंशयान् ; 71. 23 मा राजन्विचिकित्सिथाः.

वितरण ‘one who crosses or passes over’, 5. 107. 14 अत्र वैतरणी नाम नदी वितरणैर्वृता.

विपण ‘wager’, 5. 35. 15 प्राणयोर्विपणे कृते.

वि-प्रति + √पद् ‘to think otherwise’, 5. 126. 17 मिथ्यावृत्तिरनार्यः सन्नद्य विप्रतिपद्यसे.

विप्रलब्ध ‘violated’, 1. 188. 6 अस्मिन्धर्मे विप्रलब्धे लोकवेदविरोधके.

विभावरी *adj*. ‘bright, brilliant’, 5. 131. 2 यशस्विनी मन्युमती कुले जाता विभावरी (but Nīl. कुपिता, which appears inadmissible).

विलग्नमध्या ‘a woman with a slender waist’, 1. 157. 6.

विवक्षा ‘doubt’ (Dev. संदेह), 5. 75. 1 न चाक्षेपान्न पाण्डित्यान्न क्रोधान्न विवक्षया ; 1. 85. 19 कीटा पतङ्गाश्च भवन्ति पापा न मे विवक्षास्ति महानुभाव ; 185. 23 न तत्र वर्णेषु कृता विवक्षा ; ‘censure’ (?), 5. 149. 41 धर्मस्य गतमानृण्यं न स्म वाच्या विवक्षता.

विवास (= प्रवास), 5. 12. 21 सदा विवासं पितरोऽस्य कुर्वते.

√विश् with **नि**, ‘to marry’. See निवेश.

विहेटक ‘reviler’, 1. 69. 8 अतीव जल्पन् दुर्वाचो भवतीह विहेटकः.

वीटा ‘a wooden or metallic ball used in a kind of game’, 1. 122. 12, 13 (Dev. कन्दुकसदृशमश्मकवर्णं कन्दुकं).

वीथी ‘path’, 5. 81. 63 क्व वीथी भवतामिह.

वीरकांस्य ‘garland (Dev. माला) used in Svayaṃvara’, 1. 176. 30. वीरकांस्यमुपादाय काञ्चनं समलंकृतं । अवतीर्णा ततो रङ्गं द्रौपदी.

वृक्षादन ‘axe’, 5. 152. 6 (Dev. Arj. बृहद्दात्रं).

वैद्य ‘versed in the Vedas’, 5. 6. 2 द्विजेषु वैद्याः श्रेयांसः; 130. 25; 1. 146. 1. चातुर्वैद्य 5. 138. 16 चातुर्वैद्यो द्विजातयः.

वैयाघ्रपरिवारण 'having a tiger-skin cover', applied to a chariot, 5. 81. 18 ; 138. 21 ; 179. 10. See *AEORI*, xxvi, 1945, p. 286–87.

वैहार्य 'playfulness, raillery', 5. 120. 8. 9 यथा बालेषु नारीषु वैहार्येषु तथैव च। संगरेषु निपातेषु तथापद्व्यसनेषु च ॥.

व्यपयान 'withdrawal', 5. 70. 52 तथैवापचयौ दृष्टौ व्यपयाने क्षयव्ययौ (Comm. पलायन).

व्यपेत 'gone apart, divided', 5. 36. 58 धूमायन्ते व्यपेतानि ज्वलन्ति सहितानि च.

व्यंसित 'deceived, humiliated', 5. 155. 13 व्यंसितो व्रीडितो राजन्नाजगाम स कुण्डिनं.

व्यायाम 'struggle, fight', 5. 136. 24 वग्व्यायत्तो महाबाहो शमो व्यायाम एव च.

√शक् 'a withstand (an enemy)', 1. 1. 133 महारथाः पार्थमक्नुवन्तः.

शंकर 'conferring prosperity' applied to Indra, 1. 57. 21.

शतघ्नी 'a kind of weapon discharging missiles', 5. 47. 13. See सहस्रघ्नी.

शतपत्र name of a bird (woodpecker ?), 5. 81. 25.

शरावाप. See हस्तवाप.

शर्म 'refuge, protection', 5. 128. 7 अयं ह्येषां महाबाहुः सर्वेषां शर्म वर्म च.

शलावृक 'hyena', 1. 71. 26 ; 5. 141. 18.

शस्त्रवर्ण 'having the colour of the rainbow' (शस्त्र = इन्द्रधनुस् according to Comm.), 5. 141. 25 पूर्वा दिक् लोहिताकारा शस्त्रवर्णा च दक्षिणा.

श्वाविद् (= श्वाविध्) 'porcupine', 1. 133. 22 श्वाविच्छरणमास्वाद्य (misunderstood by Comm.).

शास्त with दिश्, 'chastised or controlled by', 1. 184. 4 अगस्त्यशास्तामभितो दिशं तु ; 5. 141. 41 अगस्त्यशास्ता च दिशं प्रयाताः.

शास्त्र 'command, good counsel', 5. 122. 17 तिष्ठ तात पितुः शास्त्रे मातुश्च ; 122. 20 श्रुत्वा यः सुहृदां शास्त्रं मर्त्यो न प्रतिपद्यते ; 146. 20 अतिक्रामति यः शास्त्रं पितुर्धर्मार्थदर्शिनः ; 147. 8 न चातिष्ठत्पितुः शास्त्रे बलदर्पविमोहितः.

√शिक्ष्, desiderative of √शक्, 'to serve, to be suppliant', 3. 32. 39 ईश्वरं सर्वभूतानां धातारं...शिक्षस्वैनं नमस्वैनं ; 5. 52. 16 न तु नः शिक्षमाणानामुपेक्षेत युधिष्ठिरः.

शिलाहारिन् 'gleaners of stalks or ears of corn', 5. 34. 31 शिलाहारी शिलं यथा ; 1. 81. 13 शिलोञ्छवृत्तिमास्थाय.

शुक्त *adj*. 'acid, sour', 5. 30. 5 नोपस्तुतिं कटुकां नोत शुक्तां (numerous *v. l.*) ; a term used in Vaidyaka-śātra, but misunderstanding Dev. सूक्तां विलम्बिताक्रियां ; Arj. शुक्तामप्रियां, Sarv. शुक्तामश्लीलां.

शुक्र 'fire' 1. 221. 1 ततः प्रज्वलिते शुक्रे.

शुष्मिन् 'hissing, vigorous', 5. 136. 26 भीष्मस्य च महानादं नदतः शुष्मिणो रणे.

शून्य 'poor' (= दरिद्र), 5. 33. 38 यश्च शून्यमुपासते.

शृङ्ग 'horn of a baffalo (Dev. माहिषादेः) used as a weapon', 5. 152. 7.

श्वेतकाकीय 'rare, unusual (like a white cow)', 1. 43. 10 उपायैः श्वेतकाकीयैः (Dev. प्रसिद्धैर्वक्रचरितैर्वा !).

श्वेतोच्चय 'the Kailāsa mountain', 5. 101. 3 श्वेतोच्चयविभाकारः (Dev. कैलास).

शेष 'end, escape, emancipation', 1. 189. 23 द्रष्टा शेषस्य भगवंस्त्वं भवाद्य ; 189. 24 नैवंशीलाः शेषमिहाप्नुवन्ति ; 189. 25 शेषोऽप्येवं भविता वो न संशयः ; 5. 39. 28 शेषसंप्रतिपत्तिस्तु बुद्धिमत्स्वेव तिष्ठति ; 47. 9 न युध्यतां शेष इहास्ति कश्चित् ; 93. 33 त्वयि प्रकृतिमापन्ने शेषं स्यात् कुरुनन्दन ; 'what remains, the rest', 5. 70. 7 अनुबन्धश्च पापोऽत्र शेषश्चाप्यवशिष्यते ; 70. 58 शेषो हि बलमास्थाय न शेषमवशेषयेत्.

शेषवत् 'left alive, spread', 5. 20. 7 शेषवन्तो न शकिता नयितुं यमसादनं (Dev. अनुभुक्तायुः शालिनः) ; 39. 53 उद्यतेषु च शस्त्रेषु नास्ति शेषवतां भयं (Dev. आयुःशेषवतां).

श्रेष्ठभाज् 'the best' (= श्रेष्ठ PW), 1. 165. 7 (= 1. 167. 15 = 1. 168. 22) वसिष्ठः श्रेष्ठभागृषिः.

श्वोभूते 'on the morrow, the next day', 5. 75. 15 श्वोभूते धृतराष्ट्रस्य समीपं प्राप्य ; 150. 16 प्रयाणं घुष्यतामद्य श्वभूत इति माचिरं ; 150. 17 ते तथेति प्रतिज्ञाय श्वोभूते चक्रिरे तथा ; 160. 14 श्वोभूते कत्थनावाक्यं विज्ञास्यति सुयोधनः.

षण्ढतिल 'barren sesamum, a enuch or worthless person', 5. 158. 31 अवोचं यत्षण्ढतिलानहं वस्तथ्यमेव तत्.

संक्रन्दन *adj*. 'roaring, shouting', 5. 56 22 सहदेवस्तु माद्रेयः शूरः संक्रन्दनो युधि.

संक्लिष्टकर्मन् 'one who does anything with trouble or difficulty', 5. 37. 33 (*v. l.* संश्लिष्टकर्मन्). अक्लिष्टकर्मन् 5. 86. 21 कृष्णमक्लिष्टकर्माणमासाद्यायं सुदुर्मतिः ; 128. 11 कृष्णायाक्लिष्टकर्मणे.

संख्यातुं 'to calculate, consider, criticise', 5. 59. 1 ततः संख्यातुमारेभे तद्वचो गुणदोषतः.

संतार 'crossing', 1. 79. 19 उडुपप्लवसंतारो यत्र नित्यं भविष्यति ; 'ford', 5. 117. 8 नीयमानानि संतारे हृतान्यासन् वितस्तया.

संनति 'homage, respect', 5. 33. 80 स्वयूथेषु च संनतिः ; 137. 4 बहुमानः परो राजन् संनतिश्च कपिध्वजे ; संनत 'respected', 5. 61. 3 महापराधे ह्यपि संनतेन महर्षिणाहं गुरुणा च शप्तः.

संनय 'assembly' (Dev. सभा), 1. 180. 5 अस्मिन् राजसमावाये देवानामिव संनये.

संपन्न 'wealth, benefit', 5. 36. 56 संभाव्यं गोषु संपन्नं संभाव्यं ब्राह्मणे तपः ; 'dainty food, delicacy', 5. 33. 40 एकः संपन्नमश्नाति वस्ते वासश्च शोभनं ; 'filled with' 1. 14. 16 स पुत्रो रोषसंपन्नः शशाप ; संपत्ति 'accomplishment, attainment' 5. 127. 23 न लोभादर्थसंपत्तिर्नराणामिह दृश्यते. विपन्न 'failure', 5. 60. 21 नैतद्विपन्नपूर्वं मे मित्रेष्वरिषु चोभयोः. आपन्न 'afflicted, distressed, 5. 173. 4 तस्येयं फलनिर्वृत्तिर्यदापन्नास्मि मूढवत्.

संबन्धक relationship by birth, friendship', 5. 5. 3 किंतु संबन्धकं तुल्यमस्माकं कुरुपाण्डुषु ; 167. 10 संबन्धकेन राजेन्द्र तौ सुवीर्यबलान्वयात् ; 192. 6 संबन्धकं चैव समर्थ्य तस्मिन् दाशार्णके ; 'courtesy of a relative', 5. 87. 20 आस्ते संबन्धकं कुर्वन् कुरुभिः परिवारितः.

संभाव्य 'to be expected', 5. 36. 56 संभाव्यं गोषु संपन्नं संभाव्यं ब्राह्मणे तपः। संभाव्यं स्त्रीषु चापल्यं संभाव्यं ज्ञातितो भयं ; 'doubtful' (= संदिग्ध), 5. 133. 37 शत्रुं कृत्वा यः सहायं विश्वासमुपगच्छति । अतः संभाव्यमेवैतद्यद्राज्यं प्राप्नुयादिति.

संभूय ‘being united, combined’, 5. 146. 12 संभूय भ्रातृभिः सार्धं भुङ्क्ष्व भोगाञ्जनाधिप.

संयुक्त ‘related, worthy’, 5. 102. 13 सखा शक्रस्य संयुक्तः कस्यायं नेप्सितो भवेत् (Dev. उचितः) ; 149. 9 संयुक्त एकदुःखश्च वीर्यवांश्च महीपतिः.

संरम्भ thoughtlessness, agitation, vehemence, anger’, 5. 33. 90 न संरम्भेणारभतेऽर्थवर्गं ; 90. 5 श्रेयोऽपि न संरम्भाद् ग्रहीष्यति ; 121. 20 संरम्भं त्यज पार्थिव ; 126. 29 धर्मार्थावभिसंत्यज्य संरम्भं योऽनुमन्यते ; 104. 25 किंचिदागतसंरम्भः ; 128. 1 पुनः प्रतस्थे संरम्भात् ; 178. 13 संरम्भादब्रवीद्रामः क्रोधपर्याकुलेक्षणः. संरम्भिन् 5. 26. 13 ; 90. 2. संरब्ध 91. 16 शक्तो नावारयत्कृष्णः संरब्धान् कुरुपाण्डवान् ; 128. 25 एतान् हि सर्वान् संरब्धान्नियन्तुमहमुत्सहे.

संवनन ‘propitiation, making well disposed’, 1. 82. 12 न हीदृशं संवननं त्रिषु लोकेषु विद्यते । यथा मैत्री च भूतेषु दानं च मधुरा च वाक् ॥ (Dev. वशीकरणं).

संवाहनक्रिया ‘marriage rite’, 5. 146. 10 (*v. l.* S वैवाहिकक्रिया). See आवह.

संविभागी ‘disposed to share with others’, 5. 38. 10, 36 (असंविभागी)

संवृत ‘seized’, 5. 20. 6 न प्राप्तं पैतृकं द्रव्यं धार्तराष्ट्रेण संवृतं (Dev. गृहीतं).

सं + √वेष्ट् ‘to turn round, shrink’, 5. 47. 42 सिंहस्येव गन्धमाघ्राय गावः संवेष्टन्ते शत्रवोऽस्माद्यथाग्नेः ; 34. 27 प्रतिसंवेष्टते भूमिरग्नौ चर्माहितं यथा.

संस्थानचारिन् , PW takes it as a wrong form for स-स्थास्नु-चारिन् ‘along with movables and immovables’; but Dev. (on 1. 179. 11) explains as मरणधर्मकेषु. 1. 179. 11 न च तद्विद्यते किंचित्कर्म लोकेषु यद्भवेत् । ब्राह्मणानामसाध्यं च त्रिषु संस्थानचारिषु ॥ (*v. l* सस्थाणुचारिषु, चरेषु स्थावरेषु च, घृष्णुस्थास्नुचरिष्णु वा) ; 3. 207. 12 विज्ञातश्चासि लोकेष त्रिषु संस्थानचारिषु (*v. l.* सस्थास्नुचारिषु , सस्थाणुचारिषु); B. 7. 10. 68 पश्यामस्त्रिषु लोकेषु न तं सस्थास्नुचारिषु.

संशप्त ‘one who takes a vow to kill or to be killed’, 5. 54. 55 संशप्तानि च वृन्दानि क्षत्रियाणि परंतप । अर्जुनं वयमस्मान्वा धनंजय इति स्म ह ॥. See SUKTHANKAR, Epic Studies (II), in *ABORI*, xi, p. 170.

संशितव्रत ‘firmly adhering to a vow or obligation’, 5. 65. 6 आनयस्व पितरं संशितव्रतं ; 173. 11 ततस्तत्र महानासीद् ब्राह्मणः संशितव्रतः ; 1. 13. 29 स विप्रः संशितव्रतः. संशितात्मन् ‘one whose mind is firmly resolved’, 5. 47. 12 यदा ज्येष्ठः पाण्डवः संशितात्मा.

संहनन ‘robustness, strength, strong body’, 5. 7. 16 मत्संहननतुल्यानां गोपानामर्बुदं महत् । नारायणा इति ख्याताः सर्वे संग्रामयोधिनः ॥ (Dev. संहननं शरीरं) : 149. 21 (= 1. 126. 5) सिंहसंहननो वीरः ; 1. 62. 11 वज्रसंहननो युवा (Dev. दृढकायः) ; 119. 41 भीमसंहननो भीमः (Dev. भीमकायः) ; 178. 15 तत्कार्मुकं संहननोपपन्नं (Dev. संहननाय शत्रुवधायोपपन्नं) ; 184. 6 श्यामो युवा संहननोपपन्नः (Dev. संहननेन दार्ढ्येन) ; 213. 61 तुतोष पुत्रं सौभद्रं प्रेक्षमाणो धनंजयः । सर्वसंहननोपेतं सर्वलक्षणलक्षितं (Dev. संहननं अस्त्रं).

संहार ‘disappearance’, 1. 7. 12 चिन्तयित्वा ततो वह्निश्चक्रे संहारमात्मनः (Dev. अदर्शनं) ; ‘conclusion of a pledge’, 5. 114. 13 क्रियतां मम संहारो गुर्वर्थं द्विजसत्तम (Dev. दानं) ; ‘binding of the hair’, : 5. 80. 33 इत्युक्त्वा मृदुसंहारं वृजिनाग्रं सुदर्शनं... केशपक्षं वरारोहा गृह्य सव्येन पाणिना (Dev. मृदुग्रथनं).

सखिपूर्वकं 'in friendship', 5. 155. 24 उवाच धीमान् कौन्येयः प्रहस्य सखिपूर्वकं ; 1. 122. 1 शूरस्य न सखा क्लीव: सखिपूर्वं किमिष्यते.

सततं 'on all sides, widely', 5. 101. 18 सततं संनिरीक्ष्य वै (*v. l.* S प्रततं).

सतैलक्षौम war-requisite, explained by HOPKINS as protective oil-cloth ! 5. 152. 7.

सत्र 'sorcery rite', 5. 37. 27 न निह्नवं सत्रगतस्य गच्छेत् संसृष्टमन्त्रस्य कुसंगतस्य ; 66. 11 स कृत्वा पाण्डवान् सत्रं लोकं संमोहयन्निव...दग्धुमिच्छति सुतान् (Dev., Arj. व्याजं अभिचारयागं वा).

समाशा 'food of delicacy', 5. 34. 45 जिता सभा वस्त्रवता समाशा गोमता जिता (*v. l.* मिष्टाशा, मृष्टाशा).

समितिंजय 'victorious in battle', 5. 56. 29 सर्वे ह्यतिरथाः शूराः...तेजसा समितिंजयाः.

समितिशोभन 'conspicuous in an assembly or in battle', 5. 46. 11 ते प्रविश्य महेष्वासा: सभां समितिशोभनाः (Dev. सुभटाः) ; 88. 35 सहदेवो महेष्वास: शूरः समितिशोभन:; 149. 15 वीरः समितिशोभन:; 1. 3. 139 य ऐरावतराजानः सर्पाः समितिशोभनाः.

समीक 'fight, battle', 5. 22. 34 तस्य क्रोधं संजयाहं समीके स्थाने जानन् भृशमस्म्यद्य भीतः.

समुच्छ्रय 'pride (Dev. अहंकार), enmity', 1. 73. 12 समुच्छ्रयं देवयानीं गतां सक्तां च वासासि। शर्मिष्ठा प्राक्षिपत्कूपे.

समुदाचार 'good conduct', (Dev. सदाचार), 1. 73. 8 समुदाचारहीनाया न ते श्रेयो भविष्यति.

समुदानय 'bringing together', 5. 139. 28 महानयं कृष्ण कृतः क्षत्रस्य समुदानयः.

समुत्पन्न 'right, proper' (= उपपन्न), 5. 184. 17 न च रामेण मतव्यं कदाचिदपि पार्थिव। ततः समुत्पन्नमिदं.

समुत्पिञ्ज 'great noise, confusion', 1. 125. 10 ततः सर्वस्य रङ्गस्य समुत्पिञ्जोऽभवन्महान् (Dev. कलकलशब्दो व्याकुलता वा).

सर्जरसपांसु 'resin of Shorea Robusta' used on the battle-field (Dev. रालधूलि), 5. 149. 79 ; 152. 5.

सर्व an epithet of Brahmā or Viṣṇu, 1. 1. 32 पुरुषश्चाप्रमेयात्मा यं सर्वमृषयो विदुः.

सव्यपत्रप 'ashamed, bashful, diffident', 5. 39. 49 आर्जवात् सव्यपत्रपं ; 1. 109. 36 व्यपत्रपन्मनुष्याणां मृग्यां मैथुनमाचरं.

सहस्रघ्नी 'a kind of weapon discharging arrows or missiles', 5. 47. 49 सहस्रघ्नीं द्विषतां संगमेषु। अस्थिच्छिदो मर्मभिदो वमेच्छरान् . See शतघ्नी. Not noticed by HOPKINS and others.

सहित *adj*. 'pair', 4. 1. 3 अरणीसहितं तस्मै ब्राह्मणाय न्यवेदयत् (*v. l.* अरणीयुगलं, अरणीयुग्मं ; Arj. अरणीयुग्मं) ; 'united', 'assembled', 5. 36. 58 धूमायन्ते व्यपेतानि ज्वलन्ति सहितानि च ; 82. 18 जनाः पुरनिवासिन: पथ्यतिष्ठन्त सहिता: ; 5. 80. 43 स्तनौ पीनायतश्रोणी सहितावभिवर्षती ; 128. 9 निग्रहीतुं किलेच्छन्ति सहिता वासवानुजं ; 147. 20 सौमात्रं च परं तेषां सहितानां महात्मनां.

सादन 'dwelling, house', used generally with the word यम, lengthening *metri causa* (= सदन)? 5. 20. 7 नयिष्ठं यमसादनं ; 54. 43 नेष्यन्ति यमसादनं ; 128. 21 सिंहो मृगानिव क्रुद्धो गमयेद्यमसादनं ; 141. 4 प्राप्स्यन्ति यमसादनं, etc.

साधु *ind.* 'well, properly', 1. 156. 6 ते वयं साधु पाञ्चालान् गच्छाम यदि मन्यसे ; with negative particle न, 5. 47. 87 धर्मादर्थश्चातो गरीयानिति ध्रुवं नास्ति कृतं न साधु.

साधुदेविन् 'having luck in play' (WHITNEY sec. 1230b).

सानुबन्ध 'having connexion, obstacle or consequence', 5. 34 8 अनुबन्धानवेक्षेत सानुबन्धेषु कर्मसु ; 142. 7 हृतं वै राज्यमीदृशं। येषां तेषामयं धर्मः सानुबन्धो भविष्यति ; 'together with retinue or belongings', 5. 54. 6 भवतः सानुबन्धस्य समुच्छेदं चिकीर्षवः ; 47. 88 दुर्योधनं सानुबन्धं निहन्तुं ; 59. 49 तान् सर्वानाहवे क्रुद्धान् सानुबन्धान् समागतान् ; 77. 8 सानुबन्धः सुयोधनः ; 122. 6 समर्थं ते विशेषेण सानुबन्धस्य ; 127. 19 हितं ते सानुबन्धस्य. See अनुबन्ध.

सान्त्व 'conciliation, peace', 5. 70. 69 सान्त्वे प्रतिहते युद्धं ; :70. 70 प्रतिघातेन सान्त्वस्य दारुणं संप्रवर्तते ; 70. 93 तत्तत्केशव भाषेथाः सान्त्वं वा यदि वेतरत् ; 1. 82. 13 तस्मात्सान्त्वं सदा वाच्यं न वाच्यं परुषं क्वचित् ; 196. 9 एवं सान्त्वसमायुक्तं (उक्त्वा).

सापह्नव. See अपह्नव and निह्नव.

सामस्थ्य 'evenness or balance of mind' (Dev. समचित्तता), 5. 26. 8 स्वयं राजा विषमस्थः परेषु सामस्थ्यमन्विच्छति तन्न साधु.

सुग्रीव and सैन्य, names of Kṛṣṇa's horse, 5. 81. 19 वाजिभिः सैन्यसुग्रीवमेघपुष्पबलाहकैः ; 81. 58 (= 2. 2. 13) सैन्यसुग्रीववाहनः ; 129. 22 (= 1. 212. 3) सैन्यसुग्रीवयुक्तेन (रथेन) (*v. l.* in all cases शैब्य for सैन्य).

सुत्य 'day of preparation or offering of Soma', 5. 139. 47 दुःशासनस्य रुधिरं यदा पास्यति पाण्डवः । आनर्दं नर्दतः सम्यक् तदा सुत्यं भविष्यति ॥.

सुधाहार 'serpent', 5. 100. 13 (Dev. Arj. नाग).

सुवासस् 'well feathered (arrow)', 5. 23. 21 यस्यैकयष्टिर्निशितास्तीक्ष्णधाराः सुवाससः संमता हस्तवापः (PW cites the passage).

सुब्रह्मण्य 'recitation of Mantras by the Udgātṛ priest', 5. 139. 35 उत्कृष्टसिंहनादश्च सुब्रह्मण्यो भविष्यति (Arj. नाद एव सुब्रह्मण्यो युद्धयज्ञे भोक्तुः कालस्यावाहनकर्ता !).

सूचिन् 'tailor', 5. 35. 39 (but Dev. नक्षत्रसूचकः, अथवा राज्ञि पैशुन्यकर्ता).

सृक् 'a beast of evil omen' (Dev. Arj. शृगाली), 5. 141. 22 एका सृक् वाशते घोरं.

सृति 'path, way', 1. 6. 6 अनुवर्तती सृतिं तस्या भृगोः पत्न्या यशस्विनः (Dev. मार्ग).

सेनानि 'commander, general', 5. 49. 9 धृष्टद्युम्नेन सेनान्या ; 162. 7 नमस्कृत्वा कुमाराय सेनान्ये शक्तिपाणये ; 168. 4 धृष्टद्युम्नश्च सेनानीः सर्वसेनासु भारत.

सेनापत्य 'commandership', 5. 153. 31 सेनापत्ये यदा राजा गाङ्गेयमभिषिक्तवान् ; 162. 4 सेनापत्यं च संप्राप्य ; 162. 6 सेनापत्यमनुप्राप्य कौरवाणां धुरंधरः ; 162. 13 किं पुनस्त्वयि दुर्धर्षे सेनापत्ये व्यवस्थिते.

सोमप name of a class of seers, 5. 106. 14.

स्थातृ 'witness, guide, authority', 5. 35. 15 न हि देवेष्वहं स्थाता न मनुष्येषु कर्हिचित् ; 70. 10 स्थाता नः समये तस्मिन् धृतराष्ट्र इति प्रभो ; 93. 42 स्थाता नः समय तस्मिन् पितेति कृतनिश्चयाः ; 109. 13 अत्र यज्ञं समाहृत्य ध्रुवं स्थाता पितामहः ; 3. 183. 12

अत्र नः प्रथमं स्थाता महेन्द्रो वै प्रजापतिः ; with समर, 5. 51. 18 स्थातातततायी समरे किरीटी ; 52. 4 (= 57. 22) शैनेयः समरे स्थाता.

स्पश in the old sense of 'spy', 1. 134. 23 स्पशैनो घातयेत्सर्वान् राज्यलुब्धः सुयोधनः

स्म *ind.* generally employed with verbs in perfect or imperfect tense, sometimes as a particle of emphasis, sometimes pleonastically, 5. 87. 7 न स्म कश्चिद्गृहे राजंस्तदासीत् ; 94. 22 उच्यमानस्तथापि स्म भूय एवाभ्यभाषत ; 94. 31 मा च स्मैव पुनः कृथाः ; 108. 3 वरुणं स्माभ्यषेचयत् ; 154. 23 पूजयंश्चक्रुरभ्येत्य ते स्म सर्वे हलायुधं ; 1. 14. 10 प्रापतुः स्म वरस्त्रियौ ; 53. 3 न स्म स प्रातपद्वहौ ; 63. 6 शस्त्रपाणिं स्म मेनिरे ; 64. 79 प्रयत्नोपहितानि स्म दृष्ट्वा विस्मयमागमत् ; 78. 24 व्यवर्तत न चैव स्म ; 119. 4 सततं स्मान्वतप्यन्त ; 124. 24 ते स्म लक्ष्याणि विविधुः ; 211. 4 वादित्राणि च तत्र स्म वादकाः समवादयन् ; with verbs in the present tense, 5. 96. 15 एतानि हृतराज्यानां दैत्येयानां स्म मातले। दीप्यमानानि दृश्यन्ते सर्वप्रहरणान्युत ॥ (*v. l.* S हि) ; 96. 16 अक्षयाणि किलैतानि विवर्तन्ते स्म मातले (*v. l.* S च) ; with verbs in potential, 5. 88. 58 न स्म क्लेशतमं मे स्यात्, etc.

स्रुवप्रग्रहण '(a priest) who takes all by his sacrificial ladle', 5. 35. 41 (but Dev. अभिचारकृद् ग्रामयाजको वा).

स्वधाभोजिन्, the Pitṛs, 5. 100. 13.

स्वयंग्राह 'according to one's own notion', 5. 165. 16 यथेच्छकं स्वयंग्राहाद्रथानतिरथांस्तथा...मोहात्प्रकुरुते भवान्.

स्वस्ति वाच्य 'having pronounced salutation or benediction', 5. 179. 9 द्विजातीन् वाच्य पुण्याहं स्वस्ति चैव ; 196. 2 गृहीतशस्त्रा ध्वजिनः स्वस्ति वाच्य हुताग्नयः

हरिण *adj.* 'fawn-coloured or greyish', said of unhealthy complexion, 5. 105. 2 त्वगस्थिभूतो हरिणश्चिन्ताशोकपरायणः ; 1. 1. 91 विवर्णो हरिणः कृशः.

हस्तवाप 'hand-throw, scattering or shooting of arrows by the hand' (HOPKINS, p. 273), 5. 23. 21 यस्यैकयष्टिर्निशितास्तीक्ष्णधाराः सुवाससः संमतो हस्तवापः (Dev. मुष्टिः). PW cites this passage. आवाप = शरक्षेप 1. 123. 71 ; शरावाप = धनुस् 1. 180. 12.

हस्ताजीव 'one who is needy, a beggar', 5. 30. 39 अन्धाश्च सर्वे स्थविरास्तथैव हस्ताजीवा बहवो येऽत्र सन्ति.

हृच्छय 'love', 1. 5. 14, 16 तं प्रविश्याश्रमं दृष्ट्वा भृगोर्भार्यामनिन्दितां । हृच्छयेन समाविष्टो विचेताः समपद्यत ; 'abiding in the heart', 1. 68. 27 न हृच्छयं वेत्सि मुनिं पुराणं.

हेतुवाद 'assigning a cause where there is no cause', 5. 89. 24 न हेतुवादाल्लोभाद्वा धर्मं जह्यां कदाचन.

ह्री 'the feeling which dissuades one from unworthy acts', (Dev. अकार्यवृत्तिनिरोधको मनोधर्मः) ; see Yudhiṣṭhira's speech on ह्री in 5. 70. 35-39. ह्रीमत् 'possessed of the feeling', 5. 47. 39 ; 70. 56 ; 80. 9 ; 83. 25 ; 88. 18 ; 122. 17 ; 149. 6, 12 ; 166. 22 etc. ह्रीनिषेध 'restricted by the feeling', 5. 22. 32 ; 25. 5 ; 47. 26 ; 86. 34 ; 124. 3 etc.

THE MOUNTED BOWMAN ON INDIAN BATTLE-FIELDS —FROM THE INVASION OF ALEXANDER (B.C. 326) TO THE BATTLE OF PANIPAT (A.D. 1761)

By

P. K. Gode

J. Russell Smith in his article[1] on "*Grassland and Farmland as Factors in the Cyclical Development of Eurasian History*" makes the following remarks about the curious and striking part played by the horse from the Steppes in man's affairs in Eurasia :—

(1) Bishop thinks the Scythians may have been the first effective cavalrymen. Armed with a *Compound*[2] *bow*, which seems to have been an invention of the north, a cavalryman could ride circles around a charioteer. Hence the use of chariots in war declined in the near-east after the Assyrians, in the ninth century B.C., adopted cavalry from their enemies the Scythians.

(2) The chariot was distributed to Ireland and Korea between 2500 and 1000 B.C. After centuries of using the chariot as an instrument of war-fare men began to fight from the back of the horse. But it was more centuries before the stirrup was invented.

(3) Early uses of the horse sift down to this—meat supply, milk animals, assissant to the herdsman, the pet of princes, for pageantry, religious ceremonies, and war—especially war.

(4) The *horseman with a two-piece bow* was the greatest " blitz " before gunpowder. This *bow* seems to have brought cavalry to the fore. The horse-man with a *lance* was not so potent. This *bow* brought the horse to his Golden Age in the affairs of men. From the *beginnings*

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[1] See *Smithsonian Report* for 1944. Pages 357–384, Publication No. 3792 of Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D. C., 1945.

[2] Vide *Technical Arts and Sciences of the Ancients* by Albert Neuburger (Eng. Trans. by Henry L. Brose, 1930 ; Methuen and Co. London) pages 218–221 (The Bow, the Crossbow and Ballistic Machines). According to Brose the *Compound Bow* was made of the *two pieces* of the same material joined together. The *Composite Bow* was made of a combination of different materials. The following points from Neuburger's remarks may be noted here :—

(1) The Simple Bow is the oldest. (2) The Wooden Bow was made of the yew tree or *taxus*. (3) Odysseus carried a *Composite* Bow made of *horn*. Long before Homer the *Composite* Bow was used by the Egyptians (Figure 288). One relic of this Bow dates from the time of Rameses II (*13th cent.* B. C.) and another from an Egyptian tomb of *7th cent*. B. C. The *Composite* Bow comes from Asia (Fig. 289) and is made of horn, wood and sinews. It can shoot an arrow as far as 1000 yards and can shoot right through a Bison. "This achievement cannot be equalled by the heavy colt revolver used by the American army."

of Cavalry with the Scythians about the Ninth Century B.C. to the date of the effective use of gunpowder the *Calvalryman* of the Eurasian grasslands almost continuously harassed the settled cultures upon the grassland rim and smashed them at will.

(5) In the 9th century A.D., some one, apparently in France, invented the horse collar and traces. Then horses could pull a load and enter the economic realm.

(6) The Great Wall of China was built to stop the marauding *mounted bowmen* of the Steppes between the 7th and 3rd centuries B.C. It is a monument to the horse.

(7) Gun-powder[3] and the railway reduced the grassland man to impotence.

I am concerned in the above remarks with the importance of the *mounted bow-man* who dominated war-fare for hundreds of years in human affairs on account of his mobility as a fighting unit. Accordingly I propose in this paper to record some references to the *mounted bow-man* or the use of the *bow* and *arrow* made by foreign cavalry in ancient and mediaeval periods of Indian history.

(1) In a treatise on archery called the *Dhanurveda* (MS[4] No. 54 of 1886–92 in the Govt. MS Library at the B. O. R. Institute, Poona) the author describes the शार्ङ्गधनुः and its uses as follows :—

Folio 2—" शार्ङ्गं पुनर्धनुर्दिव्यं विष्णोः परममायुधम् ।
वितास्तिसप्तसंमानं निर्मितं विश्वकर्मणा ॥
न स्वर्गे न च पाताले न भूमौ कस्यचित्करे ।
तद्धनुर्वशमायाति मुक्त्वैकं पुरुषोत्तमम् ॥

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[3] As regards the use of Guns and Gun-powder in India from A. D. 1400 onwards, see my article on this subject in the *Denison Ross Volume*, Pages 117–124.

[4] This MS is dated Saṁvat 1868 = A. D. *1812*. Other MSS of *Dhanurveda* are *No. 407 of 1887–91* and *No. 558 of 1875–76*. Some particulars from these MSS may be noted below :—

(1) *No. 407 of 1887-91*—Called " शिवोक्त धनुर्वेद " in the Colophon.
—verse 3 at the beginning refers to " वीरचिन्तामणि "—verse 1 reads :—

" ईश्वरोक्तात् धनुर्वेदात् व्यासेनापि सुभाषितात् ।
पद्यान्याख्याय रचितो ग्रन्थः संक्षेपतो मया ॥ १ ॥ "

(2) *No. 558 of 1875-76*—All the above details are found in this MS but the Colophon reads :—

" एते शिवधनुर्वेदस्य भगवतो व्यासस्य । इति शार्ङ्गधरविरचितायां चितामणिर्नम्ने धनुर्वेदस्य परिच्छेदः ॥ "

(3) *No. 54 of 1886-92*—The text of this MS is same as those of the above two MSS but some portions found at the beginnings and ends of the above two MSS are missing in this MS. The colophon reads :—" इति युद्धविधिः इति धनुर्वेदः ".

पौरुषेयं तु यच्छाङ्गं बहुवत्सरशोभितम् ।
वितस्तिभिः सार्द्धं षड्भिर्मितं सर्वार्थसाधनम् ॥
प्रायो योज्यं धनुः शार्ङ्गं गजारोहाश्वसादिनाम् ।
रथिनां च पदातीनां वांशं चापं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥
इति धनुःप्रमाणम् ।

The concluding verse of the above extract tells us that शार्ङ्गधनुः is to be used by warriors on elephant's back (गजारोहाः) and cavalrymen (अश्वसादिनः). It also tells us that वांश चाप or a bow made of वंश or bamboo is to be used by warriors in the chariot (रथिनां) and foot-soldiers (पदातीनां).

Folio 7—The following extract prescribes how the war chariot is to be equipped with *four bows* (कार्मुकाणां चतुष्टयं) and 400 arrows in quivers along with other weapons viz.

खड्ग, गदा, शक्ति, परिघ, मुद्गर, नाराचान् , परशु, पट्टिश, चर्म, कुंत etc.

" रथे च धारयेद्भद्रं कार्मुकाणां चतुष्टयम् ।
चतुःशतानि बाणानां तूणीरैर्वं प्रपूरयेत् ॥
खड्गं चर्म गदां शक्तिं परिघं मुद्गरं तथा ।
नाराचान्परशुं कुंतं पट्टिशादींश्च धारयेत् ॥ "

One who has no chariots or elephants should ride his horse[5] with the *quiver* at his belt and equipped with खड्ग, शक्ति and धनुः (bow) :—

" न रथा न गजा यस्य सोश्वमेव समारुहेत् ।
कटिबद्धैकतूणीरखड्गशक्तिधनुर्युतः ॥ "

Folio 8—Under युद्धविधि the author informs us that *mounted bow-men* (सार्ङ्ग धनुर्धराः तुरगारूढाः) become irresistible on the battle-field :—

" धनुः संगति संशुद्धा वाजिनोमुखदुर्ब(म)लाः ।
अ(आ)कर्णं पति(लि)ता योधाः संग्रामे जयवादिनः ॥
परस्परानुरक्ता ये योद्धाः शार्ङ्गधनुर्धराः ।
युद्धज्ञास्तुरगारूढास्ते जयंति रणे रिपून् ॥ "

Runaways from the battle-field should not be hunted by the powerful warriors for the reason that such men are likely to be infused with courage owing to their desperate condition :—

" भीरुः पलायमानोऽपि नान्वेष्टव्यो बलीयसा ।
कदाचिच्छूरतां याति मरणे कृतनिश्चयः ॥ "

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[5] Evidently preference was given to *Chariots* and *elephants* as vehicles in warfare. The combination of the horse and a bowman, inspite of its advantage, was not looked upon with favour by Indians.

The extracts[6] quoted by me fully support the following extract on p. 97 of Prof. V. R. R. DIKSHITAR's "*War in Ancient India*" (Macmillan, Bombay, 1944):—

"In WILSON's words, 'the Hindus cultivated archery most assiduously and were very Parthians in the *use of the bow on horseback*.'"[7] One feature of this weapon was that it could be handled by all the four classes of warriors."

Prof. DIKSHITAR quotes Arrian's *Indika* on the mode of equipping Indian soldiers for war but this quotation refers to foot-soldiers carrying bows and not the use of the bow by the cavalry.

MITRAMIŚRA (C.A.D. 1610–1640) in his encyclopaedic work *Vīramitrodaya*, in several divisions called "*Prakāśas*", refers to several weapons of war (नानायुधलक्षण प्रकरण) in the *Lakṣaṇaprakāśa* (Vol. XX of Chowkhamba Sans. Series, Benares, 1916). In the account of these weapons he devotes pages 273–292 to *Dhanurveda*[8] or science of archery. The authorities quoted in this account are :—विष्णुधर्मोत्तर, वैद्यकतन्त्र, त्रैयम्बक धनुर्वेद, राजविजय, वीरचिन्तामणि धनुर्वेद. Much of the matter of this section is drawn from the वीरचिन्तामणि धनुर्वेद represented by five MSS in the Govt. MSS Library at the B. O. R. Institute. The reference to the *use of the bow on horse-back* recorded by MITRAMIŚRA is found in the extract from the वीरचिन्तामणि धनुर्वेद quoted by me at the beginning of this paper viz.

"शार्ङ्गं पुनर्धनुर्दिव्यं...... । प्रायो योग्यं धनुःशार्ङ्गं गजारोहाश्वसादिनाम् ।
रथिनां च पदातीनां वांशं चापं प्रकीर्तितम् ॥"

In the section on swords (खड्गप्रशंसा) which follows the *Dhanurveda* section MITRAMIŚRA quotes from the औशनस धनुर्वेद (p. 293). This quotation contains the following stanzas :—

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[6] I have quoted these extracts from *three* MSS of the title धनुर्वेद in the Govt. MS Library at the B. O. R. Institute. The text of this work is also represented by *two* more MSS in the above library viz.—

(i) *No. 138 of 1892-95*—वीरचिंतामणि धनुर्वेद—dated *Saṁvat 1735* = A. D. *1679*—
Copied at "जलालाबाद"—ends as follows :—

"इति श्रीद्रोणभाषित वीरचिंतामणि धनुर्वेदः समाप्तः"

(ii) *No. 62 of A. 1883-84*—The title on the label is वीरचूडामणि which is perhaps a misreading for वीरचिन्तामणि.—

The colophon reads :—

"इति श्री वाहुजकुलालंकार श्री श्रदरगहमल्लात्मज—
श्रीविछलदासविलासे धनुर्वेदनिर्णयप्रकाशः"

[7] I have not seen the authorities on which WILSON's reference to the Indian *use of the bow on horse-back* is based.

[8] Someśvara (A. D. *1130*) in his मानसोल्लास (Vol. II, G. O. Series, Baroda, 1939) pp. 162–169, deals with धनुर्विद्या and its feats but there is no reference in it to the use of the bow on horse-back.

" क्षितौ रथे वाजिनि कुञ्जरे वा
गृहे द्रुमे नागरके प्रमादे ।
सर्वत्र सर्वस्य च भार्गवेन्द्र
परायणं स्याद् असिरेव नित्यम् ॥
धनुरिह शरपातादेव वै हन्ति शत्रून्
दहति रिपुसमूहं वाजिवह्निर्जवेन ।
सुभटकरगतस्तु क्षिप्रमभ्यासमात्रे
शमयति रिपुसेनां पातयोगेन खड्गः ॥ "

In the first stanza the all-round use of the *Sword* is emphasized, while in the second the use of the *Sword* on the battle-field is indicated. Perhaps the line " धनुरिह शरपातादेव वै हन्ति शत्रून् " has a reference to foot-soldiers using the bow referred to by Arian in his *Indica*. The line "दहति रिपुसमुहं वाजिवह्निर्जवेन", which states that the fire of cavalry burns the hostile army by its speed, refers only to the extreme mobility of the horse. If, however, the entire second stanza is taken to be the description of a mounted सुभट or expert warrior armed with bow and arrows along with sword, we have here an admirable description of a *mounted bowman.* The subsequent stanzas in the quotation from the औशनस धनुर्वेद establish the superiority of the *sword* on the battle-field as follows :—

" मतङ्गजस्थो रथवाजिगो वा
शरक्षये शस्त्रगणक्षये च ।
समस्थितो वा विषमस्थितो वा ।
नरोऽसिना मर्दयतीह सर्वान् ॥
स्वच्छन्दे चापभङ्गे च विरथस्य विवाजिनः ।
शत्रुमध्यावतीर्णस्य नान्यत् खड्गात् परायणम् ॥ "

In all disadvantageous situations created by the exhaustion of the supply of arrows and other weapons the warrior, whether mounted on an elephant, a chariot or a horse, can kill all who oppose him, by his *sword* alone. Even when the bow is broken and the warrior is dislodged from his chariot or horse, the *sword* alone is the resort of such a warrior surrounded by the army of the enemy.

The treatises on *Dhanurveda* from which I have noted some references to the *mounted bow-man* are not very old. It is, therefore, difficult to say whether the Indian cavalry before about 500 B.C. used the bow from the horse-back. RUSSELL SMITH states that " *Scythians* may have been the first *effective* cavalrymen " because they were armed with a *compound bow.* If this statement is correct are we to presume that the *use of the bow from horse-back* was adopted by the Aryans in India from the Scythians ? " The Assyrians in the *ninth century* B.C. adopted cavalry from their enemies the Scythians "—states RUSSELL SMITH. The Aryans who came to India brought the domesticated horse about 1600 B.C.

and these " horsed-warriors defeated the elephant-armies of the natives of India" observes Mr. M. S. RANDHAWA in his recent article on the " Role of Domesticated Animals in Indian History.[9] Mr. RANDHAWA states that according to PEAKE and FLEURE the horse was first tamed in the Steppes of Central Asia and South Russia, which formed an immense grassland, where Erzewalskis horse is still found wild. If the Aryans used " the trained horse and the sword " against the elephant armies of the natives of India we have to inquire at what stage of their history they picked up the *use of the bow on horse-back* and from whom ? Was it from the Scythians prior or posterior to their invasion[10] of India *C*. 150–140 B.C. ?

In the account of the Bow and Arrow given by Mr. G. T. DATE[11] he discusses the following topics :—

(1) Use of the bow by all warriors of the world in the early stages of civilization.

(2) All ancient Indian warriors were expert shooters with the bow (e.g. the skill of Śrāvaṇa of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and Arjuna of the *Mahābhārta* in archery).

(3) Similarity of the bows and arrows used by Vedic Aryans and Eastern Iranians.

(4) There was no material change in the Vedic bow during the Epic period.

(5) The *Arthaśāstra* refers to four kinds of *bow*, some varieties of arrows, bow-strings etc.

(6) The *Bṛhat Śārṅgadhara Paddhati* deals with the bow and arrow in detail in its account of weapons.

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[9] Vide p. 10 of *Science and Culture*, Calcutta, July 1946. The chronology of the *Horse and Cow Culture of Aryans* given by MR. RANDHAWA is as follows :—

C. B. C. *1600*—The domesticated horse brought to India by the Aryan nomads—No evidence of horse on seals of Mohanjo Daro nor any bones of horse discovered.—The horse was domesticated even before 5000 B. C.—The training of the horse for war caused a great crisis in human history.

326 B. C.—Alexander's invasion of Northern Punjab demonstrated the superiority of the *horse* over the *elephant* in warfare.

1st century— A. D. The horse had established its superiority over the elephant as far east as Mathura as proved by a Kushan sculpture showing a procession of Horses with the *elephant* humbly following.

13th century A. D.—The horse-period reaches its acme in the horse-empire of the *Mongols*.

14th century onwards—The sailing ship of the Europeans put land transport into the back-ground.

[10] Vide p. 277 of SMITH : *Early History of India*, Oxford, 1914.

[11] Vide pp. 11–15 of *Art of War in Ancient India*, Oxford University Press, London, 1929.

(7) Certain signs of Indo-Sumerian Seals look like *arrows*.

(8) The bas-reliefs of Sanchi illustrate some of the weapons.

(9) Statement of the Greek historians that Indians used heavy bows.

(10) Representions of the bows on coins of *Candragupta II* and *Kumāra Gupta I* (shooting with the *bow* and *arrow*).

(11) Dravidians knew archery from the beginning of their written history.

(12) The *Agnipurāṇa* gives an account of *archery*.

In the discussion of the above topics Mr. DATE does not refer to the *use of the bow on horse-back*. In his account of "*War Animals and War Vehicles*" Mr. DATE refers to the following points which have a bearing on my present inquiry about the use of the bow on horse-back :—

(1) The Aryan invaders of India brought the *Turkoman* horse[12] with them to India (see *JRAS*, 1919, p. 507).

(2) During the Vedic period the horse was used mainly for *riding*, though there are some references to *riding in battle*.

(3) The Dravidians used the horse for riding.

(4) In the *Mahābhārata* time the horse was used in the army, although *no word equivalent to cavalry* could be found. Soldiers on horse-back fought alone and were treated as an inferior fighting force.

(5) By the time of Alexander's invasion the Indians had a respectable *cavalry*.

(6) Poros had 4000 horsemen (see p. 102 of *Invasion of Alexander*).

(7) The *horse* was never regarded in Ancient India as a superior fighting unit, and *elephants* and *chariots* occupied a position higher than cavalry.

(8) The defects of the *chariot* were revealed more than once in combats with foreigners.

In his above account of horse as a war-animal I find no reference to the *use of the bow on horse-back* by Ancient Indians of Alexander's time. In fact Poros was defeated by the *mounted bow-men* of Alexander at the *Battle of Hydaspes*. In this connection VINCENT SMITH observes as follows (p. 64 of *Oxford History of India*, 1923) :—

" The *elephants* on which Poros had relied proved unmanageable in the battle and did more harm to their friends than to their foes. The *archers in the chariots were not a match for the mounted bowmen of* Alexander ; and the slippery state of the ground hindered the Indian

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[12] Vide DR. M. B. PITHAWALLA's remarks on " Role of Animals " in the Early Aryan Home and settlements (*Indian Geographical Journal*, Karachi, October-December, 1945). The horse was a native of the Syr-Amu Darya doab which was the most likely Home Region of the ancient Aryan Family. Its name has gone into the surnames of the Iranian heroes and kings, e. g. *Kerhasp*, *Arjasp*, *Gushtasp* etc.

infantry from making full use of their *formidable bows, which they were accustomed to draw after resting one end upon the earth and pressing it with the left foot.*"[13]

It is clear from the above evidence that the superiority of the *mounted bowmen of Alexander* over the *infantry bow-men of Porus* was clearly demonstrated to the Indians at the Battle of Hydaspes in B.C. 326. It is, however, surprising that inspite of this demonstration Indians did not adopt the use of the bow on horse-back in their war-fare in succeeding centuries. Consequently it has become difficult to get any references to *mounted archery* in Sanskrit texts of the early period.[14]

In the *Holy Bible* (New Testament, Revelation, Chapter 6) I have traced the the following reference to the *mounted bow-man* :—

> "2. And I saw, and behold a *white horse* : and *he that sat on him had a bow*, and a crown was given unto him : and *he went forth conquering and to conquer.*"

Really the *mounted bow-man* has gone forth through centuries of history "*conquering and to conquer* !"

At this stage of our inquiry I have to record the following reference to *mounted-bowmen* in the *Ādiparvan* of the *Mahābhārata*[15] (B. O. R. Institute, Critical Edition, I, 124, 24) :—

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[13] See p. 82 of *Oxford History of India* (1923)—Vincent SMITH, speaking of the equipment of the army during the Maurya period observes :—"Each *horseman* was armed with *two lances* resembling the Greek *Saunia* and was protected by a *buckler*. The principal *weapon of the infantry* was a straight *broad sword* suspended by a belt from the shoulder, *Javelins* and *bows* and *arrows* were additional arms. The arrow was discharged with the aid of pressure from the left foot on the extremity of the bow resting on the ground and with such force neither shield nor breast-plate could withstand it". (See the picture of the *Veddah bow* reproduced by SMITH on this page).

[14] DR. R. K. MOOKERJEE in his "*Candragupta Maurya and His Times* (Madras University, 1923) refers to some sculptures representing soldiers as follows :—

P. 276—Sculptures of soldiers wearing *swords, bows and arrows* on Sanchi topes (*1st cent.* A. D.).

—"The bas-reliefs represent nearly all the *foot-soldiers as archers*, which is in accord with the statement of Megasthenes".

P. 277—In the foreground of the picture are three warriors armed with *Parthian bow* and short straight *sword of Roman shape* ;—they also wear cross-straps for carrying their quivers.

DR. MOOKERJEE speaks of *Indian Soldiers fighting in Europe* in the 5th century B. C. "As early as *480* B.. C. the army of Xerxes which invaded Greece comprised an Indian contingent clad in Cotton garments (probably *Sūtrakaṇṭaka* of Kauṭilya) and armed with *cane-bows* and *iron-tipped cane arrows.*"

[15] In the account of the display of skill in archery in the *Jatugṛhadāhaparva* of the *Ādiparvan* the reference to mounted bowmen is traced in verse 24. S. C. MUKHOPADHYAYA in his English Trans. of the MBH. (Calcutta, 1899, pp. 278-279) translates this verse as follows :—

"The princes *riding on fleet horses* began to pierce the targets, quickly *discharging various arrows* on which their respective names were beautifully engraved". (In the Chitrashala Edition of *Ādiparvan*, Poona, 1929 we have the readings बिभिदुः for विविधुः

" ते स्म लक्ष्याणि विविधु बाणैर्नामाङ्कशोभितैः ।
विविधैर्लाघवोत्सृष्टैरुह्यन्तो वाजिभिर्द्रुतम् ॥ २४ ॥ "

I have to request other scholars to point out to me some more references to mounted archery from the. *Mahābhārata*,[16] *the Rāmāyaṇa* or any other Sanskrit texts of the yearly period say before A. D. 500. If Droṇācārya and his pupils in archery knew the *use of the bow on horseback* as early as the *Mahābhārata* war we have to explain why Porus and his cavalry did not adopt it in practice against the mounted bowmen of Alexander? I strongly hope that our Mahābhārata scholars will explain this riddle some day. For the present I venture to suggest that the reference to *mounted archery* appearing in the text of the Mahābhārata has been inserted at a time, when Indians came to know it as a result of their contact with Scythians or Śakas, who invaded India about 150–140 B. C.

Though Indians did not develop the art of using the bow on horseback, foreigners from Central Asia residing in India practised it long prior to A. D. 500 as will be seen from the following evidence :—

RAMCHANDRA KAK in his *Ancient Monuments of Kashmir* (London, 1933) describes in detail the excavations at Harwan, a village about 2 miles beyond the Shalimar garden in Kashmir. In these excavations a wonderful pavement of the courtyard round a temple has been discovered. This pavement consisted of large moulded brick tiles, having various shapes and different patterns (Plate XIX). There are several pictures stamped on these tiles, among which I find " *archers on horseback*[17] *chacing deer and shooting arrows at them* " as follows :—

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and उह्यन्तौ for उह्यन्तो in verse 24). In the following verses which follow the *use of the bow from the chariots* is referred to :—

" कृत्वा धनुषि ते मार्गान्रथचर्यासु चासकृत् ।
गजपृष्ठेऽश्वपृष्ठे च नियुद्धे च महाबलाः ॥ २७ ॥
गृहीत खड्गचर्माणस्ततो भूयः प्रहारिणः ।
त्सरुमार्गान्यथोद्दिष्टांश्चेरुः सर्वासु भूमिषु ॥ २८ ॥ "

[16] J. TALBOY'S WHEELER in his *History of India* (London, 1880), p. 6, refers to "*Public Exercises*" described in the *Mahābhārata* as follows :—

" Drona and his son Aswatthāma then entered the arena in white garments, and chanted the praises of Indra and the gods. The princes followed with their weapons in their hands and kissed the feet of their preceptor. *They began by shooting arrows at a butt, first on foot, and afterwards from horses, elephants and chariots* ". (Cf. *Mbh.* I, 124, 27—" कृत्वा धनुषि ते मार्गान्रथचर्यासु चासकृत् । गजपृष्ठेऽश्वपृष्ठे च नियुद्धे च महाबलाः ।।")

[17] These pictures of *mounted bowmen hunting deer* may be contrasted with Kālidāsa's description of King Duṣyanta (शाकुन्तल Act I, 6) hunting a deer seated in a chariot and armed with bow and arrow (कृष्णसारे ददच्चक्षुस्त्वयि चाधिज्जकार्मुके। मृगानुसारिणं साक्षात्पश्यामीव पिनाकिनम् ॥ ६ ॥). The ground was full of hollows, hence the charioteer slackened the speed of the chariot by drawing in the reigns.– The *mounted bowman* on Harwan tiles *chasing deer at full gallop* apparently had no difficulties of the type experienced by Duṣyanta in his chariot hunting a deer.

Plate XXIII, 3—" On a horse fully accoutred, horseman in armour riding at full gallop and *drawing his bow.* On his right side, attached to the saddle, hangs his quiver. Two ends of drapery flutter at his back." *Kharoshthi numerals* 1, 4, 10 = 15.

Plate XXVIII, 14—" *A mounted hunter aiming an arrow* at a fleeing deer."

Do—, 18—" Upper part of an *archer* wearing *conical cap.*"

Plate XXIX, 20—" A huntsman with bow and arrow riding at full gallop." *Kharoshthi numerals* : 1, 4, 20, 20, 20 = 65.

The pictures of the mounted bow-man on three different tiles leave no doubt that at the time the tile-pavement was constructed the *use of the bow on horse-back* was made by some residents of Kashmir, either native or foreign.

As regards the *date of the tiles* Mr. KAK observes as follows :—

Page 109—(1) Each one of these tiles bears a number in *Kharoshthi* script.

(2) The *Kharoshthi* script *ceased* to be in vogue in north-western *India about 5th century* A. D. The tiles are, therefore, much older in date than this time.

Page 110—(3) The *date of the tiles*, and of the diaper pebble masonry with which they are associated is " *about* A. D. *300.*"

(4) The above date is further supported by the following data :—

(i) The *physiognomy* and *dress* of men and women (on the tiles) are wholly unlike that of any races in Kashmir today.
(ii) The facial characteristics etc., *trousers* and *Turkoman caps* of the persons represented on the tiles show them to be *Central Asian.*
(iii) Kashmir had connection with *Central Asia* during the *Kushan Period*, when the Kushan rule extended from Mathura to Yarkand.
(iv) Some pious and prosperous Kushan must have built the Harwan shrine (with its tiled pavement).

" Among the *foreign decorative motifs* which reveal *foreign influence* are the figures of *mailed horse-men* with flying scarves tied to their heads, which are strongly *reminiscent of the contemporary Sassanian art of Persia.*"

The above evidence of the sculptures of *about* A. D. *300* depicting the *mounted bowmen* leads us to suggest that the *reference to the mounted archery* in the *Ādiparvan* of the Mahābhārata has been inserted during the rule of the Kushan or Indo-Scythian Dynasty in India (from about A. D. 20 to A. D. 225) or more broadly between C. B. C. 150 and 300 A.D., when the text of the *Mahābhārata* may have assumed a settled form.

I now request our *Mahābhārata* scholars to see if this suggestion is acceptable to them.[18]

So far I have recorded the following evidence about the *mounted bowmen* on the Indian battle-field :—

(1) Defeat of Porus by the mounted bowmen of Alexander the Great (B. C. 326).

(2) Reference to the display of *mounted-archery* in the *Mahābhārata* (I, 124, 24).

(3) Reference to the use of *Śārṅga* bow by riders of elephants and horses in the *Dhanurveda* (B. O. R. I. MS No. 54 of 1886-92— "प्रायो योज्यं धनुः शार्ङ्गं गजारोहाश्वसादिनाम्"). This treatise also refers to "सार्ङ्गधनुर्धराः तुरगारूढाः योद्धाः" and prescribes *the use of the bow on horseback by one who has neither chariots nor elephants* (न रथा न गजा यस्य सोऽश्वमेव समारुहेत । कटिबद्धैकतूणीर खङ्गशक्तिधनुर्युतः ")

(4) Three pictures of *mounted bowmen* hunting deer on the tile-pavement (at *Harwan* in Kashmir) of about A. D. 300. According to RAMCHANDRA KAK these *bow-men on horseback* are not Indian but foreigners from Central Asia.

In Duarte Barbosa's account of Gujarat at the death of Mahmud Begada (A. D. 1515) recorded by M. S. COMMISSARIAT in his *History of Gujarat* (Bombay, 1938) Chap. XX, pages 254 ff., we find a detailed description of the *methods of warfare* adopted by the Sultan of Gujarat. The following points in this description are note-worthy :—

(1) The Gujarat sovereign employed a corps of *war-elephants* in accordance with Indian traditions ; some of these animals were brought from Malbar and Ceylon at a cost of about £ 750 each.

(2) Three or four men seated in *howdahs* on each elephant used *bows, arrows, hand-guns* etc. against the enemy.

(3) The *cavalry* was composed of horses, bred in the country. The riders were *expert horse-men*, seated on high-pommelled saddles each carrying a strong round *shield, two swords*, a *dagger*, and a *Turkish bow with very good arrows*.

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[18] My friend Rao Bahadur K. V. RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR of Madras writes to me in this connection in his letter of 22-7-1946 as follows :—

"I have seen in the Madura temple and in one or two other temples *figures of horseman* armed with *javelins* and *swords*, but *not bows*. There are representations of *Satyabhāmā using a bow*, when seated *on the shoulders of Garutmān*, Rāma was seated on Hanumān's shoulders when he fought with Rāvaṇa.—These figures are of the late *Vijayanagar* period.—I do not remember any instance in our literature of *archer-cavalry* and my impression is the same as that of Russell Smith, with the variation that I regard *Persia*, not Scythia *as the original home of the mounted archer*. You have selected an intriguing topic which has escaped (in spite of its importance) the attention of scholars till now".

(4) The *warriors* were mostly *Persianized Turks*, with whom the Persian game *Changan* (Polo) was a favourite pastime.

It is clear from the above account of Barbosa that the *use of the bow on horse-back* was made in the *Gujarat army of C. 1515* A. D. by *Persianized Turks* and not by Indians.

About 150 years later than Barbosa's observation of the *use of the Turkish bow on horse-back* by the army of the Sultans of Gujarat we have the following observations about the effective use of mounted archery recorded by Bernier in his *Travels* (A. D. 1656–1668), (Constable, London, 1891) :—

Pages 47–48—Speaking of the army of Dara Shukoh used against Aurangzeb, Bernier observes :—

"The rest of the army consisted principally of *Cavalry*, armed either with *Sabers* and those kind of *half-pikes* used by the *Ragipous*[19] (Rajputs); or with *Sabres* and *bows and arrows which latter weapon is generally used by Mogols* that is (according to the present acceptation of the term *Mogol*) foreigners whose complexions are white, and who profess *Mahometanism*; such as *Persians*, *Turks*, *Arabs* and *Uzbeks*."

The *superiority of the mounted archery even over musketeers* is further vouched by Bernier as follows :—

Page 48—It cannot be denied that the *cavalry* of this country manoeuvre with much ease and *discharge their arrows with astonishing quickness*; *a horseman shooting six times before a musketeer can fire twice*."

In our story of the *mounted bow-man* we have started with 326 B. C., when Alexander defeated Porus on the strength of his mounted bowmen, and come to about *1660* A. D., when the Mogol army, consisting of *Persians*, *Turks*, *Arabs* and *Uzbeks*, was still using the *Turkish bow* on *horse-back* with great force and advantage. It is a pity that the Indian soldiers failed to adopt this effective method of warfare, even when they had visible demonstration of its superiority during a period of about 2000 years!

From Bernier's account of the use of Turkish bow by the Mogol army we come to the *Battle of Paniput* (A. D. 1761) an exhaustive account of which has been recorded by Prof. T. S. SHEJWALKAR in his brilliant monograph "*Panipat: 1761*" (published by the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, 1946). Speaking of the weapons employed by the *Marathas* and the *Afghans* at this battle, Prof. SHEJWALKAR observes :—

Page 89—" Now a *cavalry* battle fought with *lance* and *sword* on the *Maratha side* and *musketry* and archery on the *other side* (Afghan side) began in good earnest. It is certain that the *Afghan* cavalry under Ahmad Shah had more *musketeers*, *match-lockmen* and **archers** amongst them than were to be found in the Maratha army. Each Maratha of note had possibly a *hand-gun* by his side but he had neither love for it, nor expertness in its use. He preferred *lance* and *spear* at a short distance to the clumsy[20] *bow* and *arrow* or heavy long *match-lock* of those days ".

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[19] Evidently the *Rajputs* in the Mogol army did not care to adopt the *use of the bow on horse-back*, which was a special feature of the Mogol warfare.

Page 93—" Now the battle entered its most desperate stage. The fight was a close combat with *sword*, *spear*, *lance*, *dagger* and *knife*...... " by Ahmad Sultan's good fortune " an **arrow** *struck Vishwasrao* killing him outright."

The effect of the death of Vishwasrao had a disastrous effect as we learn from the subsequent account of this battle. I presume that the arrow that killed Vishwasrao was from the *mounted bow-man* from the *Afghan cavalry*.

It will now be seen from what has been said and recorded above that from B. C. *326*, when the *mounted bowmen* of Alexander defeated the Indians under King Poros upto A. D. *1761*, when the *mounted-bowmen* of Ahmad Shah Abdāli routed the Maratha army, the Indian soldiers and their sovereigns did not care to study and practice *mounted-archery* inspite of its demonstrable superiority even over the crude muskets of Shivaji's time.[21]

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[20] Contrast this statement with BERNIER's statement that a horse-man of the Mogol army could shoot his arrows six times before a musketeer could shoot twice. *Lance* and *Spear* were good weapons at close range but they were not effective against mounted archery.

[21] In the *Ājñāpatra* of Rāmacandra Nīlakaṇṭha Amātya dated *21st November 1716* he includes *archers* (तिरंदाजी) in the formation of the *Hujarāt* or standing army of the Maratha king (See p. 17 of आज्ञापत्र, ed. by V. G. Ūrdhvareṣe, Indore, 1939— " आधीं हुजरात सजावी. लष्कर, हशम, आडाव, बंदुकी, तिरंदाजी, करोल असें पंचरूढ जमाव ठेवावे."—P. 7—" लष्कर, हशम, बंदुकी, तिरंदाज, आदिकरून...बारदान ठेऊन etc.)

Here the musketeers (बदुकी) and archers (तिरंदाज or तिरंदाजी) are mentioned side by side, but the *archers* mentioned here are *foot-soldiers* armed with bows and not mounted bowmen.—For the use of archery in England upto the time of Henry VIII of England (A. D. *1491–1547*) see article on *Archery* in the *Encylo. Britannica.*

THREE ANCIENT DYNASTIES OF MAHAKOSALA

By

V. V. MIRASHI

The ancient history of South Kosala (now called Mahākosala) comprising the Raipur, Drug, Bilaspur and Sambalpur Districts and some States of the Eastern States Agency like Raigarh, Sarangarh and Patna is still enveloped in obscurity. The stone inscriptions and copper-plates of three ancient dynasties have been found in the Raipur and Bilaspur Districts and the Sarangarh State, but scholars are not yet agreed about the chronological relation *inter se* of these dynasties. As this question is interlinked with the history of some other dynasties of northern as well as southern India, it is proposed to discuss it in some detail here.

The first of these dynasties is that known from the Arang plate[1] of Bhīmasena II. This plate was found in the possession of a Malguzar of Arang in the Raipur District of the Chhattisgarh Division of the Central Provinces. It gives the following genealogy :—

Śūra
|
Dayita (or Dayitavarman I)
|
Bibhīṣaṇa
|
Bhīmasena I
|
Dayitavarman (II)
|
Bhīmasena II

The plate was issued from the Suvarṇa-nadī and records the grant of the village Vaṭapallikā situated in the Doṇḍāviṣaya. The inscription contains a date at the end, introduced by the expression *Guptānāṁ saṁvatsara-śate*, which Rai Bahadur HIRALAL read as 200 80 2 Bhādra di 10 8, *i.e.*, the 18th day of the month Bhādrapada in the Gupta year 282 (A.D. 601-2). HIRALAL identified the Suvarṇa-nadī with the great river Śoṇa (called also Hiraṇyavāha). He further proposed to identify Doṇḍā with a village of the same name 25 miles west of Arang and Vaṭapallikā with Barapālī about 30 miles east of Arang.

This is the only record of this royal family. Its capital is not mentioned in it, but as shown below, it was probably Śrīpura, modern Śirpur, about 20 miles north-east of Arang in the Raipur District.

The second dynasty is that of the so-called kings of Śarabhapura. It is now known that the dynasty was founded by a king named Śarabha.[2]

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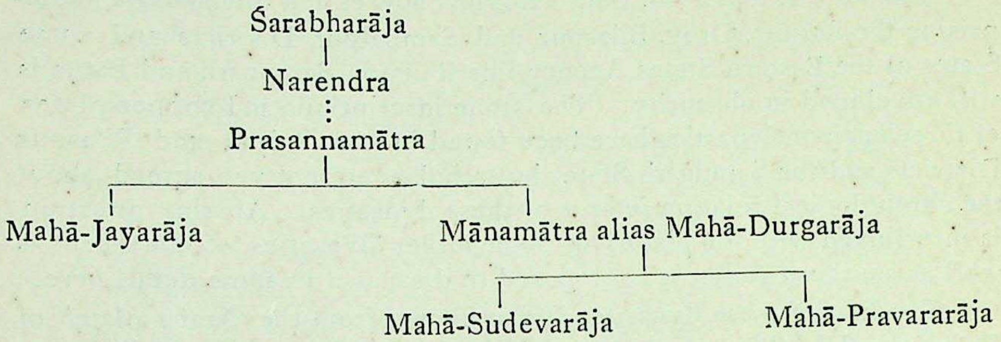
[1] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, pp. 342 f.

[2] The Pipardula plates recording the earliest grant of the dynasty were issued by the king Narendra who describes himself as the son of Śarabha. *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, **Vol. XIX, pp. 139 f.**

He founded the city of Śarabhapura from where most of the charters of this dynasty have been issued. Nearly a dozen grants of this royal family have been found in the Raipur and Bilaspur Districts and the Sarangarh State, from which we can make out the following genealogy :–



The exact relation of Prasannamātra to Narendra is not known, but he seems to have been his successor and may have been his son.[3] All the grants of this dynasty are dated in the regnal years and so afford no clue for the determination of their dates. But Śarabharāja who founded the dynasty was probably identical with the homonymous king[4] whose daughter's son Goparāja was a friend of the Gupta Emperor Bhānugupta and was killed in the battle of Eran in A.D. 510–11. Śarabharāja may therefore have flourished in *circa* A.D. 460–480. This date is supported by the box-headed characters in which all the grants of the dynasty are engraved and which resemble those of the Vākāṭaka grants. Many of these charters were found at Arang or in the neighbouring places like Raipur or Śirpur. The places donated by them can also be located in the Raipur and Bilaspur Districts.

All the charters of this dynasty except two viz., the Sarangarh plates of Mahā-Sudevarāja and the Thakurdiya plates of Mahā-Pravararāja, were issued from Śarabhapura which seems to have been their earlier capital.[5] During the reign of Mahā-Sudevarāja Śrīpura appears to have become a second capital. The Khariar plates of this king granted in the second regnal year were issued from Śarabhapura ; the recently discovered Sarangarh plates of the seventh year were granted at Śrīpura, while the later Raipur plates dated in the tenth year were again issued from Śarabhapura, which shows that the capital was not permanently shifted to Śrīpura. Only one grant of his brother and successor Mahā-Pravararāja has been discovered. It is issued from Śrīpura where the king may have shifted his capital.

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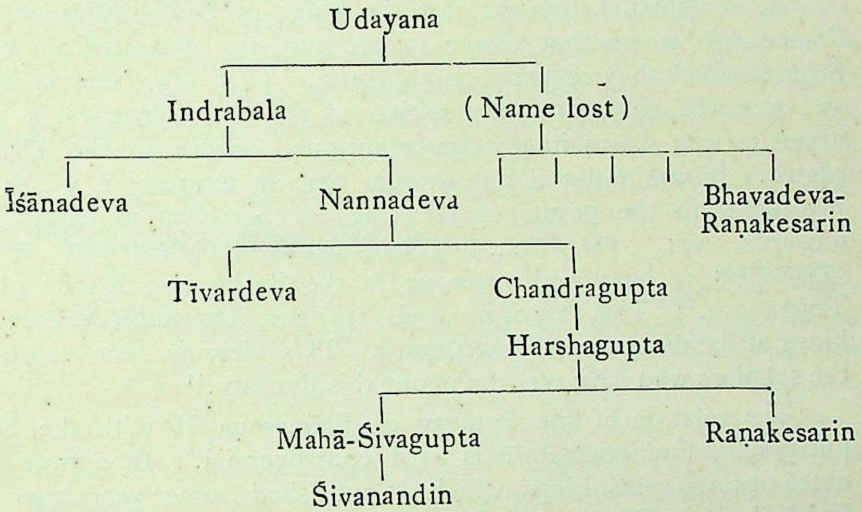
[3] *Loc. cit.*, p. 143.

[4] The identification was first suggested by me in my article on the Thakurdiya plates. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 17. Previously the grants of these kings were referred to the 8th century A. D. *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 283. I have shown elsewhere that the identification of Mānamātra and Sudevarāja with the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings Mānāṅka and Devarāja on which this view was based is incorrect., *A. B. O. R. I.* Vol. XXV, pp. 36 f.

[5] Śarabhapura has not been definitely identified ; but it may be identical with Śarabhgarh in the Gangpur State as suggested by Mr. L. P. PANDEYA. The earliest copper-plate inscription of the dynasty was found in the Sarangarh State which almost borders Gangpur on the South-west.

The third dynasty is that of the Pāṇḍavavaṁśī or Somavaṁśī kings.[6] Several stone inscriptions and copper-plate grants of this dynasty also have been found in the Raipur and Bilaspur Districts from which we have the following genealogy :—



The copper-plates of these kings also bear only regnal dates, but on the evidence of palæography, language and style Dr. KIELHORN referred the grants of Tīvaradeva to about the middle of the eight century A.D.[7] This view was first contested by the present writer in his article on the Thakurdiya plates of Mahā-Pravararājā where it was shown on the evidence furnished by the grants of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins and Eastern Cālukyas that Tīvaradeva must have flourished about the middle of the sixth century A.D.[8] HIRALAL thought that the capital of these kings was at Bhandak in the Chanda District, but that this view was based on wrong information about the original findspot of a stone inscription[9] of this dynasty was shown in the article on the Mallār plates of Mahā-Śivagupta-Bālārjuna. In the same article it was shown that the capital of Kosala (or South Kosala) described by the Chinese travellor YUAN CHWANG who probably visited the country during the reign of Bālārjuna was Śrīpura itself.

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[6] The earlier records such as the Bamhani plates and the Rajim plates name the family as *Pāṇḍu-vaṁśa* or *Pāṇḍava-vaṁśa*, while the later ones such the Mallar plates call it *Soma-vaṁśa*. *Bhārata Kaumudī*, Part I, p. 216 ; *Gupta Inscriptions*, p. 295 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, p. 120.

[7] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 258.

[8] Ibid., Vol. XXII, pp. 19 f. I then tentatively placed Tīvaradeva in the period A. D. 530–550. Further consideration of the available evidence has led me to the conclusion that he may have flourished slightly later in circa A. D. 560–575. *Ibid.* Vol. XXVI, p. 229.

The foregoing account of these three dynasties must have shown that all of them were ruling over the Raipur-Bilaspur area in the 6th and 7th century A.D. The next question is ' what was the chronological relation of these dynasties ' ?

R. B. HIRALAL thought that the kings of Śarabhapura ousted the Somavaṁśīs whom they drove to the east and occupied their capital Śrīpura which they renamed Śarabhapura. That this view is incorrect and that the chronological position of the two dynasties is just the opposite was shown in my aforementioned article on the Thakurdiya plates. It was pointed out therein that an expression which occurs invariably in the grants of all kings of Śarabhapura from Jayarāja onwards, viz. अयं ग्रामः...यावद्रविशशिताराकिरणप्रतिहतघोरान्धकारं जगदवतिष्ठते तावदुपभोग्यः is borrowed *verbatim* in the Rajim and Baloda plates of Tīvaradeva.[10] This leaves no doubt that the Somavaṁśīs succeeded the kings of Śarabhapura in Chhattīsgarh. This view is now accepted by the scholars who have written about this dynasty.[11]

The relation of the dynasty of Bhīmasena II with the Śarabhapurīyas and the Somavaṁśīs is still controversial. In a note on the dates of Somavaṁśī kings which I published some years ago in the *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 227 f., I pointed out that R. B. HIRALAL's reading of the date in the Arang plate of Bhīmasena II is incorrect. The first symbol denotes 100, not 200, as the horizontal stroke which is usually added to convert it into one for 200 is wanting in the present case. The date of the plate is thus the Gupta year 182 (A. D. 501). This date is supported by the palæography of the record as well as by the expression *saṁvatsara-śate* which introduces it. The family of Bhīmasena II seems to have ruled over the country round Arang for several generations. Bhīmasena II or his successor was probably ousted by Jayarāja of the Śarabhapura dynasty, who coming from the east conquered the territory round Arang and established himself there.

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[9] This stone inscription is of Nannarāja edited by KIELHORN in *J. R. A. S.* for 1905, pp. 617 f. KIELHORN was informed that the inscription was originally found at Ratanpur. CUNNINGHAM conjectured that it must have originally come from Bhandak in the Chanda District. HIRALAL followed this view and relegated it to Bhandak. I examined this question in detail in the article on the Mallar plates (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 116 f.) and showed that the record must have come from some place in Chhattisgarh. My conjecture has since then been confirmed by a statement of VINAYAKRAO AURANGABADKAR which my friend Dr. Y. K. DESHPANDE noticed in a manuscript deposited in the India Office Library, London. VINAYAKRAO AURANGABADKAR who was in the service of Mr. R. JENKINS, the British Resident at Nagpur (1807–1826) visited Arang where he found the stone inscription of Nannarāja affixed to a large temple. See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 227, n. 2. As no records of the Somavaṁśīs have been found in the Marathi-speaking parts of C. P., there is no evidence to show that Nannarāja was in possession of the territory as far as the Chanda District in the West as Dr. SIRKAR supposes. (*Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXII, p. 63.)

[10] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII, p. 17, n. 5.

[11] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXV, p. 268 ; *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XIX, p. 143.

Dr. D. C. SIRKAR has recently reopened this question in a note entitled 'Durgarāja of the Śarabhapurīya Dynasty' published in the *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXII, p. 62 f. He thinks that there is no doubt about the correctness of HIRALAL'S reading of the symbol in question (in the Arang plate mentioned above) as 200. He thus takes the date of the Arang plate to be G. 282 (A. D. 601). At the same time he places Mahā-Śivagupta-Bālārjuna in the first quarter of the seventh century A. D.[12] The family of Bhīmasena II was thus, according to Dr. SIRCAR, contemporaneous with those of the Śarabhapurīyas and the Somavaṁśīs. In order to get over the difficulty of this family ruling over the same region as the latter two families, Dr. SIRCAR supposes that 'it was probably ruling about the northern fringe of the country'. Let us examine this view at some length.

As stated before, my reading of the date of the Arang plate was based not only on the introductory expressions *saṁvatsara-śate* which Dr. SIRCAR considers unconvincing, but also on the form of the numerical symbol and above all on the palæographical evidence detailed in my article. This evidence has not yet been controverted. If Bhīmasena II was a contemporary of Mahā-Śivagupta-Bālārjuna, it looks strange that his Arang plate should show decidedly earlier forms of the following test letters than those noticed in the Sirpur stone inscription of Mahā-Śivagupta-Bālārjuna—

(i) *K* in the Arang plate shows a bent horizontal bar, but the latter has not yet formed a loop on the left ;
(ii) *D* does not yet show a tail ;
(iii) *Bh* and *s* have no wedge on the left ;
(iv) The left limb of the palatal *ś* does not exhibit a loop and has not yet become separated from the vertical on the right ;
(v) *H* has not yet become slanting and shows no tail.

In all these respects the Śirpur stone inscription shows definitely later forms.[13] This palæographic evidence should leave no doubt that *Mahārāja* Bhīmasena II must have flourished at least a century earlier than Mahā-Śivagupta-Bālārjuna. If the latter ruled in the first quarter of the seventh century A. D., Bhīmasena II must be referred to about A. D. 500. The date of the Arang plates must therefore be read as G. 182 (A. D. 501–2).

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[12] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXII, p. 62.

[13] See the facsimile of the Arang plate, facing p. 344, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX and that of the Sirpur stone inscription facing p. 190, *ibid.*, Vol. XI.

Let us next consider the question whether this *Mahārāja* Bhīmasena II was ruling over the northern fringe of the country. The copper-plate of this king was found at Arang and villages mentioned in the grant can also be identified in the vicinity of Arang as shown by HIRALAL. The copper-plate, therefore, in all probability, belonged to the vicinity of Arang, but one can not be absolutely certain about this as copper-plates are known to travel far away from their original place and similar place-names may perhaps be found in other parts of the country also. The main reason why Bhīmasena II is supposed to have ruled over the northern fringe of the country, by which probably the country of Mekalā is meant, seems to be that the Arang plate was issued from the Suvarṇa-nadī which HIRALAL identified with the well-known river Śoṇa rising from the Amarkantak Hills.[14] This identification, however, is not free from doubt. The present name of the great river is derived from the Sanskrit *śoṇa* or *śoṇā* (the red one), not from *suvarṇa* (gold). The *Amarakośa*, no doubt gives *Hiraṇyavāha* (*v. l.*, *Hiraṇyabāhu*) as a synonym of the Śoṇa,[15] but that name does not appear to have been in common use. The river is called Śoṇa or Śoṇā in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Mahābhārata*, *Raghuvaṁśa*, *Mudrārākṣasa* and other Sanskrit works.[16] The other name Hiraṇyavāha is rarely noticed.[17] Besides, *Hiraṇyavāha* (the gold-carrier) is not the same as *Suvarṇanadī* (the golden river). Again, if the Arang plate originally belonged to the Raipur District as seems likely, there is no reason why we should go as far north as Amrakaṇṭak in search of the Suvarṇa-nadī. HIRALAL seems to have proposed the identification of this river with the great Śoṇ because ' latter's waters possess great sanctity, the performance of *sandhyā* on its banks ensuring absolution and the attainment of heaven even to the slayer of a Brāhmaṇa '.[18] The copper-plate does not, however, say that the grant was made on the bank of a holy river. It was apparently issued by the king from his camp which was then pitched on the bank of the Suvarṇa-nadī. HIRALAL has pointed out that there is another river of the name Soṇ flowing through the Janjgir tahsil of the Bilaspur District, which joins the Mahānadī. It flows only about

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[14] *Ibid.*, Vol. IX, p. 344.

[15] *Amarakośa*, v. 288. See also *Abhidhānachintāmaṇi*, IV, 156, and *Kalpadrumakośa*, XIII, 42.

[16] *Rāmayāṇa* (Nirṇayasagar ed.), I, 31, 20 ; 35, 1 and 4 ; *Mahābhārata, Vanaparvan*, 85. 9 ; *Raghuvaṁśa*, VII, 36 ; *Mudrārākṣasa*, IV, 15.

[17] It is mentioned in the *Harṣacarita*. Arrian mentions the Erannoboas (Hiraṇyavāha) separately from the Sonos (Son). See McCrindle, *Ancient India*, p. 191.

[18] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IX, p. 344.

70 miles north-east of Arang. This river is more likely to be intended by the Suvarṇa-nadī mentioned in the Arang plate.

One other reason why the Suvarṇa-nadī is not likely to be identical with the well-known Soṇ is that the Mekalā country where the latter takes its rise does not appear to have been under the rule of the family of *Mahārāja* Bhīmasena II in the fifth century A.D. The Arang plate mentions as many as six generations which apparently were ruling over the country uninterruptedly. Their rule must have lasted for at least a hundred years. Śūra, the founder of the dynasty must therefore have flourished in A.D. 400 at the latest. But the recently discovered Bamhani plates[19] show that the Mekalā country was then ruled by the Pāṇḍavavaṁśī (or Somavaṁśī) dynasty. These plates were issued by *Mahārāja* Bharata *alias* Indrabala who was a contemporary of the Vākāṭaka Narendrasena (*circa* A.D. 450–465). He was preceded by three ancestors, *viz.*, Jayabala, Vatsarāja and Nāgabala, the earliest of whom may have been ruling in *circa* A.D. 375. There is thus no room for the family of *Mahārāja* Bhīmasena II ruling over Mekalā in the fifth century A.D.

In the present state of our knowledge it seems best to suppose that the ancestors of Bhīmasena II were ruling over Raipur-Bilaspur area in the fifth century A.D. The stone inscription of the Somavaṁśī king Nannarāja states that Sūryaghoṣa who originally built the temple of Sugata (Buddha) at Arang[20] flourished long before the time of Udayana. I have suggested elsewhere[21] that this Sūryaghoṣa was probably identical with Śūra who founded the dynasty of Bhīmasena II, for Śūra and Sūrya are synonyms in Sanskrit, both meaning the sun.[22] This Śūra may have been a descendant of Mahendra of Kosala who was defeated, but later reinstated on his throne, by Samudragupta.[23] He and his descendants seem to have owned allegiance to the Guptas, whose era they used in dating their records. Their capital was probably Śrīpura,[24] modern Śirpur, about 20 miles north-east of Arang.

Soon after A.D. 501, the date of the Arang plate, Bhīmasena II or his successor was ousted from Chhattisgarh by the Śarabhapurīya king

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[19] These plates have not yet been published, but Dr. B. CH. CHHABRA has summarised and discussed their contents in the *Bhārata-Kaumudī*, Part I, pp. 215 f.

[20] Cf. L. 7—गच्छति भूयसि काले भूमिपतिः क्षणितसकलरिपुपक्षः ।
पाण्डववंशाद् गुणवानुदयननामा समुत्पन्नः ॥

[21] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 229, n. 1.

[22] Cf. खद्योतो वरुणः शूरो विश्वप्साः पद्मलाञ्छनः ।
काश्यपिः काश्यपेयश्च काश्यपश्च गभस्तिमान् ॥ *Kalpadrumakośa*, III, 4.

[23] *Gupta Inscriptians* p. 7.

[24] I thought previously that Śrīpura was founded by a king of Śarabhapurī a dynasty, because Śrī or Lakṣmī appears on all their seals. But the recently discovered plates of Mahā-Sudevarāja show that the town was probably in existence before and was used only as a second capital by Mahā-Sudevarāja.

Jayarāja whose copper-plate grant dated in the fifth regnal year has been found at Arang itself.[25] He and his descendants ruled over the country till about A.D. 530.

In the meantime the Pāṇḍavavaṁśī kings who were ruling over the Mekalā country seem to have been supplanted by the Parivrājaka *Mahārājas* who began to extend their kingdom south and west. Before A.D. 517, the Parivrājaka *Mahārāja* Hastin had spread his power to the Ḍāhala country which bordered Mekalā on the west.[26] He seems to have overrun Mekalā also and dispossessed Udayana's son Indrabala of his kingdom. The genealogy of Pāṇḍavavaṁśī kings after Bharata *alias* Indrabala is unknown, but since grandsons are usually named after their grandfather,[27] Indrabala (II), the son of Udayana, may have been a grandson of Bharata *alias* Indrabala, I. Udayana himself may have been ruling over the Mekalā country, for he raided the country as far north-west as Kālañjara where he built a temple of Vishṇu,[28] but there is no doubt that his son Indrabala II was ousted from Mekalā. The recently discovered Sarangarh plates show that Indrabala then moved to South Kosala where he ruled as a *Mahāsāmanta* and *Sarvādhikārādhikṛita*.[29] Occupying a position of power and vantage as he did, he must have found it easy to overthrow Mahā-Sudevarāja's brother Mahā-Pravararāja not long after his accession.

Indrabala II seems to have ruled as an independent king in Chhattisgarh for some time. A mutilated stone inscription in the temple of Lakhṇeśvara at Kharod, about two miles north of Seorinarayaṇ, describes him as one whose lotus-like feet looked resplendent with the rows of the crest-jewels of all kings.[30] The description is no doubt conventional, but it may not be altogether an empty praise. Indrapura which is mentioned in the same inscription as the head-quarters of a *viṣaya* may have been founded by him. His son Īśānadeva built the temple of Lakshmaṇadeva (now Lakhṇeśvar) at Kharod and endowed it with the gift of some villages.[31] Īśānadeva's brother Nannarājādhirāja was ruling when the temple of Sugata (Buddha) originally erected by Sūryaghosha at Arang was repaired.[32] Nannadeva's son Tīvaradeva is known from two copper-plate grants—one discovered at Rajim in the Raipur District and the other at Baloda in the Phulzar Zamindari, both places being included in Chhattisgarh.

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[25] *Gupta Inscr.*, pp. 191 f.

[26] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VIII, pp. 284 f.

[27] In the Arang plate also, Bhīmasena II bore the name of his grandfather Bhīmasena I.

[28] CUNNINGHAM, *A. S. R.*, Vol. XXI, p. 40 ; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 257, n. 4.

[29] *Ind. Hist. Quart.*, Vol. XXI, p. 225.

[30] This inscription is still unedited, but I give the transcript of its 1. 22 from an impression in my possession—

सत्वर्विनाश्वराशिरोमणिराजिराजत्पादाम्बुजः शशिकुलाम्बरपूर्णचन्द्रः ।
आसीद् भुवः पतिः .... पास्तरिपुरिन्द्रबलाभिधानः ॥

[31] Hiralal, *Inscriptions in C. P. and Berar*, (Second ed.), p. 125.

[32] *J. R. A. S.* (1905), pp. 617 f.

These Somavaṁśī rulers seem to have given substantial help to the Maukhari Emperors Īśvaravarman and Īśānavarman during their campaigns against the contemporary Āndhra kings.[33] In fact the route of these kings, like that of Samudragupta for the invasion of southern kingdoms, lay through South Kosala.[34] The Āndhra king Mādhavavarman I of the Vishṇukuṇḍin family retaliated by invading and occupying the capital of Trivara (*i.e.*, the Somavaṁśī Tīvaradeva) as recorded in his Pulomburu and Ipur plates.[35]

The political alliance thus formed between the Maukharis and the Somavaṁśīs was later cemented by the marriage of Tīvaradeva's nephew Harṣagupta with Vāsaṭā, the daughter of the Maukhari prince Sūryavarman.[36] Their son Mahā-Śivagupta-Bālārjuna has left us several stone inscriptions and copper-plate grants which were discovered in the Raipur and Bilaspur Districts. One of these found in the debris of the temple of Lakṣmaṇa at Śirpur records the erection of that temple by Vāsaṭā, the mother of Bālārjuna.

Mahāśivagupta came to the throne when quite young and was known as Bālārjuna on account of his great skill in archery. He had a long reign of more than 57 years.[37] He may be referred to the period A.D. 590–650. He was probably the king of Kosala who submitted to Pulakeśin II as stated in the latter's Aihoḷe inscription. He and his capital (which was probably Śrīpura) have been described by the Chinese traveller Yuan Chwang.[38]

Mahā-Śivagupta-Bālārjuna had a brother named Raṇakesarin and a son called Śivanandin,[39] but whether either of them actually succeeded him is not known. It is also not known how long the rule of the Somavaṁśīs lasted in Chhattisgarh, for the later records of the dynasty come from distant Sambalpur and Cuttock Districts of Orissa and the Patna and Sonpur States in the Eastern States Agency.

The Somavaṁśīs appear to have been ousted from Chhattisgarh by the Nalas of Puṣkarī. These kings were ruling over parts of the Bastar

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[33] *Gupta Inscr.*, pp. 291 f.; *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. VII, pp. 102 f.

[34] It is not unlikely that there was only one campaign of Maukharis in South India, viz. that of Īśānavarman as recorded in the Haraha inscription, *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XIV, pp. 115 f.

[35] See *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXII. p. 19 f.

[36] *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 191.

[37] See *Summaries of Papers* submitted to the twelfth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference (History and Archæology), p. 39.

[38] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXIII, pp. 118 f.

[39] *Ibid.*, Vol. XI, p. 185; *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1303–04, p. 49.

State and the adjoining portion of the Vizagapatam District of the Madras Presidency. The coins of three kings of this dynasty viz. Varāha, Bhavadatta and Arthapati have been discovered at Eḍengā in the Koṇḍegaon *tahsil* of of the the Bastar State.[40] A stone inscription mentioning Skandavarman, the son of Bhavadatta, as ruling at Puṣkarī has also been found at Poḍāgaḍh in the Jeypore Agency.[41] The Nalas were contemporaries of the Vākāṭakas with whom they often came into conflict.[42] They suffered a crushing defeat at the hands of the Early Chālukya king Kīrtivarman I,[43] but were not exterminated. Like the rulers of Kosala and Kaliṅga, they must have submitted to Pulakeśin II but they appear to have found a favourable opportunity for the expansion of their power at the close of Bālārjuna's reign. They invaded the kingdom of their northern neighbours, the Somavaṁśīs whom they drove to the east. They then established themselves at Śrīpura, the old capital of South Kosala.

A stone inscription discovered as early as 1825 in the temple of Rājīvalochana at Rajim has recently been edited by me.[44] It mentions three kings of the Nala dynasty—Pṛithvīrāja, Virūparāja and Vilāsatuṅga, all of whom seem to have reigned at Śrīpura. Vilāsatuṅga, the last of these kings, built a temple of Viṣṇu now known as Rājīvalochana at Rajim. As Cousens has shown, this temple is, in plan, a copy of the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Śirpur,[45] which had been erected by the dowager Somavaṁśī queen Vāsaṭā during the reign of her son Mahā-Śivagupta-Bālārjuna. The inscription recording the erection of the temple at Rajim is incised in characters of the eighth century A.D. which shows that the Nalas succeeded the Somavaṁśīs in Mahākosala.

The three ancient dynasties of Mahākosala thus reigned successively at Śrīpura—the dynasty of Bhīmasena II from *circa* A. D. 380 to A. D. 505 ; the kings of Śarabhapura from *circa* A. D. 505 to A. D. 530 and the Somavaṁśīs from *circa* A. D. 530 to A. D. 650. The last dynasty was ousted by the Nalas of the Bastar State who may have ruled in the Raipur District till they were supplanted by the Kalachuris some time in the ninth century A. D.[46]

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[40] *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. I, pp. 29 f.

[41] *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXI, pp. 153 f.

[42] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXII, pp. 210 f.

[43] *Ibid.*, Vol. VI, pp. 1 f.

[44] *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 49. f.

[45] *P. R. A. S. W. I.* for 1903–04, p. 24. For the plan of the two temples, see Cunningham's *A. S. I. R*, Vol. XVII, Pl. V and XV, with corrections pointed out by Cousens.

[46] Mugdhatuṅga-Prasiddhadhavala, the son of Kokalla I of Tripurī, who first conquered Pāli from the lord of Kosala and placed it in charge of one of his brothers, flourished in the last quarter of the 9th century A.D.

THE METRE OF GĀθĀ AHUNAVAITĪ

(Some Preliminary Considerations)

By

IRACH J. S. TARAPOREWALA

It has been known for many years that the Avesta Gāθās are metrical in their structure. Indeed the very name *Gāθā* implies that they are meant to be chanted. GELDNER in his standard edition of the Avesta Texts has given brief descriptions of the metres of each of the five Gāθās. But there are niceties to be observed in the scanning, which he has not touched. GELDNER also wrote a standard work on the metrical system of the Younger Avesta. There have been other studies of Avesta metre since this book of GELDNER, such as the work of J. HERTEL, and WELLER's *Anāhitā*. All these deal mainly with the 'Younger Avesta' Texts. The meter of the Gāθās has not been treated systematically as such in a book by any scholar so far as I am aware.

The Gāθā metres are closely allied to the Vedic meters, as has been recognised by all. There is one point of resemblance which has been *mentioned* by almost every scholar, viz., that "the unit of meter is also the unit of sense". But practically no one so far has adhered to this rule while dealing with the Gāθā texts. The majority of them jump about from *pāda* to *pāda* in a most distracting manner. Personal experience has convinced me that, if this dictum is consistently borne in mind, much of the Gāθā construction becomes quite easy to unravel.

But the first question would be, what is 'the unit of meter' ? Is it the *pāda* or the whole line (made up of two *pādas*) ? Bartholomae in one place mentions this rule rather emphatically, but immediately after that he proceeds to exemplify this by taking one whole *line* (two *pādas*) as the unit. Nor is he at all consistent throughout his rendering of the Gāθās. The other scholars are equally inconsistent as regards this rule.

I think that the real 'unit of metre' (and also 'the unit of sense') is the *pāda* and not the whole line. GELDNER has indicated the whole lines in his Avesta Texts, and so also has WESTERGAARD. K. E. KANGA was, I believe, the first who attempted to divide Gāθā verses according to *pādas*. At present there are two editions of the Gāθās used by Parsi Zoroastrians, in which the verses are shown divided into *pādas*, these are the edition of KANGA, and that of BEHRAMGORE T. ANKLESARIA. But they accept GELDNER's description of the Gāθā meters. And in the Gāθā Ahunavaitī they merely divide each line of GELDNER's Text by two, and thus get their *pādas*. The 'unit of sense' can hardly be expected to follow such mechanical methods.

One important principle should always guide us in the scanning of Gāθā verses. We must never forget that in Avesta a lot of extra vowels get added at the beginning or within the body of a word. These are the prothetic, epenthetic and other vowels. These have to be discarded utterly. Then again there are a lot of peculiar 'diphthongs' developed in accordance with the rules of Iranian phonetics. In the majority of cases these diphthongs are to be counted as monosyllabic, but sometimes meter requires them to be resolved into their componanta. There are certain words like *Daēnā*, *Ārmaiti* and others in which every vowel has to be clearly enunciated, thus *Da-ē-nā* (3 syllables), *Ā-ra-mah-ti* (4 syllables). Usually the *sandhi*, as we know it in Sanskrit, is to be neglected. Still, sometimes the final vowel of a word combines with the initial vowel of the following word in order that the meter may come out correctly. All these details have to be carefully noted.

The first Gāθā, Ahunavaitī, is the longest—100 verses—and it is also the most important of all the five. Its metrical scheme is closest to the Sanskrit *anuṣṭup*. The line invariably (except only in one case) consists of 16 syllables. But the divisions into *pādas* are not equal. These may be 7–9, or 8–8, or 9–7. Why such variations exist is difficult to explain, but I suspect that the accent system of the Avesta (which is usually a strong stress on the penult) is responsible for this variation. Each verse of the Ahunavaitī can be arranged as six *pādas*, which *metrically* make up three pairs. But considered as 'units of sense' these six may be arranged as three lines of two *pādas* each (equal to 1½ *anuṣṭup* verse) or two groups of three *pādas* each (equal to two *gāyatrī* verses). This latter arrangement is fairly common, no less than 41 verses out of the 100 show this arrangement.

These *gāyatrī* verses of the Ahunavaiti are the following, numbered as in the text of the Yasna, as printed by GELDNER :

Yasna	28,	verses	1,3,6,8,9,10	in all	6	verses.
,,	29,	,,	4,8	,, ,,	2	,,
,,	30,	,,	4,5,6,9,10,11	,, ,,	6	,,
,,	31,	,,	4,8,9,11,12,15,17,21	,, ,,	8	,,
,,	32,	,,	2,3,4,10,11,12,13,14	,, ,,	8	,,
,,	33,	,,	2,3,6,7,9,10	,, ,,	6	,,
,,	34,	,,	5,8,11,12,13,14	,, ,,	6	,,
				Total	42	verses.

It may also be noted in passing that when two or more consecutive verses show the same arrangement into two *gāyatrīs*, the thought also is continuous.

Out of the total of 100 verses, or 300 *anuṣṭup* lines (of 16 syllables each) the vast majority show the *pādas* paired as 7–9. There are 257 such lines ; in all 23 lines are 8–8 ; 19 are 9–7 and one line is 8–9.

When the arrangement of the verse is three lines of *anuṣṭup*, the *pādas* would of course go in pairs. But even when the sense requires the arrangement into two *gāyatrīs*, the *pādas* have to be paired *metrically*. Thus, if there are three lines of the measure 7-9, arranged as two *gāyatrīs*, the *pādas* would be found arranged as 7–9–7 ; 9–7–9.

Numbering the six *pādas* in each verse from a to f, we may enumerate the other varieties of the lines :

(A) 8–8 :

Yasna	28, 10ab	1 line
,,	30, 3cd,5ab,11ab	3 lines
,,	31, 10ab	1 line
,,	32, 2cd,3ab,4ab,4cd,6cd,7ef,9ef, 10ab,15ef	9 lines
,,	33,1ef,5cd,8ab,9ef,13ab,13cd	6 ,,
,,	34, 1ab,9cd,14ef	3 ,,
	Total	23 lines.

(B) 9–7 :

Yasna	28, 1cd,4cd,5cd,10ef	4 lines
,,	29, 2ab,6ab,7ab	3 ,,
,,	30, 3ef,6ab,8ab	3 ,,
,,	31, 1cd,4ab	2 ,,
,,	32, 2ef,4ef,8cd	3 ,,
,,	33, 6ef	1 line
,,	34, 7cd,7ef,10ab	3 lines
	Total	19 lines.

(C) Only one line in the whole of the Ahunavaitī Gāθā is utterly irregular. It is Yasna 32, 13ab, and it divides as 8–9, i.e. 17 syllables in all.

PATTADKAL AND ITS SCULPTURES[1]—A BRIEF OUTLINE

By

R. S. PANCHAMUKHI

Karnatak contains a rich heritage of cultural remains in every branch of life and her geographical situation in the centre of the Dekkan has contributed a good deal to the preservation of the best specimens in tact from the revages of ignorant iconoclasts. These remains are in the form of temples and sculptures, inscriptions on stones and copper-plates and palm-leaf and paper manuscript works etc., scattered all over the land. In the course of the last 1,500 or 1,600 years of the historical period, the vestiges of the ancient Karnatak culture have undergone considerable decay and disintegration which, if not arrested in good time are sure to be wiped out of existence, to the complete loss of the entire mass of solid evidence for the reconstruction of the ancient history of India, of which Karnatak is a considerable unit. It is therefore, the duty of Government and every lover of Indian culture to devise ways and means to preserve this precious material by a proper course of conservation on the spot or by transporting them to a Museum where their use can be best made by the students of ancient Indian culture and the inquisitive public in general.

The typical remains of the ancient Karnatak art and architecture in their original vigorous form are extant in the temples and sculptures of Pattadkal near Badami. They form a basic group for the multitudinous growth of temples and sculptures of the mediaeval and late schools of artistic styles in Karnatak and thus furnish the earliest specimens without which a connected history of the styles of Indian architecture and sculpture is well-nigh impossible. It is the object of this paper, to study the sculptures of Pattadkal in their historical and iconographical setting and present as briefly as possible, the special contribution which Karnatak has made to the evolution of Indian sculptral art during the first eight hundred years of the Christian era.

Pattadkal issituated at about 12 miles to the North-East of Badami the headquarters of the Badami Taluka of the Bijapur District

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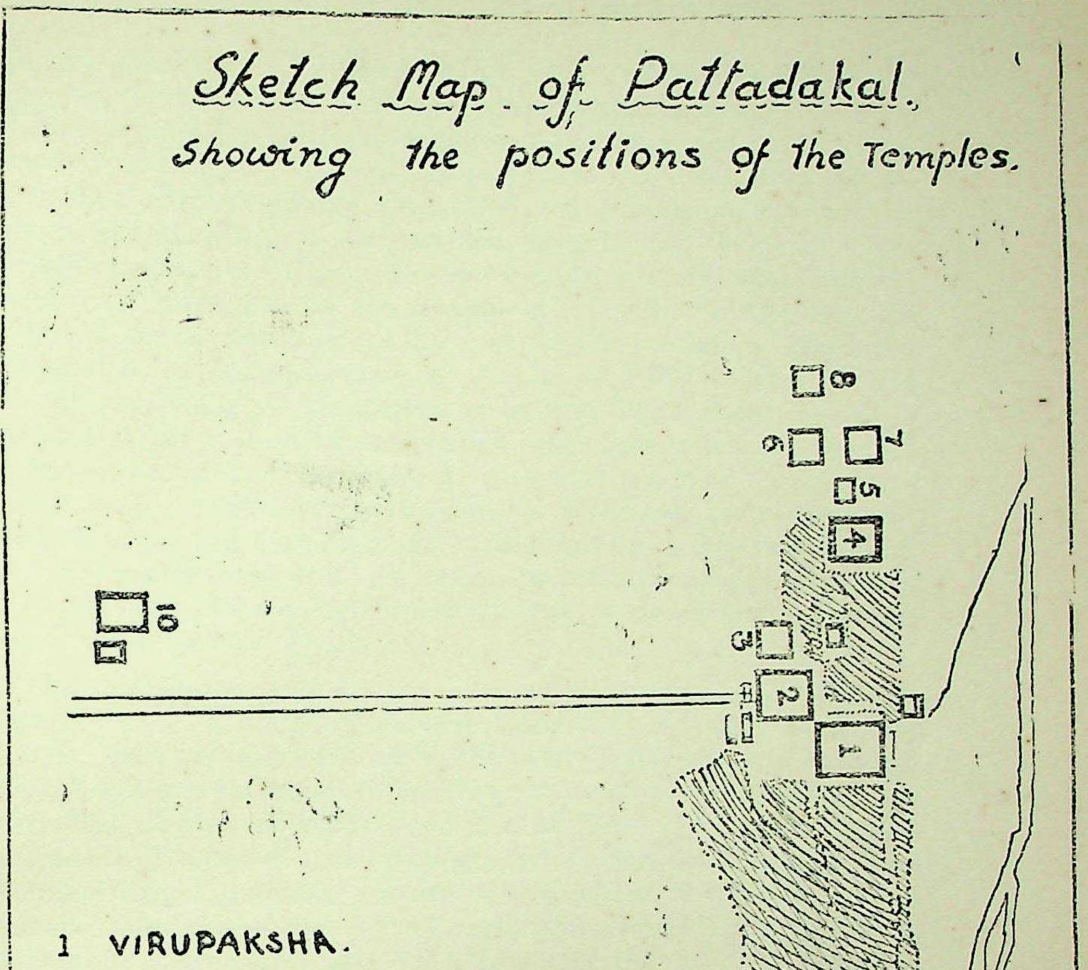
[1] The study of Pattadkal sculptures was underken by me in 1944 at the suggestion of the late Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT who desired that I should write a guide to Badami, Aihole and Pattadkal. In April 1945, the late Rao Bahadur and myself visited the places together and my notes on their architecture and sculpture prepared during my previous visits were checked and generally approved by him. The present paper forms only a brief outline of my forthcoming work "An outline of Karnatak sculpture" (ancient period) which is shortly to be published.

I take this opportunity to record my deep sense of gratitude to the late Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT, for all the help and guidance which I received from him in the preparation of this work.


Sketch Map of Pattadakal.
showing the positions of the Temples.
1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
1 VIRUPAKSHA.
2 MALLIKARJUNA
3 KASHI VISHVANATHA
4 SANGAMESHVARA
5 CHANDRASEKHARA
6 JAMBULINGA
7 GALAGANATHA
8 KADA SIDHESWARA
9 PAPANATHA
10 JAIN TEMPLE
N
W
E
S
K.S. Upadhye.
Artist

A sketch map showing the position of Pattadkal Temples, p. 60

(Bombay Presidency).) It is a place of great religious and historical importance and is still held in high sanctity by the Śaivas and Vīraśaivas of Karnatak. Apart from its religious magnetism, one finds in and ronnd about Pattadkal the vestiges of ancient and prehistoric human occupation which eloquently speak about the continuous flow of high culture from the North to the Dravidian countries of the South. The megalithic tombs of Bachangud about 4 miles from Pattadkal and the dolmens of Ramatirtha on the Badami hill and Aihole take back the history of human settlement of this area to the prehistoric Magalithic period of South Indian archaeology i. e. about 2,000–1,000 B. C. The alluvial river bed of the Malaprabha river near Khed about 8 miles to the South-West of Pattadkal has yielded palaeoliths which are assigned by Robert Bruce FOOTE to 50,000 B. C. or even earlier. A connected accout of the prehistoric settlements of this area, their industries, methods of life and the culture and civilisation which they had imbibed, can be possible only after a through exploration and excavation of fruit-ful sites and a scientific analysis and study of the antiquities unearthed in them are conducted.

In the historic period, we come across references to Badami, Pattadkal etc., in Ptolemey's ancient Geography of India (3rd century B. C.). They are mentioned under the names Badameon and Petergal. Though this area had been subjected to the sway of the Andhras, the early Rāshṭrakūṭas, the Pallavas and then of the early Kadamba chiefs of Banavāsi (Vaijayanti), no tangible proof of their power in the form of archaeological or literary remains of that period is available except perhaps the original shrine of the Durgābhagavatī temple of Aihole which on account of its apsidal plan on a model of the Buddhist Stupas is assigned to the 3rd century or 4th century A. D. From the time of the Chalukyas of Badami who succeeded the Kadambas of Banavasi first in their small principality of portions of Karwar, Dharwar, Belgaum and Bijapur Districts and latterly extended their sway in the whole of the Dekkan consisting of 9,9000 villages and left their stamp of imperialism on the contiguous countries viz. Gujarat, Mahārāshṭra and Āndhradeśa, we find ourselves on sure ground of history. Vātāpi (modern Badami) was their capital and Pattadkal on the banks of the Malaprabha was a sacred *tīrtha* where the kings of the family were formally crowned with fillets of gems tied to their fore-heads.

In one of the inserptions of Pattadkal, the ancient name of Pattadkal is given as ' Paṭṭada Kisu voḷal ' which is explained in the same record as the secondary capital where the festival of coronation of the Chalukya monarchs was being celebrated.

The practice of celebrating the coronation ceremony in a sacred place was common with the ancient kings of India, for example, the Rāshṭrakūṭa Indra III is stated in his Bagumra plates, to have gone from

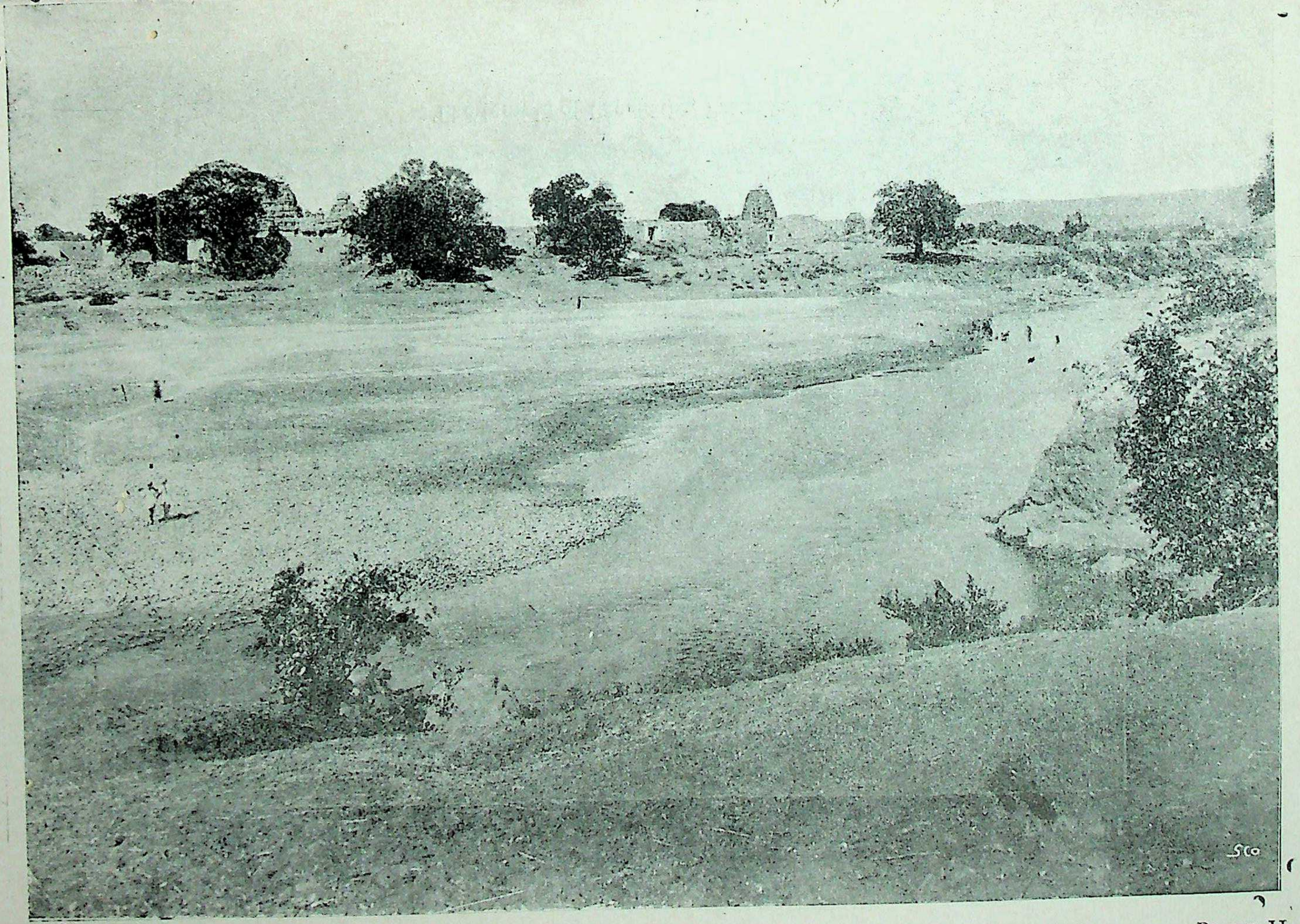
Mānyakhēṭa (Malkhed) to Kurandaka on the Varadā river for the purpose of being crowned formally. There has been, however, no direct contemporary evidence in the form of actual remains of the coronation hall etc., at Pattadkal to prove the correctness of the statement of the inscription which belongs to the 11 cent. A. D. It may be noted that close to the village on the Northern bank of the Malaprabha, there is found an extensive mound of 18 acres of land which is strewn with the potsherds—painted thick and thin—and bricks of the early Chalukyan period. It was reported to me that a few years ago, some architectural parts such as stone pillers, beams etc., were brought to view in the course of ploughing. Though these remains would indicate an ancient occupation of the area, it cannot be posited that they are the relics of the royal palace where the coronation Durbar was held. It is however, quite plausible from the arguments set forth above, that the place was the seat of coronation of the kings of the Early Chalukya family and the name Pattadkal is reminescent of this fact. If this is accepted, it will not be reasonable to suggest the identification of Ptolemy's Petergal with Pattadkal as has been done by some scholars.

Pattadkal has a cluster of temples (see general plan of temples) built on the Southern bank of the Malaprabhā river. Of these, the following are noteworthy :—

(1) Temple of Virūpāksha.
(2) Temple of Malikārjuna.
(3) Temple of Kāśīviśvanātha.
(4) Temple of Gaḷaganātha.
(5) Temple of Kāḍasiddēśvara.
(6) Temple of Jambuliṅga.
(7) Temple of Saṅgamēśvara.
(8) Temple of Chandraśēkhara.
(9) Temple of Pāpanātha.
(10) Jain temple about quarter of a mile to the west of the village.

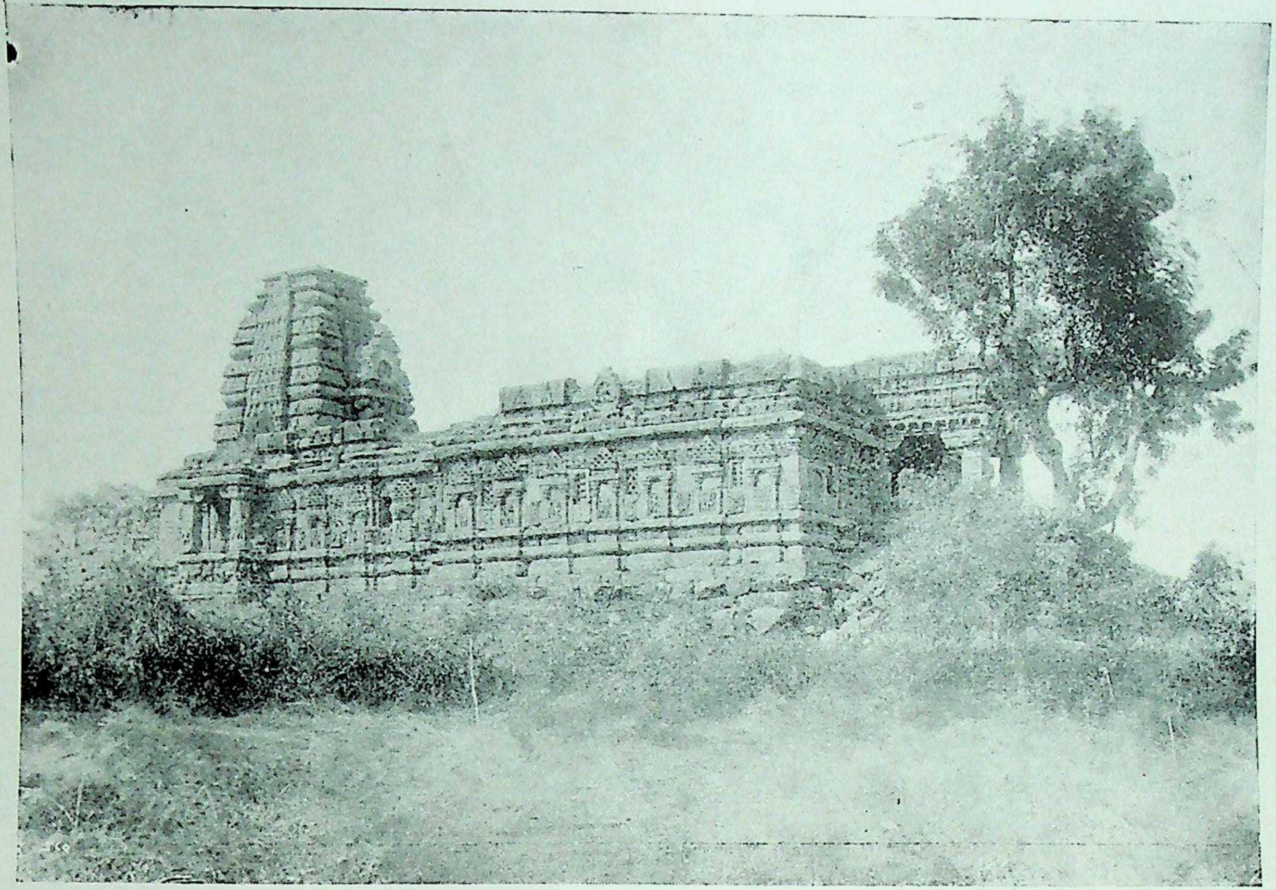
These temples are the repository of the works of sculptural art of the Early Chalukyan period. The earliest is the Saṅgamēśvara temple which is called in the inscriptions as Bijēávara or Vijayēśvara named after Vijayāditya son of Vinayāditya-Satyāśraya. The temple appears to have been constructed by private contributions—three pillars being the donations of Chalabbe the dancing girl of the temple, one, of the Śaiva saint Vidyārāśi and two, of a certain person whose name is not clear in the inscription. Poleyachchi the *Perggade* of Mahadēvigēri is stated to have endowed a sum of 51 *Gadyāṇa* towards the construction of this temple. It is built with the Southern *Vimāna* having a *nārikēḷakalaśa* (cocoanut on the pot) as the finial. The temple has remained unfinished as the linear outlines of the sculptures cut on the three walls of the central shrine have not been scooped out fully and the inscriptions engraved on the front wall of it have been purposely erased, indicating the occurrence of some unforeseen disturbance which must have been responsible for the incomplete execution of the temple.

PLATE II



A general view of the temples of Pattadkal (excluding the Pāpanātha temple), p. 62

PLATE III



The temple of Pāpanātha, Pattadkal, p. 64

The next in point of time are the temples of Virūpāksha and Mallikārjuna which are evidently the same as the Lōkēśvara and Trailōkyēśvara built respectively by the two queens of Vikramāditya II, son of Vijayāditya, viz., Lokmahādēvī and Trailōkyamahādevī as recorded in the Pattadkal pillar inscription of the time of Kārtivarman II dated in A.D. 754. Of these, the former is in a purely Dravidian style with a Southern *Vimāna* of *nārikeḷa-kalaśa* and the latter shows the Northern type of *Vimāna* with an *āmalaka-kalaśa*: The temple of Pāpanātha towards the South-East corner of the village of Pattadkal, does not appear to be far removed in time from the above temples, for the method and style of architecture and sculpture employed in it exhibit the same features as those in the Virūpāksha temple and the alphabet of the inscriptions in it is as archaic as that of the epigraphs in the latter. This temple is supposed to have been originally dedicated to an *avatar* of Vishṇu or most probably to Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa whose image is carved on the back side of the outer wall behind the central shrine.

The temples of Gaḷaganaṇātha, Kāśīviśvanātha, Jambulinga and Kāḍasiddhēśvara are all built with a Northern *Gōpura* and from the workmanship and style of architecture, they are assignable to the 8th century A.D. The Jain temple situated about a quarter of a mile to the west of the village Pattadkal is also built in the old Dravidian style and the huge standing elephant and the storeyed character of the building as well as the chains of half-elephants running round the basement are reminiscent of the influence of the Kailāsa cave temple at Ellora constructed by Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa I. The Jain temple is in all probability the monument of the Rāshṭrakūṭa period but not far removed from the date of the other temples of the place. The following table shows the distribution of the temples at Pattadkal with their authors, date and general style of architecture :—

Temple	*Builder*	*Date*	*General style of Architecture*
	I GROUP		
1. Sangamēśvara (Vijayēśvara)	Vijayāditya-Satyāśraya (696-733)	Circa A.D. 700	Southern
2. Virūpāksha (Lokēśvara)	Lōkamahādēvī Queen of Vikramāditya II (733-746)	740	Southern
3. Old Jain temple	Probably Rāshṭrakūṭa Kṛishṇa I	A.D. 770	Southern
	II GROUP		
4. Mallikārjuna temple	Trailōkyamahādēvī, Queen of Vikramāditya II	Circa 740	Northern

5. Pāpanātha	......	,, (?)	Northern
6. Galaganātha	......	,, (?)	Northern
7. Kāśīviśvanātha	......	......	Northern
8. Jambulinga	......	......	Northern
9. Kāḍasiddhēśvara	......	......	Northern
10. Chandraśēkhara	......	......	The *Gōpura* is dilapidated

The chief characteristic of the Northern tower is the predominance of vertical lines over the horizontal ones. The finial consists of a narrow pot with an *āmalaka* on it, i.e. a circular crowning piece which is vertically grooved all round. The Southern tower shows a gradation of horizontal bands tapering into a finial which is made up of a *Kalaśa* or pot with cocoanut placed on it. The major temples of Pattadkal Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 in the above table are built in both the styles which indicates the meeting of Northern and Southern architects in Karnatak. This is quite natural since Karnatak is wedged in between the land of the Indo-Aryan style of Northern-India and that of the older Drvidian style of Southern India. This geographical factor has been greatly responsible for the thick intercourse political or matrimonial, between the ruling powers of Karnatak and the Northern and Southern powers. The Kadambas who were politically the feudatories of the Pallavas in the beginning, contracted marriage alliences, with the Guptas of Pāṭaliputra, the Vākāṭakas of Central India and the Gangas of Taḷakāḍ (Mysore). The Chalukyas of Badami who were the inveterate foes of the Pallavas of Kanchi, had married the Kaṭatsuri and Haihaya princesses of North India. Further, the military campaigns of Kīrtivarman I, Pulikēsin II, Vikramāditya I, Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya brought the kings and the State officials into closer contact with the kingdoms of their enemies in the North as well as in South India. This constant and intimate intercourse has left its stamp on the works of art of this early period. This is evidenced in the styles of temple architecture referred to above and the sculptural art exhibited in the productions of the period at Badami, Pattadkal and Aihole. The following brief study of the Pattadkal sculptures will bear out the truth of this statement.

Before the examination of the individual sculptures is undertaken, it is worth while to know the basic thought-currents that had moulded the contemporary life of the people, to facilitate the correct analysis and evaluation of the works of the Chalukyan art. The Pattadkal temples with the single exception of the Jain temple outside the village are dedicated to the cult of Vishṇu or Śiva and the pillars, walls and the *Gōpuras* are replete with the Pauranik sculptures of either worship. It may be noted that the Vedic form of worship as amplified by the *Purāṇas* did not create any water-tight hiatus between the Vaishṇava and Śaiva forms of worship as was done by the exclusive Śaivas and the Śrī-

Vaishṇavas of later date; for, the temples of Vishṇu contained the images of Śiva or linga and those of Śiva, of Vishṇu and his retinue, the image in the central shrine being considered the chief object of worship. Accordingly, the Vaishṇava cave temples of Badami of this period, show the representations in stone, of Śiva and his numerous forms, and the structural temples of Pattadkal which are mostly Śaiva contain the figures of Vishṇu and His *avatars*. Considered from this point of view, early forms of Śaiva and Vaishṇava worship were not antagonistic with each other, particularly in the Chalukya territory which lay midway between the land of Śaivism of the Pallavas and that of Vaishṇavism of the Guptas. The principal religious proclivities of the Chalukyan times were thus Vaishṇava-Śaiva, Vaishṇava being a more predominant element as indicated by the fact that the Chalukyas were the devout worshippers of Vishṇu in His Varāha form.

It may further be noted that Pattadkal was a centre of Śaiva worship, and pilgrims from all over India appear to have travelled to the place to visit this religious *Kshētra*. An inscription of Kīrtivarm II (A. D. 754) records the erection of a *Triśūla-stambha* between the three temples of Vijayēśvara, Lokēśvara and Trailōkyēśvara by Jñānaśiva who had come down and settled at Pattadkal, from the Mṛigathaṇikāhāra Vishaya on the Southern bank of the Ganges. Similarly Śaiva emigrants from Kashmir and Central India in the North as well as from the Pallava country in the South appear to have moved to Karnatak in large groups and settled there peacefully under the royal support and patronage. This is rendered plausible by the twelve years occupation of the Chalukyan capital Vātāpi by the Pallavas, and the North Indian expedions of Vikramāditya and his son and grandson Vinayāditya and Vijayāditya respectively. These contacts with the neighbouring countries have left a distinct mark on the social and religious life of the people of Karnatak which is reflected on the monuments and works of art, such as the sculptures and paintings of the period. People of non-vedic religions such as Jainism, Buddhism and atheism also had made Karnatak their home with their religious establishments founded in their new habitat.

With this back ground of information on the cultural life of the Chalukyan times, we may proceed to classify the sculptures found in the temples of Pattadkal and study them from the historical and iconographical points of view. The sculptures of Pattadkal readily fall into the following two main divisions: (i) religious and (ii) secular. The former group is represented by (i) the Gods and Goddesses, Śaiva and Vaishṇava, planets, the semi-divine beings the Gandharvas, Kinnaras, etc., and (ii) the figures representing the Pauranik episodes particularly the epics of Mahābhārata and Rāmāyaṇa, and the Bhāgavata, Harivaṁśa as well as the Śaiva Purāṇas and by (iii) the decorative objects such as hybrid figures and griffins and dwarfs carrying a huge garland of flowers etc. In the latter group (i) the sculptures representing the social and domestic life, and (ii) the animals, birds, weapons and musical instruments, etc., may be noted. Further, the latter collection contains a few portrait sculptures, though their identification is not certain as they are not labelled. The unique feature of some of the Chalukyan sculptures consists in furnishing the names of sculptors who figured them and this testifies to the existence of a regular guild of sculptors in this early period.

(i) Gods and Goddesses depicted in the Pattadkal temples :—

The temple of Virūpāksha is the most marvellous of all the temples in the village, for the exuberent wealth of sculptures and the artistic style of architecture. In the *Prākāra* wall (outer and inner sides) and in the outer wall of the temple proper, are cut numerous figures of Śaiva and Vaishṇava Gods and Goddesses. Distinct marks of different workmanship are evident in the figures carved in the niches or set up on the walls. Some images are cut out of stone and some are built of brick and mortar which material was largely used in the earlier construction.

A careful survey of the figures found on the outer walls of the temples shows the following Śaiva and Vaiseṇava deities in their different *avataras*.

I FORMS OF ŚIVA

1. Ardhdhanārīśvara.
2. Harihara.
3. Dancing Śiva (Naṭarāja) with two hands only.
4. Śiva with matted hair trampling upon Apasmāra-purusha.
5. Śiva with four hands ; holding in one hand a staff with cloth flying to the side.
6. Naṭarāja with four hands, the two upper hands holding aloft the skirts of the elephant-skin and dancing to the accompaniment of music by two fat persons seated on either side.

There are different forms of Naṭarāja (Śiva in a dancing pose) with a varying number of hands from 2 to 16 carved in the temples of Badami, Pattadkal and Aihole.

7. Śiva standing, in the form of Lakulīśa with matted hair and having two hands, one hand holding a staff.
8. Śiva with two hands, piercing, by a spear, through the belley of a demon held aloft.
9. Śiva in the *Kirāta* form, with two hands only.
10. Śiva in Kailāsa and Rāvaṇa uprooting it from below.
11. Naṭarāja with eight hands.

12. Śiva with four hands, one upper hand holding a Nandi staff i. e. a long staff with the figure of a seated Nandi on the top.

13. Śiva with eight hands, an upper right hand holding a *triśūla* with flying cloth, having a seated figure of a clown with a mock human figure cut on his stomach.

14. *Liṅgōdbhava-mūrti*—with four hands.

15. Naṭarāja with eight hands showing :—

Right side :—

1. Ḍamaru.
2. Round object.
3. Dancing pose taken to the chest.
4. Snake.

Left side :—

1. Dancing pose.
2. Fire.
3. Cloth held aloft.
4. Dancing pose.

✓16. In the Nandī-maṇḍapa is found Naṭarāja with ten hands, holding in the right five hands bow, sword, *ḍamaru*, serpent and pan and showing by the left five hands, moon or *chakrāyudha*, arrow, pose resting on the thigh, movement taken across the belly, and resting on the shoulder of Pārvati standing by the side, respectively.

✓(ii) The Avatāras of Vishnu represented are :—

1. ✓Varāha-*avatar.*
2. Vishṇu with eight hands holding in four right hands : (i) dagger, (ii) arrow, (iii) discus and (iv) mace., and in the four left hands : (i) Conch, (ii) bow, (iii) axe, (iv) (broken).
3. ✓Narasiṁha tearing open the stomach of Hiraṇyakaśyapa.
4. ✓Narasiṁha fighting with Hiraṇyakaśyapa.
5. ✓Trivikrama with eight hands, left leg being raised upto the heavens.
6. ✓Vishṇu with four hands :—Upper two holding (i) *Chakra* and (ii) *Śankha* ; lower two (i) round object, (ii) resting on thigh.
7. A four-headed figure evidently *Chaturmukha-Brahmā* seated in knee-*bandha* on a lotus-seat, holding in his two upper hands, (i) *paraśu* and (ii) *Chakra* and in the two lower ones rosary (?) and (ii) resting on the left foot.

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8. Gajēndra-Mōksha ; Vishṇu on Garuḍa, with four hands. The whole episode of the rescue of the elephant from the clutches of the crocodile is depicted. It is noteworthy that the *Garuḍa* has no pointed beak, but has an ordinary human face as in the Vaishnava cave at Badami.
9. Vishṇu with a devotee holding a pan of offerings. The devotee wears a long tapering cap called the *Gōsāvi-cap* (meditator's cap).

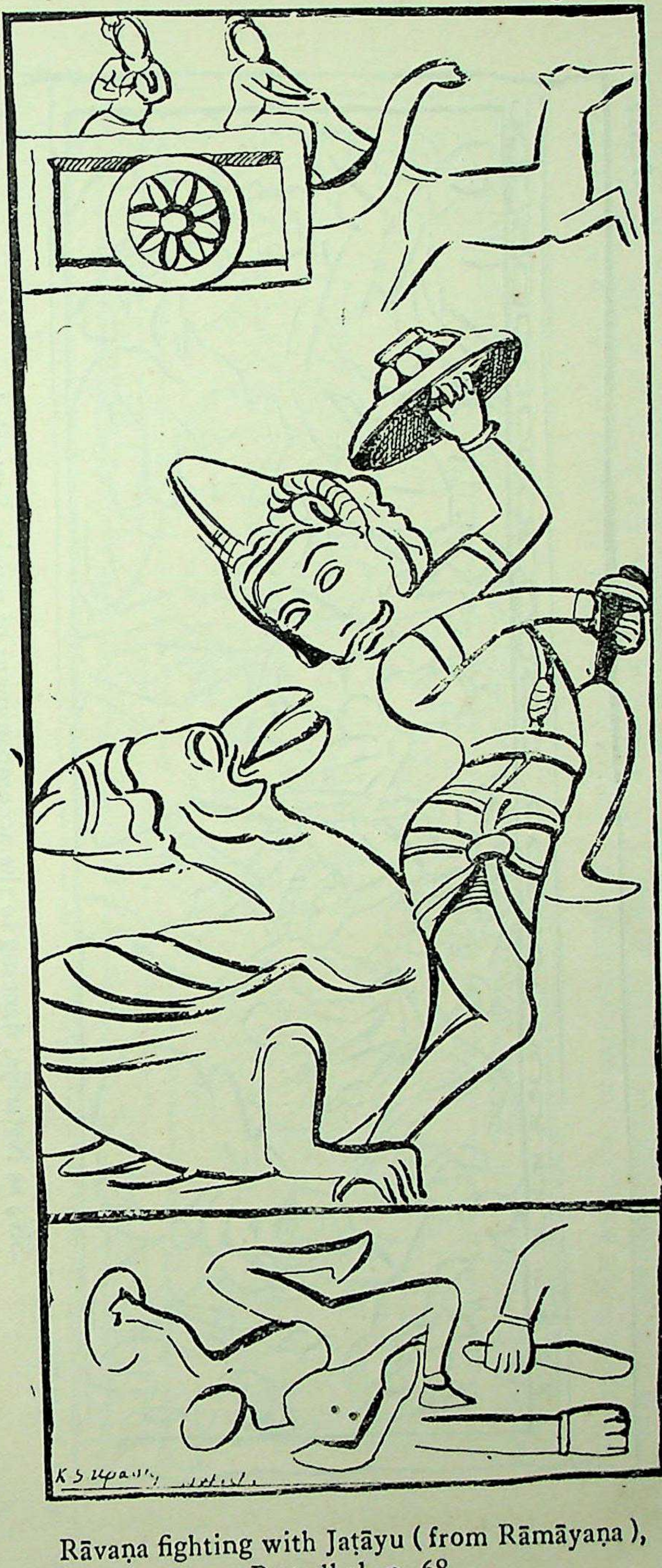
Inside the temple, the central hall or the *raṅga-maṇḍapa* is supported by six rows of massive pillars each row consisting of 5 pillars. Almost every pillar in the front and rear row shows on its four faces the panels of sculptures or bas-reliefs narrating the important episodes of the Mahābhārata and the Rāmāyaṇa and select incidents in the life of Śrī Kṛishṇa as recorded in the Bhāgavata and the *Harivaṁśa* Purāṇas. The brackets of pillars are supported by decorative sculptures of the Gandharvas accompanied by the Apsaras in various poses which display the consumate skill of the artist in the delineation of features and the expression of feelings. The bas-reliefs are labelled in Chalukyan characters of the period (8th Cent. A. D.) such as *Indrasēna*, *Uttaran*, *Gograhaṇan*, etc.

The exquisitely beautiful figures of a lady (perhaps Rati) with a parrot perched on the palm of her left hand, of cupid or Kāma holding a sugar-cane staff and *Makara-dhvaja* found on the outer-wall of the Nandīmaṇḍapa of the Virūpāksha temple bear ample testimony to the high water-mark of the sculptural art of the Chalukyan artists.

2. The temple of Mallikārjuna which is identical with the Trailōkyēśvara temple of Trailōkyamahādēvī, uterine sister of Lokamahādēvī and queen-consort of Vikramāditya II adopts the same plan of depicting the Pauranik stories as in the above temple. Here, the scenes from the Bhāgavata are chiefly carved, but those from the story of Rāma are also intermixed. The temple of Kāśīviśvanatha though small, has four of its pillars dedicated to the narration of the exploits of Śrī Kṛishṇa as boy and as youth, the story of Trivikrama, Bali, Śēshaśayi or Vishṇu on the coils of Sēsha etc. The story of Gaṅgāvataraṇa and Śiva as Naṭarāja etc. are also depicted. Other minor temples Jaṁbuliṅga, Chandraśēkhara and Kāḍasiddhēśvara are small shrines which do not contain any good works of art except the central plaque of the *Vimāna* of the first and the last, showing the dedicatory figures of Naṭarāja, dancing Śiva with four and eight hands respectively.

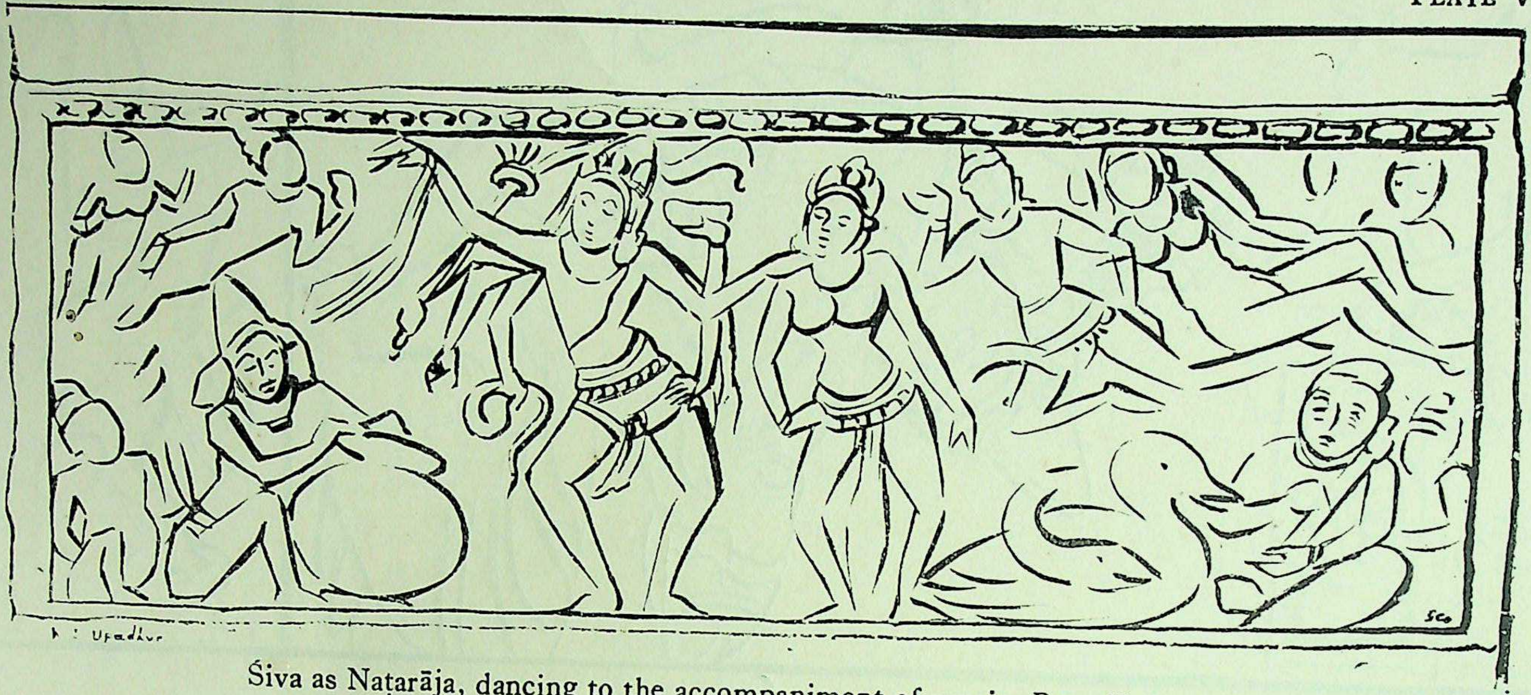
The temple which is as beautiful as the Virūpāksha for its variety and quantity of bas-reliefs and portrait sculptures is that of Pāpanātha standing outside the village (see sketch map). Though smaller in area, it shows the front *maṇḍapa*, raṅga-maṇḍapa divided into two halls

PLATE IV



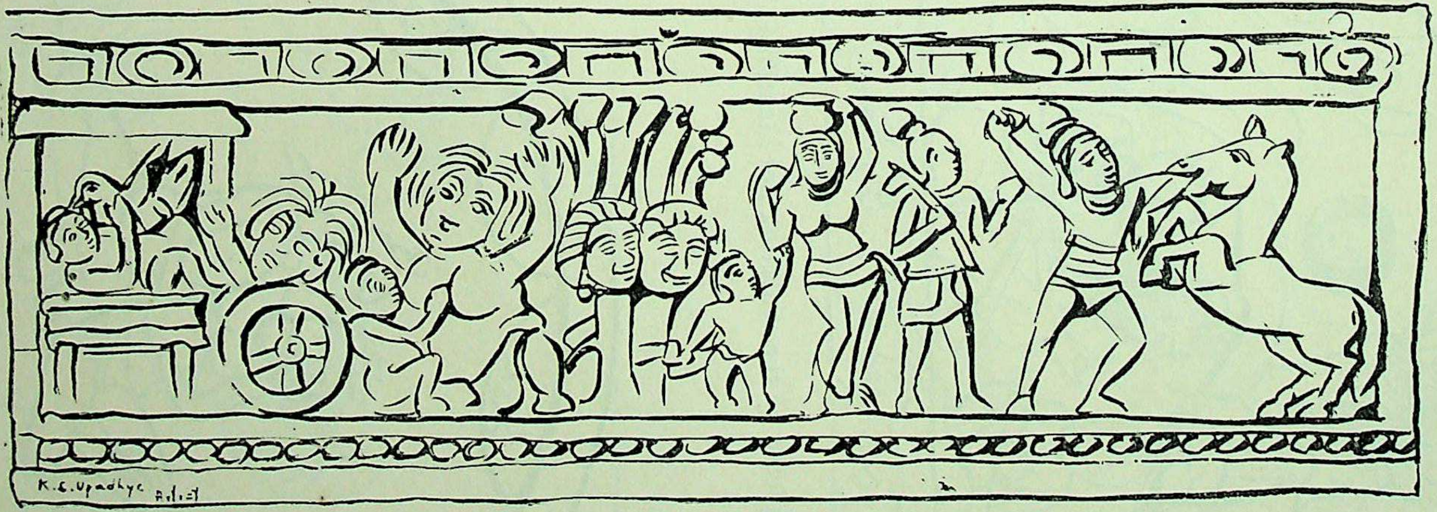
Rāvaṇa fighting with Jaṭāyu (from Rāmāyaṇa),
Pattadkal, p. 68

PLATE V



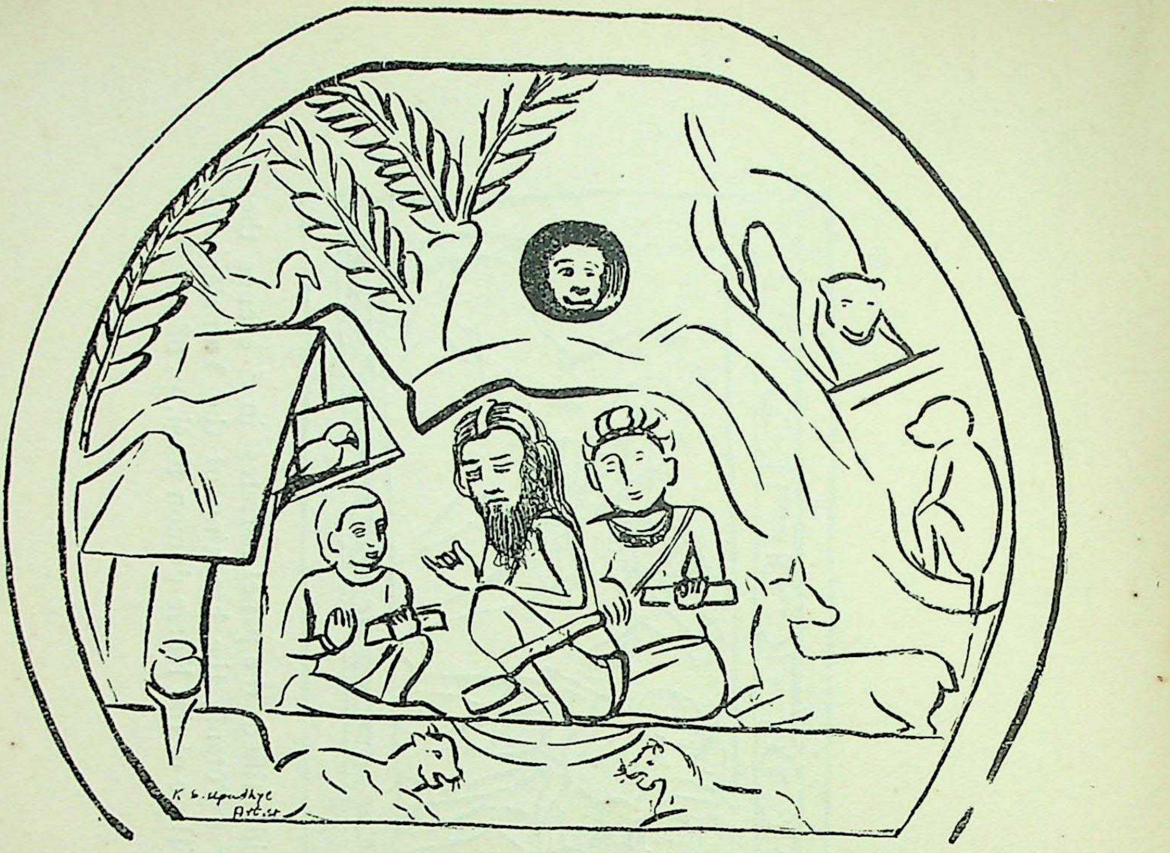
Śiva as Naṭarāja, dancing to the accompaniment of music, Pattadkal, p. 66

PLATE VI



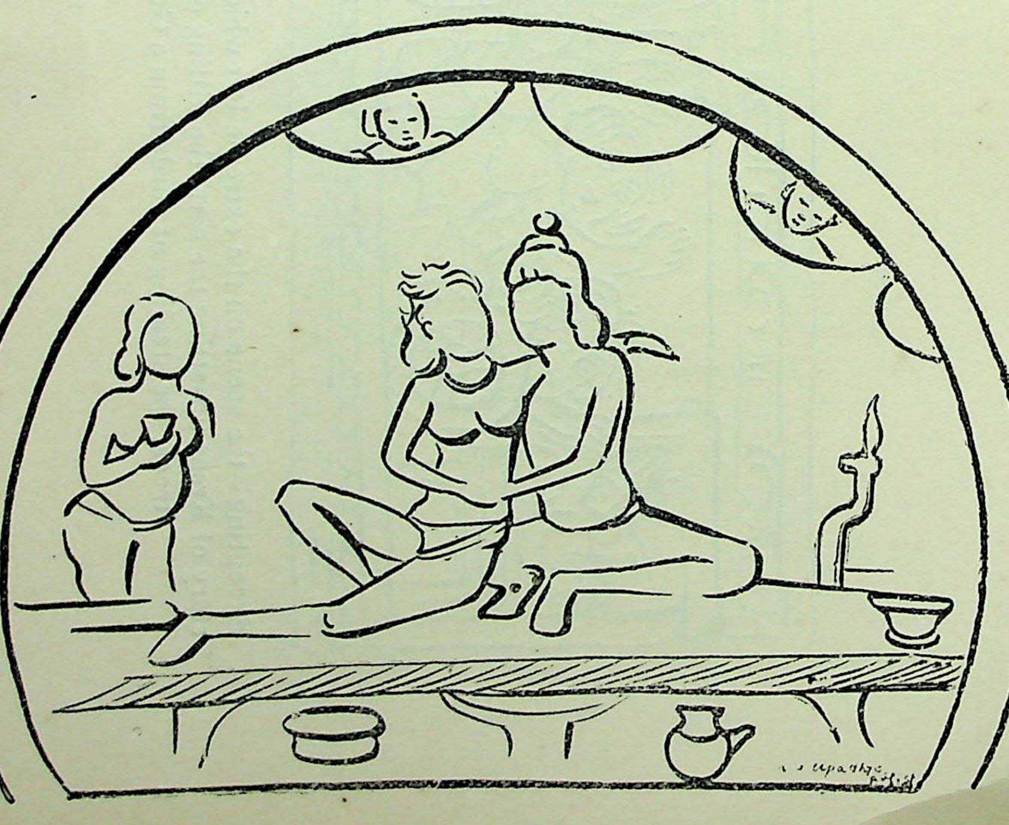
Excepting—the scene on the extreme left which cannot be identified, the panel narrates in 5 scenes the story of Kṛṣṇa upsetting the cart, the killing of the demoness Pūtanā, the breaking of the Yamalārjuna trees, the stealing of curds from a Gopī and the killing of the Horse-demon Keśi, p. 68

PLATE VII

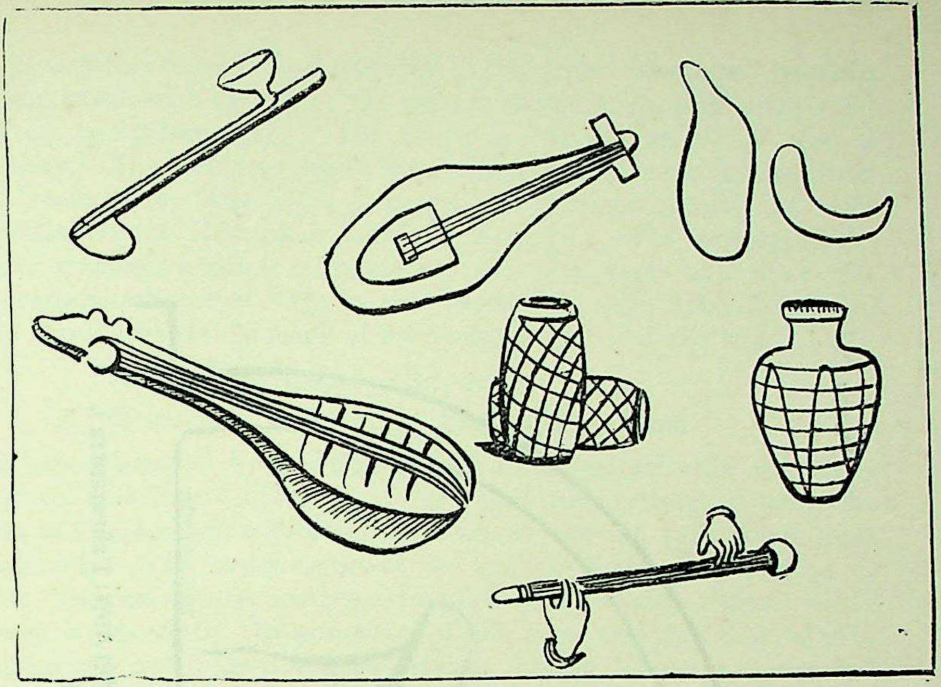

K. S. Upadhye
Artist

Story depicted by the sculpture not identified, p. 70

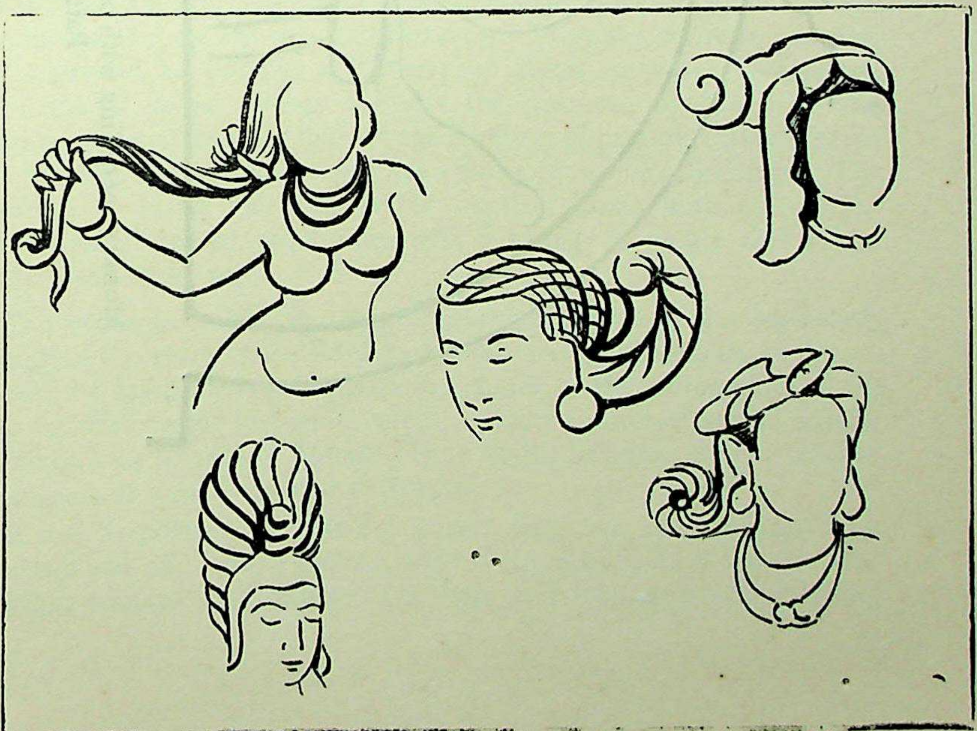
PLATE VIII


K. S. Upadhye
Artist

Story depicted by the sculpture not identified, p. 70



Musical instruments, Pattadkal temples, p. 70



Modes of dressing the hair, Pattadkal temples, p. 71

PLATE VII

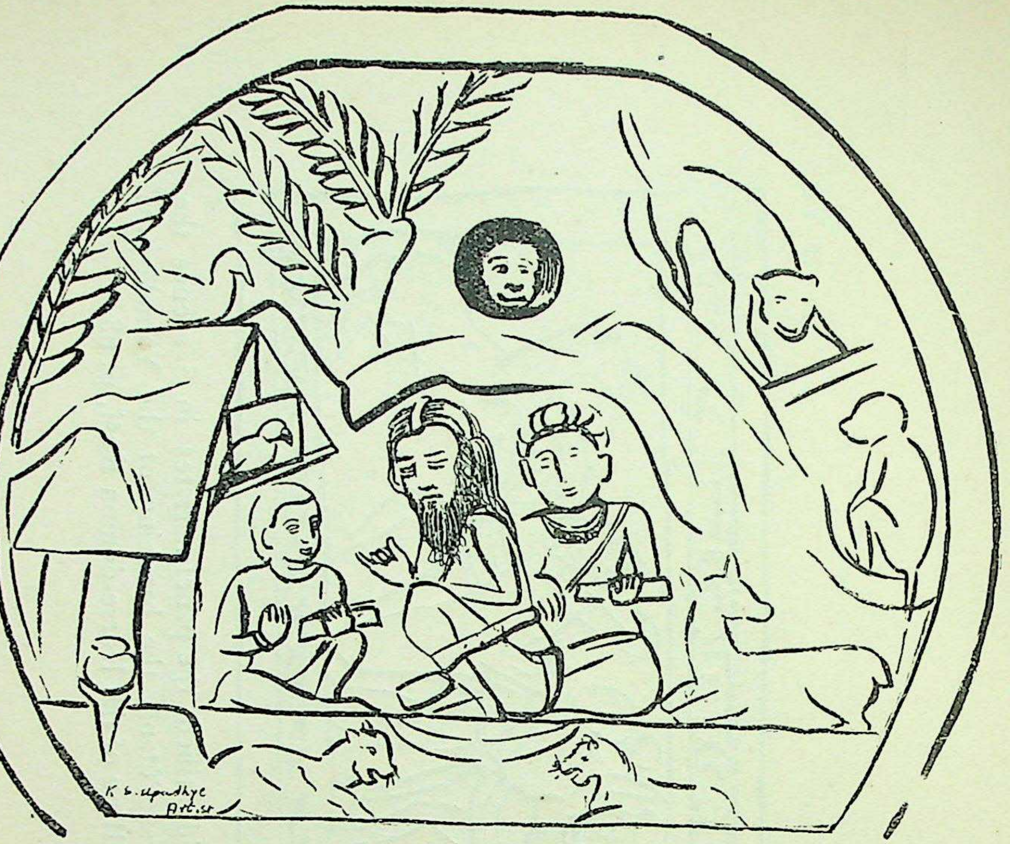

K. B. Upadhye
Artist

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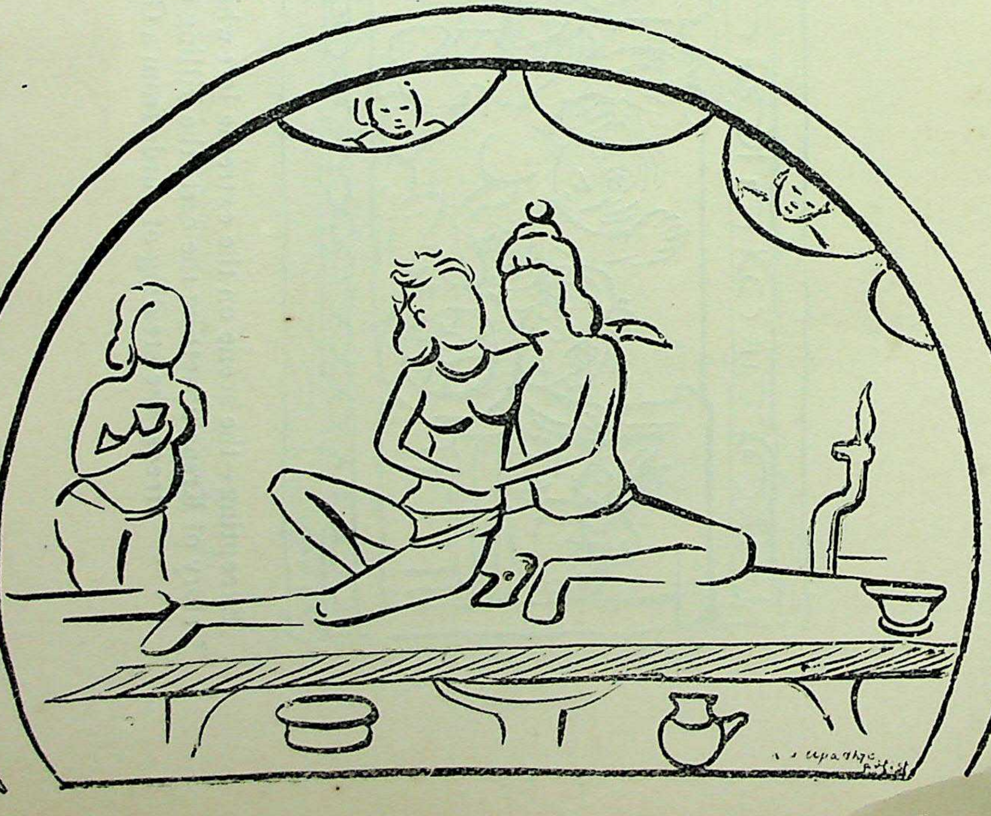
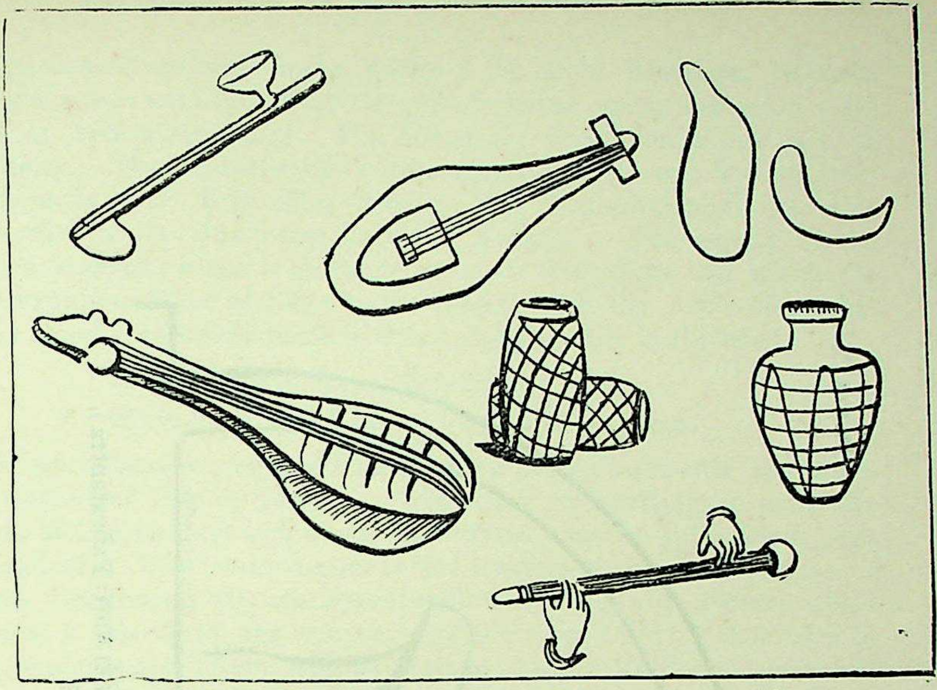
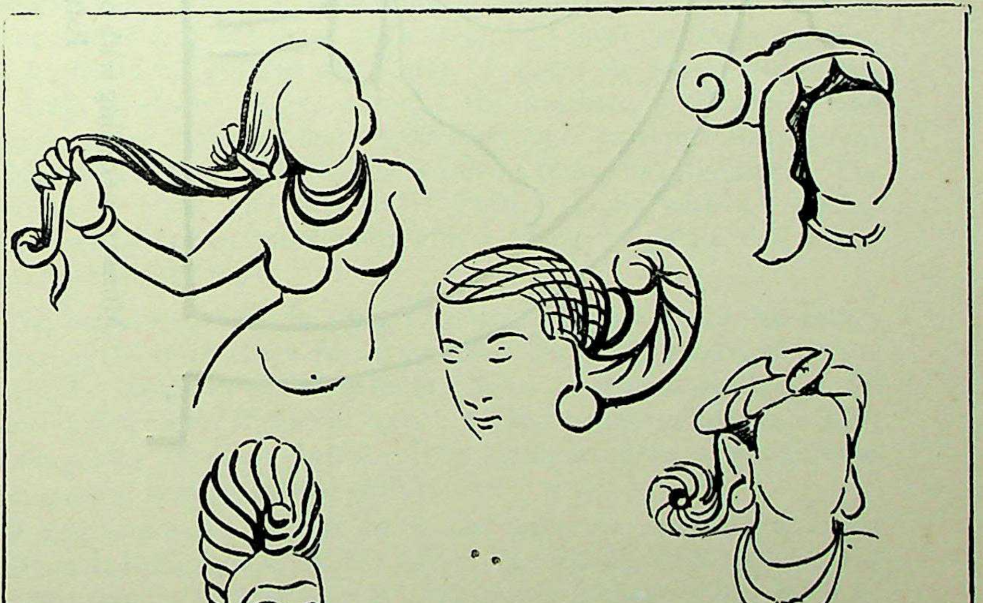
PLATE VIII


Upadhye
Artist

Story depicted by the sculpture not identified, p. 70

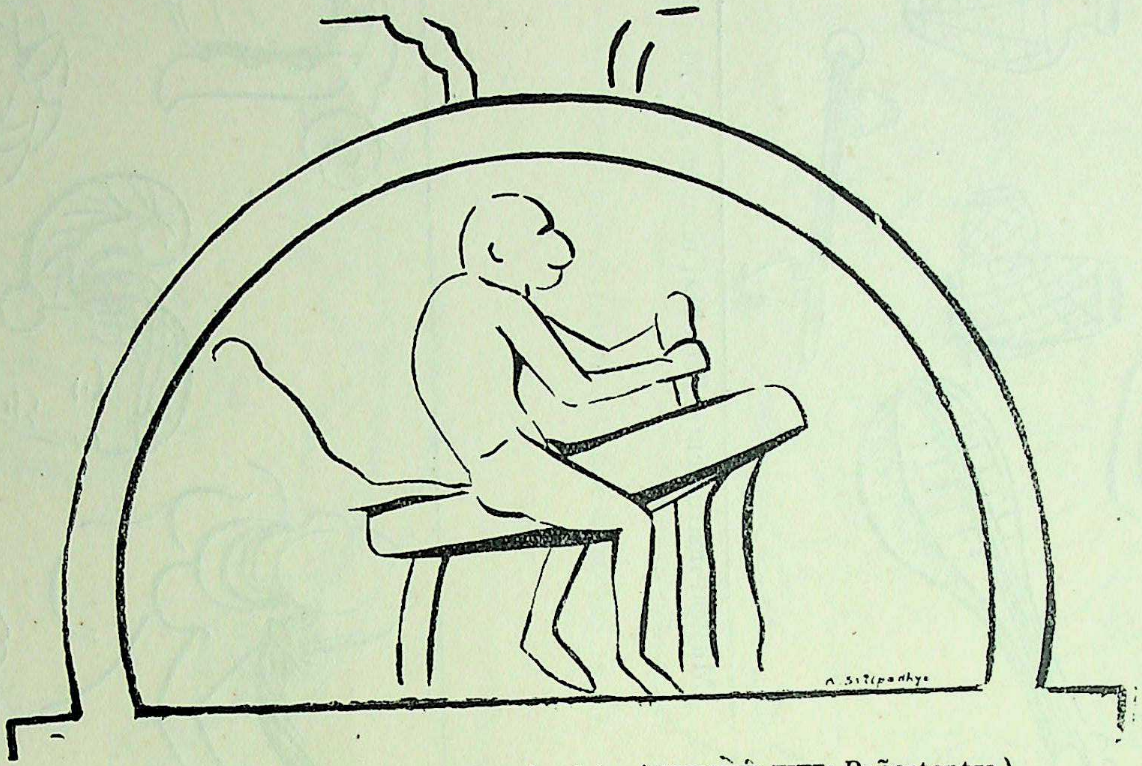


Musical instruments, Pattadkal temples, p. 70



Modes of dressing the hair, Pattadkal temples, p. 71

PLATE XI


A. Silpadhye

Monkey meddling with others' affairs (कीलोत्पाटी वानरः Pañcatantra),
Pattadkal temple, p. 71

and the central shrine. In the ceiling of the front *Maṇḍapa*, Naṭarāja with ten hands with Pārvati by the side, is shown trampling upon a fat body of Apasmārapurusha. The Gaṇas are seated on either side of the deity. The sculptor has commemorated his name in the label which reads as Śrī Bala Dēva Amayya, (2) Nirmmitā[rūpa] i. e. this was made by the illustrious Baladēva Amayya. The ceiling of the central *Maṇḍapa* which is more eleborate in sculptures and shows the most exquisite figure of Nāga, in the centre, with the Ashṭa-dikpālakas round about records the name of the sculptor—artist in the label,

1. Sri Baladeva[ma]Ayya Śrīputran
2. Bhayadūran, and Pathi or Partine Bhayadūran.

as the same Baladeva Ayya as figured above but with the title Bhayadūra i. e. devoid of fear or fearless. The other two ceilings contain the figures of Gajalakshmī with flying Gandharvas and the full-blown lotus respectively. The stone beam of the central shrine has a series of figures illustrating the marriage festival of Śiva with Pārvatī which occasion is graced by the presence of the sages (ṛishis), Brahmā with his attendants and Vishṇu with his retinue. Many incidents connected with the *Umā-pariṇaya* scene which are depicted here, cannot be identified precisely. The original work from which these incidents are taken should be traced and the details interpreted accordingly.

The figures of semi-divine Gandharvas and Kinnaras as well as the griffins and fat-bellied pigmies carrying a long garland of flowers are note-worthy for the iconographical features. The Gandharva has a horse face and the human body. The pilasters of the central *maṇḍapa* show each an amorous couple wearing fancy dress and playing upon musical instruments of different shape and design. Of these amorous couples, some appear to be portrait sculptures of chiefs or royal personages. The dress of these figures exhibits the southern or Tamilian and Gujarathi styles indicating thereby the meeting of persons from different parts of India at Pattadkal which was a Śaiva centre of pilgrimage. The headdress of males and females is usually shown with a peculiar arrangement of hair in round knots with a string of pearls tied round the fore-head at the top.

The outer-walls of this temple contain all round, the bas-reliefs illustrating the story of the Rāmāyaṇa from the performance of Putra-kāmēshṭi by Daśaratha and birth of Śrī Ramā to the coronation of Śrī Rāma and Śītā on the throne of Ayōdhyā, after vanquishing and killing the demon king Rāvaṇa of Laṅkā. Here again, Baladēva Ayya figures as the sculptor of some beautiful sculptures.

It may be pointed out that the scenes from the epics depicted on the pillars and pilasters of the temples of Virūpāksha, Mallikārjuna and Pāpanātha contain many details of artistic and iconographical interest, which throw a wel-come light on the social and artistic life of the times. The shape of the chariot and its different parts, the weapons and missiles, the musical instruments in current use, the shape of the umbrella, fan, pitchers, pots and the environments of hermit life and the shape of huts used as dwellings by the *Vānaprasthas* or the sages living in the woods, illustrate only the contemporary life of the period, in graphic details.

The value of the Pattadkal sculptures consists not only in illustrating the Epic and Pauranic stories and showing the iconographical features of the different Gods and Goddesses of which, Vishṇu in different *avatārs*, Śiva as Naṭarāja with varying number of hands holding different weapons, Brahmā with swan, Pārvatī as Simhavāhinā, Durgā and Mahishāsura-mardinī are frequent; but also in depicting the domestic and social life of the period. In the Virūpāksha temple, there are a number of composite scenes of man and woman lying on a sofa in a private apartment which is hidden from the public eye by a spread of curtain, but all the same some inquisitive persons are shown peeping through the top of the curtains. Often two ladies are seen lying on the sofa with one male, which testifies to the practice of marrying two wives by a man in those early days. The accessories of night revelry by the couple such as betel-nut box, incense bearer, lamp, pot of water etc., are lying beneath the sofa which practice still continues in the homes of the Dekkan and Karnatak.

The musical instruments found in the bas-reliefs of Pattadkal may be divided into three kinds : (i) Stringed ones, (ii) unstringed ones like *mṛidangas Ghaṭavādya* and Cymbals, *chipitis* etc., (iii) blowing instruments like pipes, flute, *Śṛingas*, *Kahaḷes* etc. The stringed instrument is of various kinds beginning with one string *ēkadhārā* which is still current in Karnatak and is used to sing poems in *Sāṅgatya* metre and ending with six strings like *Vīṇā* etc. The accompanying chart illustrates the shape of different instruments which were known to the Chalukyan artist.

The dress and ornaments of the persons of different social status can be made out fully from the sculptures and bas-reliefs of Pattadkal. The subject may be divided into the following heads : (i) Gods and Goddesses of different ranks, (ii) Semi-divine beings such as Gandharvas and Kinnaras, (iii) Kings and Queens, Chiefs and their consorts, (iv) wealthy magnates and persons of high social status, (v) persons of the different *varṇas* Brahman, Kshatriya etc., and *āśrama*, Brahmacharya etc., (vi) persons of different professions and and ordinary social status and lastly (vii) hill-tribes, archers, mendicants etc. The type of the ornaments also varies according to the status and position of the wearer. The male Gods are shown with high class drapery, *Kirīṭa*, *Karṇa-kuṇḍala* (ear-lobes), neck-laces etc., waist pendants, *Udara-bandha*, *kaṭi-bandha*, with a long clotted *Yajñōpavīta* running across the left shoulder and dropping down the right-arm which is made of āntra-jāla or intestines in the case of the *Kshatriya* Gods and men, but consists of cotton thread in the case of Brahman Gods and men (this division of Gods into the different *varṇas* is patent in Hindu theology) etc. The deity or person of royal status is furnished with an under-garment below the navel and in some cases with an upper garment also. The mode of tying the garment varies according to the occasion and rank of the wearer. The dress and ornament of the female Goddess and the Women of high status consist of the *Sāri* worn round the lower body as the Gujarati or Malabari ladies do and a piece of upper garment to cover the breast and other private parts. The hair is dressed according to the status of the person into a long *Vēṇī* or a knotty group at the back or on the fore-head or the centre of the head according to the different nationalities of the persons. These are illustrated in the accompanying charts.

The following animals and birds are figured in sculptures under notice : (i) elephant, (ii) lion, (iii) horse, (iv) ram, (v) crocodile, (vi) fish, (vii) boar, (viii) tiger, (ix) serpent, (x) hybrid figures, (xi) buffalos etc. and (i) parrot, (ii) swan, (iii) goose, (iv) eagle, (v) duck etc. The plants and foliage, forests, caves and caverns, dates, bridges, rivers and sea, and mountains are indicated with special devices. Similarly the Chalukyan artist had a mastery over the delineation of different feelings and workings of the mind by a special convention. The different conventions used by him are detailed below in some cases :—

(1) Forest is indicated by trees, lakes and hermitages.
(2) Mountain is indicated by caves and wild animals.
(3) Fire is indicated by flames shown in groups of vertical lines.
(4) Bridge is indicated by blocks of stones arranged or piled up in order, in the river or the sea,
(5) Sea or river water, by curly lines.
(6) Clouds are indicated by thick wavy-lines at the top.
(7) Flight is indicated by a peculiar position of bent legs, like that of swimmers.
(8) Sorrow or grief, by dishavelled hair, gloomy face and rubbing of eyes.
(9) Anger, by the facial expression and the action of hands etc.

Only a brief out-line of the variety of Pattadkal sculptures is given in the foregoing paragraphs. A detailed study of the subject is embodied in my forthcoming memoir on Pattadkal and Aihole which is shortly to be published. The subject is full of interest to student of Karnatak art and sociology. The several aspects such (i) the comparison from the iconographical and artistic points of view of the deities and persons etc., of Pattadkal with similar ones from other parts of India, (ii) tracing of the episodes narrated by the figures, to the original Sanskrit works and the influence of local tradition on them, discussing also how far the sculptures conform to the stories given in the Sanskrit, Prakrit or Kannada works on the subject and (iii) the iconographical texts adopted by the Chalukyan artist etc., will be discussed at leisure in the above-mentiened Memoir. Incidentally, the Pattadkal sculptures help to fix the age of the Bhāgavata, Harivaṁśa and some Śiva Purāṇas which in their present form are assigned by some scholars to the late 10th century A. D. It may be pointed out that the story of Śrī Krishṇa depicted on some of the pillars in the Virūpāksha, Mellikārjuna and Kāśīviśvanātha temple follows the order and sequence of the events narrated in the Bhāgavata and we have no other recognised popular work except the Bhāgavata, on the subject, which must have furnished material to the Chalukyan artist of the 7th—8th century A. D.

The Pattadkal sculptures mark a highly developed stage in the history of Indian art. Since no earlier lithic works of art except the image of snake at Banavāśi and that of Sūrya-Nārāyaṇa near the Gokak falls (3rd cent. A. D.): are known to exist in Karnatak, the several stages of development in the earlier period cannot be made out from the actual specimens. The later development of the art in the Rāshṭrakūṭa and later Chālukya, Hoysaḷa and Vijayanagara periods may be set forth in some details from the specimens at the Kailāsa cave temples of Ellora (8th cent. A. D.), Lakkundi and Haveri temples (11th—12th cent. A. D.), Belur and Halebid temples (12th—13th cent. A. D.) and the temples of Hampi-Vijayanagara (14th—16th cent. A. D.).

EPIC VARIANTS

1. THE EXPRESSIONS OF COMPARISON

By

E. D. KULKARNI

The case variation within the critically constituted text forms the second part of the study of Epic Syntax of cases—the study which was taken up for investigation by the writer in his thesis submitted to the University of Bombay for the Ph. D. degree.[1]

With regard to the treatment of this subject, a method similar to that used by Prof. HANNS OERTEL in his *Kasusvariation* is followed. Naturally the study falls into several divisions according to the nature of the variants taken up for study e. g. (1) expressions of comparison, (2) prepositional expressions, (3) adverbial expressions, (4) time expressions, (5) place expressions, (6) expressions of separation, (7) expressions of uniting, etc. etc.

This study when completed will define the region of mutual relationship between the different cases considered with reference to stylistic, idiom and particularly syntax of the Epic age.

The study of the variants within the critically constituted text is important from another point also. The Editor himself has noted in his *Prolegomena* to the Ādi, that ' it is useless to think of reconstructing a fluid text in a literally original shape, on the basis of an archetype and a *stemma codicum*. Our objective (in critically editing the text) can only be to reconstruct the oldest form of the text, which it is possible to reach, on the basis of the manuscript material available '.[2] Now the two main forces namely, committing to memory the original text and reciting it freely and differently by different rhapsodists, were working constantly towards the conflation of the original during the long course of its original expansion. Consequently in the constituted text, which is based on the manuscript material available, we meet with some strange phenomena like the duplicated opening of the Ādi, the first three chapters of the Ādi,[3] and the parallel versions placed quite unconcernedly side by side. The *Mārkaṇḍeyasamāsyāparva* in the Vana (Chapters 186–189) is the best illustration to the point. Now the study of these variants, if proceeded along statistical lines covering every aspect of linguistics, will throw a flood of light on the fluid text theory and will considerably help the linguists to

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1. E. D. KULKARNI : Epic Variants, *BDCRI* 7. 1–219.
2. *Sukthankar Memorial Volume* (*SMV*) I. 106.
3. Cf. D. D. KOSAMBI : *JAOS* 66. 110–111.

define the time and the place of different phases of the original expansion of the text till the time when it was committed to writing.

In the present paper the expressions of comparison in the critical edition of the Ādiparvan and Vanaparvan only, are taken into consideration.

Generally in expressions of comparison, the instrumental (= ins.) is used with adjectives of *identity*, *equality* or *likeness* as *sama*, *saṁāna*, *sadṛśa*, *tulya*.[4] Here, however, the genetive (= gen.) is a concurrent construction. The ablative (= abl.) is applied with (a) comparatives, (b) positives of any adjective, (c) words expressing superiority or inferiority such as *varaṁ*, *paraṁ*, *adhika*, *pūrva*, *anavara*, *anavama*, *avaraja*, *anantara*, *viśiṣyate*, *atiricyate*, *praśasyate*, *vṛṇe*, and (d) all words meaning *other* or *different* as *anya*, *apara* and the like.[5] Allied to the comparative ablative is that used with multiplicative words like *daśaguṇa*, *śataguṇa* etc.[6] Lastly the partitive gen. carries the notion of selecting out of a multitude. In this case the gen. is interchangeable with the locative (= loc.).[7]

But on critical examination of the material presented below it becomes clear that these above-mentioned rules are not rigidly followed in Mbh. as with the comparatives are used ins., gen. and loc. besides abl.; and the superlatives are used with ins. and abl. besides gen. and loc. As a result of this the positives of some adjectives are required to be interpreted in the sense of the comparative, e. g.

3.178.6 evam eva maheṣvāsa priyavākyān mahīpate, ahiṁsā dṛśyate *gurvī* (gurvī = garīyasī as, is indicated by the context and the use of abl. in the passage) and some in the sense of the superlative, e. g.

3.86.23 pavitrānāṁ hi govindaḥ *pavitraṁ* param ucyate, puṇyānām api *puṇyo*' sau maṅgalānāṁ ca *maṅgalam*. The passage is translated like this : ' Govind is considered the *purest* among the pure, the *holiest* among the holy and the *most* auspicious among the auspicious. And this meaning is suggested by the presence of genitives in the passage. Again in a number of passages the comparative is to be taken in the sense of the superlative e. g.

1.138.18 *sukumāratarāṁ* striṇāṁ...... ' the *most* delicate among the ladies '. The MSS. naturally try to avoid the unpāṇinian use of gen. with the comparative. In the same way the superlative used with abl. is to be rendered in the sense of the comparative e. g.

1.78.21 tvatto' pi me *pūjyatamo* rājarṣiḥ...... ' the royal sage is *more* honourable to me than you '.

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[4] Macdonell : *Sk. Gr.* § 188. 2c.

[5] Speyer : *Sanskrit Syntax* (*SS*) § 105.

[6] Macdonell : *Sk. Gr.* § 203a.

[7] Speyer : *SS* § 116.

3.600*.1 tam aśvinor *anyatamam* (anyatamam = anyataraṁ).

From the material presented below the point which strikes us more is that, the ins. of comparison has called forth very few variants in MSS. no doubt because it was felt to be quite a normal idiom by the copyist, editors and readers alike. This so-called *ins. comparationis* is very common in both the epics. The late Dr. V. S. SUKTHANKAR has explained the origin of this kind of ins. in his Epic Studies[8] where he considers that the *ins. comparationis* need not be taken as a distinct category of the comparative. It is only a special case of Prakritic coalescence of the ins. and the abl. plural (*metri causa*), an equivalence which comes out very clearly in such phrases as

naraḥ *pāpāt* pramucyate.
and naraḥ sarva*pāpaiḥ* pramucyate.

Next we have already pointed out that the superlative in Mbh. is used in the sense of the comparative and naturally is construed with the abl. Then the above mentioned equivalence of the ins. and the abl. plural explains itself the construction of the superlative with the ins. which is frequently met with in Epic literature. Formally the two constructions, namely 'tava putrair *mahattarāḥ*' and 'tava putrair *mahattamāḥ*', are almost equivalent as regards the meaning they express, but there may be just a slight difference. While the first means 'greater than thy sons', the other may have been intended to convey some such sense as '*far*' or *very much* greater than thy sons'. On the same lines we can explain the construction of the superlative with the abl. more correctly as follows :—

1.78.21c tvatto'pi me *pūjyatamo* rājarṣiḥ means 'the royal sage is *far more* honourable to me than you'.

1. With the adjectives of *identity*, *equality* or *likeness* the ins. varies wit the gen.

A 1.41.28c tat sarvaṁ na samaṁ tāta *saṁtatyeti* satāṁ mataṁ.
1.50.14c prabhutvam *indreṇa* samaṁ mataṁ me.
1.50.16a *dambhodbhavenāsi* samo balena.
1.624*.5 balaṁ tejaś ca rūpaṁ ca na samaṁ bhuvi *kenacit*.
1.135.17d kapāṭayuktaṁ ajñātaṁ samam *bhūmyā* ca bhārata.
1.1475*.1 purābhyāsakṛtasnehā sakhī kuntyāḥ samā *sutaiḥ*.
1.1615*.5 etaj jagad idaṁ sarvam *ātmanā* na samaṁ kila.
1.213.9d yoddhā pārthaś ca śīghrāstraḥ ko nu *tena* samo bhavet.
3.27.17d tathā dahati rājanyo *brāhmaṇena* samaṁ ripūn.
3.34.64a *arthena* tu samo'nartho yatra labhyeta nodayaḥ.
3.131.23a yadā samaṁ *kapotena* tava māṁsaṁ bhaven nṛpa.
3.131.27b na vidyate yadā māṁsaṁ *kapotena* samaṁ dhṛtaṁ.

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[8] *SMV* 1. 214-15.

	3.186.5b	tasya prasādo devaiś ca kṛto na tv *amaraiḥ* samaḥ.
	3.165.5d	pañcabhir vidhibhiḥ pārtha na *tvayā* vidyate samaḥ.
	3.1044*.5	vanadurgeṣu dharmajña samaṁ *rājñā mahātmanā.*
	3.210.2d	putraṁ labhema dharmiṣṭhaṁ yaśasā *brahmaṇā* samaṁ.
	3.225.15a	*samīraṇenāpi* samo balena.
	3.243.3c	yudhiṣṭhirasya *yajñena* na samo hy eṣa te kratuḥ,
	3.253.13c	*prāṇaiḥ* samām iṣṭatamāṁ jihīrṣet.
	3.206.15d	etad vijñānasāmarthyam na *bālaiḥ* samatāṁ vrajet.
	3.175.18d	tad balaṁ bhīmasenasya bhujayor asamaṁ *paraiḥ.*
	3.27.13a	anūnam āsīd asurasya *kāmaiḥ.*
	3.41.6a	na *tvayā* sadṛśaḥ kaścit pumān martyeṣu mānada.
	3.148.18a	na hi *tvayā* sadṛśī kācid asti.
	3.206.11d	dāmbhiko duṣkṛtaprāyaḥ *śūdreṇa* sadṛśo bhavet.
	1.439*.1	tulyo'si *tenaiva mahātmanā* vā.
	3.28.23ab	yo'*rjunen*ārjunas tulyo dvibāhur *bahubāhunā.*
	3.79.12b	yo'*rjunen*ārjunas tulyo dvibāhur *bahubāhunā.*
	3.82.23c	*svargadvāreṇa* yat tulyaṁ gaṅgādvāraṁ na saṁśayaḥ.
	3.123.6c	na deveṣv api tulyaṁ hi *tvayā* paśyāva bhāmini.
	3.132.10d	sa *tena* tulyo vayasā babhūva.
	3.197.23b	nāvajānāmy ahaṁ viprān *devais* tulyān manasvinaḥ.
	3.134.24c	*satreṇa* te janaka tulyakālaṁ.
	1.50.16c	*aurvartritābhyām* asi tulyatejāḥ.
B	1.13.38c	samaḥ *sarvasya lokasya* pitṛmātṛbhayāpahaḥ.
	1.564*.4	duryodhanasya sacivaṁ mantriṇaṁ *śakuneḥ* samaṁ.
	1.94.71b	apatyaṁ caitad āryasya yo *yuṣmākaṁ* samo guṇaiḥ.
	1.125.23b	bhramataś ca varāhasya *lohasya* pramukhe samaṁ.
	1.125.17a	tathā *kṛṣṇasya* vīryeṇa nāyudhaṁ vidyate samaṁ.
	3.40.52d	śauryeṇānena dhṛtyā ca kṣatriyo nāsti *te* samaḥ.
	3.50.26d	aśvinoḥ sadṛśo rūpe na samās *tasya* mānuṣāḥ.
	3.119.16a	na hy *asya* vīryeṇa balena kaścit samaḥ pṛthivyāṁ bhavitā nareṣu.
	3.128.15bd	narake vā dharmarāja karmaṇ*āsya* samo hy ahaṁ puṇyāpuṇyaphalaṁ deva samam astv *āvayor* idaṁ.
	3.726*.2	*tayor* nāsīt samo vīrye.
	3.165.3d	astrayuddhe samo vīra na *te* kaścid bhaviṣyati.
	3.186.2d	na cāpīha samaḥ kaścid āyuṣā *tava* vidyate.
	3.194.21d	yuvāṁ hi vīryasaṁpannau *navām* asti samaḥ pumān.
	3.194.24b	bale rūpe ca vīrye ca *śame* ca na samo'sti *nau.*
	3.254.17c	buddhyā samo *yasya* naro na vidyate.
	3.278.17a	sāṅkṛte *rantidevasya* sa śaktyā dānataḥ samaḥ.
	1.777*.1	*asyā* rūpeṇa te rūpaṁ na kiṁcit sadṛśaṁ bhavet.
	1.78.13d	varcasā rūpataś caiva sadṛśā me matās *tava.*
	1.845*.3	*ātmanaḥ* sadṛśaḥ putraḥ pitṛdevarṣipūjane.
	1.94.5c	na *cāsya* sadṛśaḥ kaścit kṣatriyo dharmato'bhavat.

1.95.6d	manuṣyaṁ na hi mene sa kaṁcit sadṛśam *ātmanaḥ* (G₁ ātmani).
1.106.14d	putrān vinayasaṁpannān *ātmanaḥ* sadṛśān guṇaiḥ.
1.126.38a	*asya rājyapradānasya* sadṛśaṁ kiṁ dadāni te.
1.127.6c	*kulasya* sadṛśas tūrṇaṁ pratodo gṛhyatāṁ tvayā.
1.1699*.1	sadṛśī pāṇḍuputrasya *arjunasyeti* bhārata.
1.160.15c	*tapatyāḥ* sadṛśaṁ mene sūryaṁ saṁvaraṇaṁ patiṁ.
1.160.28c	rūpaṁ na sadṛśaṁ *tasyās* tarkayāmāsa kiṁcana.
1.160.37c	na *tāsāṁ* sadṛśīṁ manye tvam ahaṁ mattakāśini.
1.213.70a	*kṛṣṇasya* sadṛśaṁ śaurye vīrye rūpe tathākṛtau.
3.34.69d	atti caiva tathaiva tvaṁ *savituḥ* sadṛśo bhava.
3.50.26c	*aśvinoḥ* sadṛśo rūpe na samās tasya mānuṣāḥ.
3.66.5a	*asyā* rūpeṇa sadṛśī mānuṣī neha vidyate.
3.73.27b	idaṁ susadṛśaṁ bhadre mithunaṁ mama *putrayoḥ*.
3.153.19a	tarasvī *vainateyasya* sadṛśo bhuvi laṅghane.
3.158.10c	naitat *te* sadṛśaṁ vīra muner iva mṛṣāvacaḥ.
3.918*.1	na *te*'sti sadṛśaḥ kaścid āyuṣā brahmavittama.
3.198.18d	karmaitad vai na sadṛśaṁ *bhavataḥ* pratibhāti me.
3.209.23b	tridive *yasya* sadṛśo nāsti rūpeṇa kaścana.
3.277.32d	svayaṁ anviccha bhartāraṁ guṇaiḥ sadṛśam *ātmanaḥ*.
3.137.10b	tataḥ samabhavan nārī *tasyā* rūpeṇa saṁmitā.
1.96.55a	*ātmanaḥ* pratirūpo'sau labdhaḥ patir iti sthite.
1.155.43d	yā bibharti paraṁ rūpaṁ *yasyā* nāsty upamā bhuvi.
1.17.20c	*vibhāvasos* tulyam akuṇṭhamaṇḍalaṁ.
1.20.8d	garuḍo balavān eṣa *mama* tulyaḥ svatejasā.[9]
1.83.2c	*ātmanaḥ* tapasā tulyaṁ kaṁcit paśyāmi vāsava.
1.155.23a	kṣatriyo nāsti tulyo'*sya* pṛthivyāṁ kaścid agraṇīḥ.
3.53.6ab	*yeṣām* ahaṁ lokakṛtām īśvarāṇāṁ mahātmanāḥ, na pādarajasā tulyo manas te teṣu vartatāṁ.
3.295*.1	vayasā tulyatāṁ prāptā sakhī *tava* bhavatv iyaṁ.
3.112.14b	nemāni tulyāni rasena *teṣāṁ*.
3.605*.1	*tasya* pramāṇaṁ vapuṣā na tulyam iha vidyate.
3.642*.2	tulyaṁ *teṣāṁ* hi pātakaṁ.
3.133.27c	na *te* tulyo vidyate vākpralāpe.
3.142.21a	*yasya* bāhubale tulyaḥ prabhāve ca puraṁdaraḥ.
3.147.13b	sa me bhrātā mahāvīryas tulyo'haṁ *tasya* tejasā.
3.152.11ab	tulyā hi *sarvabhūtānām* iyaṁ *vaiśravaṇasya* ca.
3.186.21e	saṁdhyā*saṁdhyāṁśayos* tulyaṁ pramāṇam upadhāraya.
3.273.31a	na hi te vikrame tulyaḥ sākṣād api śatakratuḥ.
1.126.4a	siṁharṣabha*gajendrāṇāṁ* tulyavīryaparākramaḥ.[10]
1.213.67b	āgame ca prayoge ca cakre tulyam *ivātmanaḥ*.
1.1802*.3	mantraiś ca vividhair dhaumyas tulya āsīd *bṛhaspateḥ*.

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[9] *tulyaḥ* can be also construed with *svatejasā*.

[10] *tulya* is used here in a compound word.

3.69.27d	tulyaṁ hi lakṣaye jñānaṁ *bāhukasya* ca *nalasya* ca.[11]
3.69.28b	api cedaṁ vayas tulyam *asya* manye *nalasya* ca.

2. We have noted the following instances in which the abl. of comparison is interchangeable with the ins. the gen. and the loc.

A(i) 1.1.208f	mahatve ca gurutve ca dhriyamāṇaṁ *tato*'dhikaṁ.
1.39.17b	yāvad dhanaṁ prārthayase tasmād rājñas *tato*'dhikaṁ.
1.46.20b	yāvad dhanaṁ prārthayase tasmād rājñas *tato*'dhikaṁ.
1.68.52d	pitur āśliṣyate'ṅgāni kiṁ ivāsty adhikaṁ *tataḥ*.
1.145.24b	arthepsutā paraṁ duḥkham arthaprāptau *tato*'dhikaṁ.
3.154.23b	rājan kiṁ nāma tat kṛtyaṁ kṣatriyasyāsty *ato*'dhikam.
1.145.14d	yāvac ca kuryād anyo'sya kuryād abhyadhikaṁ *tataḥ*.
3.90.14d	smared dhi devarājo'yaṁ kiṁ nāmābhyadhikaṁ *tataḥ*.
1.69*.1	caturbhyaḥ sarahasyebhyo *vedebhyo* hy adhikaṁ yadā.
1.480*.1	dhairyād dharmāc co satayāc ca vijayāc cādhikaṁ priyaṁ.
1.647*.4	śiśor āliṅganaṁ tasmāc *candanād* adhikaṁ bhavet.
1.951*.2	dvināmā śaṁtanoḥ putraḥ śaṁtanor adhikaṁ guṇaiḥ.
1.93.41d	dvināmā śaṁtanoḥ putraḥ *śaṁtanor* adhiko guṇaiḥ.
1.974*.2	putro devavrato nāma *śaṁtanor* adhiko guṇaiḥ.
1.97.15c	yad vāpy adhikam *etābhyāṁ* na tu satyaṁ kathaṁcana.
1.1615*.1	ubhayoḥ ko'dhiko vidvān nātmā caivādhikaḥ *kulāt*.
1.182.13c	babhūvādhikam *anyābhyaḥ* sarvabhūtamanoharaṁ.
1.197.4c	ābhyāṁ puruṣa*siṁhābhyāṁ* yo vā syāt prajñayādhikaḥ.
3.83.74c	prayāgaḥ *sarvatīrthebhyaḥ* prabhavaty adhikaṁ vibho.
3.227.10b	kiṁ nu syād adhikaṁ *tasmād* yad ahaṁ drupadātmajāṁ.
1.102.19b	pāṇḍur dhanuṣi vikrānto *narebhyo*'bhyadhiko'bhavat.
1.144.10a	*tasmād* abhyadhikaḥ sneho yuṣmāsu mama sāṁprataṁ.
3.60.15d	tasya bhūtasya *tadduḥkhād* duḥkham abhyadhikaṁ bhavet.
3.193.6a	kuvalāśvas tu *pitṛto* guṇair abhyadhiko'bhavat.
3.232.13a	kiṁ hy abhyadhikam *etasmād* yad āpannaḥ suyodhanaḥ.
3.252.11c	*ṣaḍbhyo guṇebhyo*'bhyadhikā vihīnān.
3.259.11b	kumbhakarṇo balenāsīt *sarvebhyo*'bhyadhikas tadā.
(ii) 1.478*.2	*prāṇebhyo*'pi priyataraṁ.
1.68.57c	*putrasparśāt* sukhataraḥ sparśo loke na vidyate.
1.69.6d	manyate tāvad ātmānam *anyebhyo* rūpavattaraṁ.
1.69.24d	na hi tīvrataraṁ kiṁcid *anṛtād* iha vidyate.
1.720*.1	*guror* garīyasī vṛttyā tasmād gurutarā mama.
1.72.12d	prasīda subhru tvaṁ mahyaṁ *guror* gurutarī śubhe.
1.74.12c	na hy *ato* duṣkarataraṁ manye lokeṣv api triṣu.
1.76.22ab	kruddhād āśīviṣāt *sarpāj* jvalanāt sarvatomukhāt, durādharṣataro vipraḥ puruṣeṇa vijānatā.
1.76.23ab	katham āśīviṣāt *sarpāj* jvalanāt sarvatomukhāt, durādharṣataro vipra ity āttha puruṣarṣabha

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[11] Cf. SPEYER, *SS* § 61.

1.826*.1	santi te bahavaḥ putrā *mattaḥ* priyatarā nṛpa.
1.93.25c	priyaṁ priyataraṁ hy *asmān* nāsti me'nyat kathaṁcana[12]
1.116.21b	*matto* bhāgyatarā tathā.
1.125.7a	yo me *putrāt* priyataraḥ.
1.137.20a	*itaḥ* kaṣṭataraṁ kiṁ nu.
1.1512*.1	*ataḥ* kaṣṭataraṁ kiṁ nu draṣṭavyaṁ hi bhaviṣyati.
1.138.22d	*ato* duḥkhataraṁ nu kiṁ.
1.147.9c	*duḥkhād* duḥkhataraṁ prāpta mriyeyam atathocitā.
1.1726*.1	dṛṣṭvaiva cāruvadane *candrāt* kāntataraṁ tava, vadanaṁ padmapatrākṣaṁ māṁ mathnātīva manmathaḥ.
1.1941*.7	*matto* mātula manye'haṁ pāṇḍavā buddhimattarāḥ.
1.196.13d	kim adbhutataraṁ *tataḥ*.
3.30.15ab	satyaṁ *cānṛtataḥ* śreyo *nṛśaṁsāc* cānṛśaṁsatā.
3.31.4cd	*dharmāt* priyataraṁ kiṁcid api ced *jīvitād* iha.
3.32.9ab	pāpīyān hi sa *śūdrebhyas taskarebhyo* viśeṣataḥ.
3.124*1	dravyaparigrahāyārtho garīyān durbal*ātmanaḥ*.
3.35.14c	āryasya manye *maraṇād* garīyaḥ.
3.36.11b	amarṣajo hi saṁtāpaḥ *pāvakād* diptimattaraḥ.
3.36.17a	*netaḥ* pāpīyasī kācid āpad rājan bhaviṣyati.
3.146*.3	tasmād *duḥkhād* idaṁ duḥkhaṁ garīya iti me matiḥ.
3.152*.1	avarodhād vane vāsāt sarvasvaharaṇād api idaṁ duḥkhataraṁ manye putrebhyaś ca vivāsanaṁ.
3.153*.11	avarodhād vane vāsāt sarvasvaharaṇād api idaṁ duḥkhataraṁ manye putrebhyaś ca vivāsanāt.
3.49.7d	*tato* duḥkhataraṁ nu kiṁ.
3.49.33d	bhāryā ca me sabhāṁ nitā *prāṇebhyo'pi* garīyasī.
3.49.34c	na *matto* duḥkhitataraḥ pumān astīti me matiḥ.
3.204*.9	na *matto* duḥkhitataraḥ pumān astīha kaścana.
3.49.35b	yad bravīṣi mahārāja na *matto* vidyate kvacit, alpabhāgyataraḥ kaścit pumān astīti pāṇḍava.
3.49.36c	yas *tvatto* duḥkhitataro rājāsīt pṛthivīpate.
3.49.38c	yas *tvatto* (K_3 G_1 yas *tvayā*) duḥkhitataro rājāsīt pṛthivīpate.
3.60.16c	*tasmād* duḥkhataraṁ prāpyā jīvatv asukhajīvikāṁ.
3.66.17a	*sukhāt* sukhataro vāso bhaviṣyati.
3.82.18a	api *cāsmat* priyataro loke kṛṣṇa bhaviṣyasi.
3.119.6c	*dharmād* adharmaś carito garīyān.
3.138.17d	*tebhyaḥ* pāpataro nu kaḥ.
3.191.1	asti kaścid *bhavataś* cirajātatara iti.
3.191.8	asti kaścid *bhavataś* cirajātatara iti.
3.191.9	so'*asmattaś* cirajātataraḥ.

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12. Cf. Speyer: *SS* § 106.

3.191.13	asti kaścid anyo *bhavataś* cirajātatara iti.[13]
3.191.14	sa *mattaś* cirajātatara iti.
3.196.9f	kim adbhutataraṁ *tataḥ*.
3.245.27a	*dānān* na duṣkarataraṁ pṛthivyām asti kiṁcana.
3.245.3c	na duṣkarataraṁ *dānāt*.
3.297.40	kiṁ svid gurutaraṁ *bhūmeḥ* kiṁ svid uccataraṁ ca *khāt*, kiṁ svic chīghrataraṁ *vāyoḥ* kiṁ svid bahutaraṁ nṛṇām.
3.297.41	mātā gurutarā *bhūmeḥ* pitā uccataraś ca *khāt*, manaḥ śīghrataraṁ *vāyoś* cintā bahutarī nṛṇām.
(iii) 1.69.22c	aśvamedha*sahasrād* dhi satyam eva viśiṣyate.
1.146.24c	viśiṣyate striyā *bhartur* nityaṁ priyahite sthitiḥ.
1.222.4a	*niḥsaṁśayāt* saṁśayito mṛtyur mātar viśiṣyate.
3.34.47b	dharmamūlaṁ jagad rājan nānyad*dharmād* viśiṣyate.
3.178.5	kasmāccid *dānayogād* dhi satyam eva viśiṣyate, *satyavākyāc* ca rājendra kiṁcid dānaṁ viśiṣyate.
1.158.44b	vidyayā hy anayā rājan vayaṁ *nṛbhyo* viśeṣitāḥ.
1.82.6ab	akrodhanaḥ *krodhanebhyo* viśiṣṭas tathā titikṣur *atitikṣor* viśiṣṭaḥ.
1.123.72c	viśiṣṭaṁ sarva*śiṣyebhyaḥ* prītimāṁś cābhavat tadā.
1.112.5c	*tvattaḥ* prativiśiṣṭaś ca ko'nyo'sti bhuvi mānavaḥ.
(iv) 3.130.17d	uśīnaro vai yatreṣṭvā *vāsavād* atyaricyata.
3.259*.2	aśvamedha*sahasrāt* tu satyam evātiricyate.
(v) 3.34.54d	*svadharmād* dhi manuṣyāṇāṁ calanaṁ na praśasyate.
(vi) 3.35.21b	vṛṇe dharmam *amṛtāj jīvitāc* ca.
(vii) 1.8.10a	*pramadābhyo* varā sā tu sarvarūpaguṇānvitā.[14]
1.69.21	varaṁ *kūpaśatād* vāpī varaṁ *vāpīśatāt* kratuḥ. varaṁ *kratuśatāt* putraḥ satyaṁ *putraśatād* varaṁ.
1.667*.1	varaṁ *saraśatād* yajñaḥ varaṁ *yajñāt* suputrakaḥ.
1.94.58d	asaṁśayaṁ tvam evaikaḥ *śatād* api (K_4 $BD_{2\cdot4}$ TG *śatair* api) varaḥ sutaḥ.
3.2.47c	*prakṣālanād* dhi paṅkasya dūrād asparśanaṁ varaṁ.
3.262.9b	mārīcaś cintayāmāsa *viśiṣṭān* maraṇaṁ varaṁ.
(viii) 1.1.21b	yad viśvaṁ *sadasataḥ* paraṁ.[15]
1.11.14d	brāhmaṇasyaiva paro dharmo vedānāṁ *dhāraṇād* api.
1.69.24ab	nāsti *satyāt* paro dharmo na *satyād* vidyate paraṁ.
1.668*.2	na hi tādṛk paraṁ pāpam *anṛtād* iha vidyate.
1.983*.2	sa rājāstu *pituḥ* paraṁ.
1.107.1d	dhṛtarāṣṭrasya vaiśyāyām ekaś cāpi *śatāt* paraḥ.
3.10.4d	paraṁ *putrān* na vidyate.

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13. The form *bhavataḥ* can be taken as gen. singular.

14. *vara* is probably interpreted in the comparative sense.

15. *para* in the following instances, is taken in the comparative sense.

3.10.5d	na *sutād* vidyate paraṁ.
3.89.18c	*tapaso* hi paraṁ nāsti.
3.127.14d	kiṁ nu duḥkham *ataḥ* paraṁ.
3.160.18a	brahmaṇaḥ *sadanāt* tasya paraṁ sthānaṁ prakāśate.
3.146.79a	*ataḥ* param agamyo'yaṁ parvataḥ sudurāruhaḥ.
3.146.80c	*nātaḥ* paraṁ tvayā śakyaṁ gantum āśvasihi prabho.
3.156.24b	cāpalād iha gacchantaṁ pārtha yānam *ataḥ* paraṁ.
3.164.20c	*ataḥ* paraṁ tv ahaṁ vai tvāṁ darśaye bharatarṣabha.
3.180.16a	dharmaḥ paraḥ pāṇḍava *rājyalābhāt*.
3.205.13c	*ataḥ* param ahaṁ dharmaṁ nānyaṁ paśyāmi kaṁcana.
3.184.22b	paraṁ *parebhyaḥ* prathitaṁ purāṇaṁ.
3.185.48d	ahaṁ prajāpatir brahmā *mat* paraṁ nādhigamyate.
3.249.7a	*asmāt* paras tv eṣa mahādhanuṣmān.
3.1303*.2	apārapāro'si hare *pārebhyo*'pi paras sadā.
3.297.71b	ānṛśaṁsyaṁ paro dharmaḥ *paramārthāc* ca me matam.
1.803*.1	nānyaṁ vṛṇe putrakāmā *putrāt* parataraṁ ca na.[16]
3.201.15d	mahābhūtātmakaṁ brahmann *ataḥ* parataraṁ bhavet.
(ix) 1.111.30c	*uttamād* avarā puṁsaḥ kāṅkṣante putram āpadi.
1.1181*.3	*uttamād* avarā puṁsaḥ kāṅkṣante putram āpadi.
3.84.6c	*indrād* anavaraḥ śaktaḥ sūrasūnuḥ surādhipaṁ.
3.142.11a	yaḥ sa *śakrād* anavaro vīryeṇa draviṇena ca.
3.261.10b	dīpyamānaṁ śriyā vīraṁ *śakrād* anavamaṁ bale.[17]
(x) 3.152.1b	pāṇḍavo bhīmaseno'haṁ *dharmaputrād* anantaraḥ.
3.176.3b	pāṇḍavo bhīmaseno'haṁ *dharmarājād* anantaraḥ.
1.61.34b	suparṇa iti vikhyātas *tasmād* avarajas tu yaḥ.
1.1938*.3	*duryodhanād* avarajair yau yudhyetāṁ pratītavat.
3.159.17c	*bhīmasenād* avarajaḥ phalgunaḥ kuśalī divi.
1.84.2a	ahaṁ hi pūrvo vayasā *bhavadbhyaḥ*.
3.142.5a	*nakulāt* pūrvajaṁ pārthaṁ na paśyāmy amitaujasaṁ.
(xi) 1.1.171a	*tebhyaś* cānye gatā pūrvaṁ rājāno balavattarāḥ.[18]
1.47.7b	āhartā tasya satrasya *tvan* nānyo'sti narādhipa.
1.50.11a	neha *tvad* anyo vidyate jīvaloke.
1.50.12d	na ca *tvad* anyo gṛhapatir asti yajñe.
1.88.20f	loke *tvad* anyaḥ kṣatriyo brāhmaṇo vā.
1.155.47c	na vai *mad* anyāṁ jananīṁ jānīyātām imāv iti.
1.223.9c	na nas trātā vidyate'gne *tvad* anyaḥ.
3.50.20c	yathā *tvad* anyaṁ puruṣaṁ na sā maṁsyati karhicit.
3.61.20a	na me *tvad* anyā subhage priyā ity abravīs tadā.

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[16] It is curious to note that the pratyaya *tara* is affixed to *para*. Similarly we find instances in which *tama* is added to the superlative form. e. g. *iṣṭatama* in 1891*.4d and 3.138.14d.

[17] It is interesting to record that N reads *anavaraṁ* and S reads *anavamaṁ*.

[18] *tebhyaḥ* can be also construed with *balavattarāḥ*.

3.180.20d	saheta tat pāṇḍava kas *tvad* anyaḥ.
3.183.11d	*tvad* anyo nāsti dharmavit.
1.181.18	na hi mām āhave kruddham anyaḥ sākṣāc *chacīpateḥ*, pumān yodhayituṁ śaktaḥ *pāṇḍavād* vā *kirīṭinaḥ*.
1.189.34b	kathaṁ hi strī karmaṇo'nte mahītalāt samuttiṣṭhed anyato *daivayogāt*.
1.196.23a	kim anyad *vihitān* nūnaṁ tasya sā puruṣendratā.
1.201.20c	anyad vṛṇītāṁ *mṛtyoś* ca vidhānam amaraiḥ samaṁ.
3.6.13d	*tataś* cāhaṁ kṣamam anyan na manye.
3.34.31d	artham ṛcchati kāmārthī na *kāmād* anyam ṛcchati.
3.123*.1	kāmārthī caiva yaḥ kāmaṁ na *kāmād* anyam ṛcchati.
3.36.34d	kṣatriyasya tu sarvasya nānyo dharmo'sti *saṁyugāt*.
3.40.32b	devo vā yadi vā yakṣo *rudrād* anyo vyavasthitaḥ.
3.60.37a	yathāhaṁ *naiṣadhād* anyaṁ manasāpi na cintaye.
3.81.108b	nānyaṁ devam ahaṁ manye *rudrāt* parataraṁ mahat.
3.196.8a	strīṇāṁ *dharmāt* sughorād dhi nānyaṁ paśyāmi duṣkaraṁ.
3.994*.1	nānyad daivatam ity eva strīṇāṁ *bhartur* dvijottama.
3.233.16d	na śāstā vidyate'smākam anyas *tasmāt sureśvarāt*.
3.13.40ab	ananyaḥ pārtha *mattas* tvam ahaṁ *tvattaś* ca bhārata.
(xii) 3.20.2d	nātra kiṁcid *ato*'nyathā.
3.34.62b	sattvaṁ hi mūlam arthasya vitathaṁ yad *ato*'nyathā.
3.104.22d	anena kramayogena mā te buddhir *ato*'nyathā.
3.126.22b	na tu adya śakyam asmābhir etat kartum *ato*'nyathā.
3.129.10d	etad vai te divā vṛttaṁ rātrau vṛttam *ato*'nyathā.
3.761*.2	*nāto*'nyathā tvayā śakyaṁ kiṁcit puṣkaram īkṣituṁ.
(xiii) 1.82.6c	*amānuṣebhyo* mānuṣāś ca pradhānāḥ.[19]
3.81.125	puṇyam āhuḥ kurukṣetraṁ *kurukṣetrāt* sarasvatīm, *sarasvtyāś* ca tīrthāni *tīrthebhyaś* ca pṛthūdakaṁ.
3.459*.4	*svargād* uttuṅgam amalaṁ viṣāṇaṁ yatra śūlinaḥ.
3.459*.7	payoṣṇī caikataḥ puṇyā *tīrthebhyo* hi matā mama.
3.178.3ab	dānād vā sarpa satyād vā kim *ato* guru dṛśyate.
3.83.109c	tathā tvaṁ *sarvarājabhyo* bhrājase raśmivān iva.
3.178.6b	evam eva maheṣvāsa *priyavākyān* mahīpate, ahiṁsā dṛśyate gurvī tataś ca priyam iṣyate.
B (i) 1.1231*.6	pitṛtvād devatānāṁ hi nāsti puṇyataras *tvayā*.
1.132.4b	na hi me kaścid anyo'sti vaiśvāsikataras *tvayā* [K_1 tadā ; B (except B_1) Da_1 $D_{1\cdot2\cdot4}$ tathā].
3.32.12d	śāpānugrahaṇe śaktān *devair* api ($K_{1\cdot2}$ $BDnD_{4-6}$ *devebhyo*'pi) garīyasaḥ.
3.49.34b	asti rājā *mayā* kaścid alpabhāgyataro bhuvi.

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[19] We have noted in the introduction that the positives of any adjective construed with the abl. convey the sense of the comparatives.

3.148.2a	*mayā* (T_2 G_{2-4} *matto*) dhanyataro (Dc M °*tamo*) nāsti yad āryaṁ dṛṣṭavān ahaṁ.
3.254.15a	*prāṇair* garīyāṁsam anuvrataṁ ca.
3.257.10a	asti nūnaṁ *mayā* kaścid alpabhāgyataro naraḥ.
(ii) 1.205.17c	śarīrasyāpi *nāśena* (K_1 °rasya *vināśo* vā ; TG_{3-6} °pi *nāśāt* tu) dharma eva viśiṣyate.
3.80.38d	tīrthābhigamanaṁ puṇyaṁ *yajñair* api viśiṣyate.
(iii) 3.80.107	gavāṁ śata*sahasreṇa* rājasūya*śatena* ca, aśvamedha*sahasreṇa* śreyān saptārciṣaś caruḥ.
3.97.20cd	eko *bahubhiḥ* śreyān vidvān sādhur *asādhubhiḥ*.
(iv) 3.131.15d	śakyaś cāpy anyathā kartum āhāro'py adhikas *tvayā*
3.176.35d	yāsmākaṁ nityam āśāste mahatvam adhikaṁ *paraiḥ*.
3.225.16d	kālaṁ pratīkṣaty adhiko raṇe'*nyaiḥ*.
3.10.17c	*jīvitenāpi* ($Ś_1$ $K_{2\cdot3}$ D_{1-3} G *jīvitād api*) kauravya mene'bhyadhikam ātmajaṁ.
3.13.105b	ta ime siṁhavikrāntā vīryeṇābhyadhikā *paraiḥ*.
3.19.23c	*mṛtyunā*bhyadhikaḥ [D_3S (except G_2 M_2) *mṛtyuto*°] saute sa tvaṁ mā vyapayāḥ punaḥ.
3.96.1d	śrutarvāṇaṁ mahīpālaṁ yaṁ vedābhyadhikaṁ *nṛpaiḥ*.
(v) 3.659*.3	samāgatā brāhmaṇās *tena* pūrvaṁ.
(vi) 3.284.31b	vṛṇomi kīrtiṁ loke hi *jīvitenāpi* ($DcD_{1\cdot2}$ *jīvitād api*) bhānuman.
C (i) 1.845*.4	yo *bahūnāṁ* guṇataraḥ sa putro jyeṣṭha ucyate.[20]
3.225.15b	*samīraṇasyaiva* suto balīyān.
3.297.40d	kiṁ svid bahutaraṁ *nṛṇāṁ* (K_4 $B_{1\cdot3}$ $DnD_{2\cdot4\cdot6}$ G_3 tṛṇāt).
3.297.41d	cintā bahutarī *nṛṇāṁ* (K_4 $B_{1\cdot3}$ $DnD_{2\cdot4\cdot6}$ G_3 tṛṇāt).
1.138.18a	sukumāratarāṁ *strīṇāṁ* [$Ñ_2$ V_1 BD (except D_5) T_1 enāṁ] mahārhaśayanocitāṁ.
(ii) 1.65.22a	guṇair divyair *apsarasāṁ* menake tvaṁ viśiṣyate.
3.81.173c	trayāṇām api *lokānāṁ* kurukṣetraṁ viśiṣyate.
1.158.44c	aviśiṣṭāś ca *devānām* anubhāvapravartitāḥ.
(iii) 1.74.6d	*tayor* akrodhano'dhikaḥ.
1.143.2c	śarīraguptyābhyadhikaṁ dharmaṁ gopāya pāṇḍava (T_1 $G_{1\cdot4}$ °gupter).
(iv) 3.245.16a	*tapaso* ($Ś_1$ K_1 *tapasāṁ*) hi paraṁ nāsti.
3.174*.2	kāraṇānāṁ ca paramaṁ ($Ś_1$ K_1 kāraṇaṁ ca paraṁ) jāne tvāṁ tryambakaṁ vibhuṁ.

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[20] The comparative is clearly used in these instances in the sense of the superlative.

(v) 1.7.3c	sa pūrvān *ātmanaḥ* sapta kule hanyāt tathā parān.
3.142.11c	*yamayoḥ* pūrvajaḥ pārthaḥ.
3.177.6b	nahuṣo nāma rājāham āsaṁ pūrvas *tavā*nagha.
(vi) 3.204.9a	na *te'*nyad daivataṁ kiṁcid daivateṣu api vartate.
D (i) 1.154.13d	brahmāstraṁ samanuprāpya *nareṣv* abhyadhiko'bhavat.
1.123.41b	aśvatthāmā rahasyeṣu *sarveṣv* (T_2 $G_{4\cdot5}$ *sarvebhyo*) abhyadhiko'bhavat.
(ii) 3.183.29a	yasmāt *sarvamanuṣyeṣu* [KB_4 $D_{1-3\cdot5}$ S (except G_2) ° *manuṣyebhyo*] jyāyāṁsaṁ mām ihābravīḥ.
(iii) 3.197.29b	*daivateṣv* api sarveṣu bhartā me daivataṁ paraṁ.[21]

3. In expressions of comparison the construction of the superlative with the genitive and the locative is seen as a rule ; but those two cases are noticed to have been varying with the instrumental and the ablative.

A (i) 1.89.30a	*janarūpiṇayor* jyeṣṭham ṛkṣam āhur janādhipaṁ.
1.1.202	*hṛdānām* udadhiḥ śreṣṭho gaur variṣṭhā *catuṣpadāṁ*.
1.68.56cd	gurur *garīyasāṁ* śreṣṭhaḥ putraḥ *sparśavatāṁ* varaḥ.
1.82.9c	vidyād alakṣmīkatamaṁ janānāṁ.
1.117.19a	*teṣām* atho vṛddhatamaḥ pratyutthāya jaṭājinī.
1.220.5a	*dharmajñānāṁ* mukhyatamas tapasvī saṁśitavrataḥ.
3.28.30b	śyāmaṁ bṛhantaṁ taruṇaṁ *carmiṇām* uttamaṁ raṇe.
3.124.14b	grahīṣyantaṁ tu taṁ somam *aśvinor* uttamaṁ tadā.
3.297.53	*dhanyānām* uttamaṁ dākṣyaṁ *dhanānām* uttamaṁ śrutam, *lābhānāṁ* śreṣṭham ārogyaṁ *sukhānāṁ* tuṣṭir uttamā.
(ii) 1.70.9a	trayodaśānāṁ *patnīnāṁ* yā tu dākṣāyaṇi varā.[22]
1.117.30b	ime tayoḥ śarīre dve sutāś ceme *tayor* varāḥ.
3.1.6b	kathaṁ ca rājaputrī sā pravarā *sarvayoṣitāṁ*.
3.3.4d	yudhiṣṭhiram uvācedaṁ dhaumyo *dharmabhṛtāṁ* varaḥ.
(iii) 1.123.43e	ekaḥ sarva*kumārāṇāṁ* babhūvātiratho'rjunaḥ.
3.86.23	*pavitrāṇāṁ* hi govindaḥ pavitraṁ param ucyate, *puṇyānām* api puṇyo'sau *maṅgalānāṁ* ca maṅgalaṁ.[23]
B 1.2.31d	itihāsaḥ pradhānārthaḥ śreṣṭhaḥ *sarvāgameṣv* ayaṁ.
C 1.1.180d	rājāno nidhanaṁ prāptās tava *putrair* mahattamāḥ (K_0 tvatputrair ye mahattarāḥ ; K_3 M mahattarāḥ).

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[21] *para* used in the present instance means '*the highest*'.

[22] To illustrate the use of the gen. and the loc. with the superlative, we have selected a few at random, as no purpose will be served in giving an exhaustive list of the same.

[23] That in these sentences the positives are required to be interpreted in the sense of the superlation, we have made clear in the introduction.

	1.72.7a	*ātmaprāṇaiḥ* priyatamā (K_2 $G_{4\cdot5}$ priyatarā) bhārgavasya mahātmanaḥ.
	3.49.12d	ahīnapauruṣā rājan *balibhir* balavattamāḥ (N balavattarāḥ).
	3.124.16d	jagrāha vidhivat somam *aśvibhyām* uttamaṁ graham.[24]
	3.254.18d	kuntyāḥ *prāṇair* iṣṭatamo nṛvīraḥ.
	3.278.18c	rūpeṇānyatamo'śvibhyāṁ dyumatsenasuto balī.[25]
D	1.221.21	śiṣṭād iṣṭaḥ parityāgaḥ śarīrasya *hutāśanāt*.
	1.78.21c	*tvatto'* pi me pūjyatamo [K_2 S (except G_3 $M_{3\cdot5\cdot8}$ pūjyataro] rājarṣiḥ kiṁ na vettha tat.
	1.166.4e	jyeṣṭhaṁ *putraśatāt* putraṁ vaśiṣṭhasya mahātmanaḥ.
	3.81.128a	*pṛthūdakāt* puṇyatamaṁ ($Ś_1$ $K_{1\cdot4}$ $D_{1\cdot2}$ T_1 G_1 puṇyataraṁ ; T_2 G_{2-4} tīrthataraṁ) nānyat tīrthaṁ narottama.
	3.83.74a	*tataḥ* puṇyatamaṁ nāsti triṣu lokeṣu bhārata.
	3.87.12a	*tataḥ* puṇyatamā rājan satataṁ tāpasāyutā.
	3.114.11ab	ayātayāmaṁ *sarvebhyo bhāgebhyo* bhāgam uttamaṁ.

4. We have noted the following instances in which the multiplicative words are used with the accusative ; the ablative, however, is a regular construction.

A	1.27.14a	*indrāc* chataguṇaḥ śaurye vīrye caive manojavaḥ.
	3.455*.4	gatvā śataguṇaṁ caiva *tebhya* eva narottama.
B	1.80.48c	tatrābhiṣekaṁ yaḥ kuryāt pitṛdevārcane rataḥ, *aśvamedhaṁ* ($K_{1\cdot2}$ $B_{1\cdot3\cdot4}$ Dc Dn D_5 *aśvamedhāt*) daśaguṇaṁ pravadanti manīṣiṇaḥ.[26]
	1.83.4c	*aśvamedhaṁ* (T_2 G_{2-4} M_2 *aśvamedhāt*) daśaguṇaṁ pravadanti manīṣiṇaḥ.

5. The illustrations quoted below are rather of a different type. In these the point of comparison is put either in the instrumental or in the locative. Sometimes the ablative also is used though very rearly. (cf. SPEYER : SS 141).

A	1.139.13d	rākṣasī kāmayāmāsa *rūpeṇā*pratimāṁ bhuvi.
	1.1723*.2	*prasannatvena* kāntyā ca candrarekhāmivāmalāṁ.
	1.14.8ef	*ojasā tejasā* caiva *vikrameṇā*dhikau sutau.
	1.61.85b	aśvinos tu tathaivāṁśau *rūpeṇā*pratimau bhuvi.
	1.107.24c	janmatas tu *pramāṇena* jyeṣṭho rājā yudhiṣṭhiraḥ.
	1.115.17b	nakulaṁ sahadevaṁ ca *rūpeṇā*pratimau bhuvi.
	3.119.16a	na hy asya *vīryeṇa balena* kaścit samaḥ pṛthivyāṁ bhavitā nareṣu.

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[24] The form *aśvibhyām* can be taken as an abl. also.

[25] *anyatamo* with the dual is not correct ; it should have been *anyataro*.

[26] In both these instances, the MSS. try to substitute the correct form. The abl. in the secondary texts, however, cannot be construed satisfactorily. The abl. may be construed as follows ' manīṣiṇaḥ tatrābhiṣekaṁ *aśvamedhāt* daśaguṇaṁ pravadanti '.

	3.194.3b	*vīryeṇā*pratimo bhuvi.
	3.208.3b	prajāsu tāsu sarvāsu *rūpeṇā*pratimābhavat.
	3.259.11a	kumbhakarṇo *balenā*sīt sarvebhyo'bhyadhikas tadā.
	3.293.2b	tasya bhāryābhavad rājan *rūpenā*sadṛśī bhuvi.
B	1.2.124b	vāyuvegasamo *jave*.
	1.62.13	*bale* viṣṇusamaś cāsīt tejasā bhāskaropamaḥ, *akṣubdhatve*'rṇavasamaḥ *sahiṣṇutve* dharāsamaḥ.
	1.1810*.5–6	krodhena cāgnisadṛśāḥ kṣamayā pṛthivīsamāḥ *sthairye* merusamā dhīrāḥ.
	1.213.70ab	kṛṣṇasya sadṛśaṁ *śaurye vīrye rūpe tathākṛtau.*
	3.28.23c	*śarātisarge* śīghratvāt kālāntakayamopamaḥ.
	3.133.27c	na te tulyo vidyate *vākpralāpe*.
	3.241.8cd	na cāpi pādabhāk karṇaḥ paṇḍavānāṁ nṛpottama, *dhanurvede* ca *śaurye* ca *dharme* vā dharmavatsala.
C	1.78.13c	varcasā *rūpataś* (T_2 G_{4-6} *tejasā*) caiva sadṛśā me matās tava.
	1.94.5d	na cāsya sadṛśaḥ kaścit kṣatriyo *dharmato*'bhavat.
	1.160.19ab	sa somam ati *kāntatvād* ādityam ati tejasā.
	1.179.5ab	tat kathaṁ tvatkṛtāstreṇa *prāṇato* (D_1 *prāṇena* ; S *prakṛtyā*) durbalīyasā.[27]
	3.278.17b	sāṅkṛte rantidevasya sa śaktyā *dānataḥ* samaḥ.

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[27] It appears from the readings of the secondary versions that the *ins.* is the current construction in the Southern Version.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF OLD TAMIL PHONEMICS

By

C. R. SANKARAN

[*Abstract*:—In this paper a few phonological questions treated by the oldest Tamil Grammar-*Tolkāppiyam* are discussed from the view-point of modern Phonemics, and it is shown how Tolkāppiyar anticipates modern conceptions in many places as for instance, the distinction between *linearity* and *non-linearity* of *phoneme-combinations* in the stream of speech. It is stressed how a detailed study of this monumental work is necessary to any modern student of Phonemics.]

Phonemes are significant classes of sounds. It is needless to emphasise that in terms of these alone the descriptive study of the sounds of any language should be organised. This is a very distinct contribution of modern linguistic science.

Among the ancient grammars, it is only in *Tolkāppiyam* the oldest Tamil Grammar, we find the description of phonemes of the old Tamil language built apparently on the results of phonetic study. Such an emphasis on the pattern inherent in the sounds of the language of study, and the attempt to establish, on the basis of their occurrence and distribution, the types of sounds which must have been significant in distinguishing the meaning of words is not met with even in the great work of Pāṇini.[1] *Tolkāppiyam*, for instance, deals with the *defective phonemes*, some of which appear only initially while some others appear only finally.

We also learn from this work a good deal about the *allophones* or *positional variants* [viz. one or more sounds which are sub-members of a phoneme (it, being a class of sounds)] whose *variant character* is determined by the neighbouring phonemes.

The clear advantage the analyst has while he operates on a *spoken language*, namely that he can himself hear and record the fine details of pronunciation and can have even recourse to a native speaker in case of doubt on any point, is too obvious to be pointed out. There are serious limitations to an attempt at the phonemic analysis of a language which is no longer spoken. These limitations are : (1) the available evidence, (2) and the uncertainties due to imperfect orthographical representation and incomplete attestation—*uncertainties* against which one cannot guard oneself. However, it is possible to overcome these limitations to some extent at least by means of inferences based upon comparative evidence, internal (from the language itself), or external (from related dialects or languages), and on historical evidence (earlier or later stages of the language). No one would deny the necessity for a descriptive analysis of the earlier stage, even the traces of which are no longer present in a language spoken today, for such an analysis alone would complete the picture of historical development, not only of individual sounds and words, but of the pattern of the language as a whole. The author of *Tolkāppiyam* by the rare insight he has displayed in his work, in regard to his treatment of the old Tamil undoubtedly *spoken* in his time[2] even anticipating as it were the methods of modern phonemic analysis, has made the work of any modern analyst operating on the old Tamil conside rably easy. The present paper[3] being a short introduction to the projected detailed study of the author on the subject shows a few traces of scientific Phonemic analysis of Old Tamil in *Tolkāppiyam*.

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[1] The reader is referred to the select bibliography for the discussions of phonemics in Robert A. HALL's brilliant paper, "Old French Phonemes and Orthography", *Studies in Philology*, 43, p. 575. 1946.

While speaking about the so called origin of the *sound-classes*, although the author of the *Tolkāppiyam* appears to follow on the surface the Sanskrit grammarians, it redounds to his credit that he does not expatiate on the so called *mūrdhanya* sounds. For in accordance with the modern scientific Phonetics, there is no sound produced ' in the head '.[4]

"*Unti mutalā muntuvaḻi tōṉṟit Talaiyiṉu miṭaṟṟiṉuṅeñciṉu ṅilaip Pallu mital̤u nāvū mūkku Maṇṇamu muḻappaṭa veṇmuṟai nilaiyā Ṉuṟuppuṟ ṟamaiya ṅeṟippaṭa ṅāṭi ellā vel̤uttuñ colluṅ kālaip piṟippiṉākkam vēṟuvē ṟiyala tiṟappaṭat teriyuṅ kāṭci yāṇa*". "It will be evident on careful observation that all the sounds (in the Tamil language) are but the results of the modifications which the air undergoes in starting from naval, and passing through the eight parts—chest, neck, head, tongue, hard palate, teeth, lips, and nose".[5] Here Tolkāppiyar seems to conform with the modern view that speech is rather a set of move ments made audible than a set of sounds produced by movements.[6] The form of the vocal cavity is regulated by movements of the muscles which are not and never can be still for an instant. There can be only vowel movements and never vowel positions.[7] To speak of "the places of articulation'' is scientifically inaccurate. Prof. G. Oscar RUSSELL, the great pioneer of X-ray investigations as applied to speech, was in his *Speech and Voice* (New York, Macmillan & Co., 1931 p. 4), led on to ascertain the forms and sizes of human speech cavities as also the position and relative relationship of the various physiological organs which actually appear when producing certain speaking resultants.

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[2] The author of *Tolkāppiyam* had clearly in mind tbe *spoken* language as is evident from the use of the word *vaḷakku* to describe the language operated on by him. Cf. K. V. JAGANNATHAN, *Payappaṭātīrkaḷ* Kalaimagaḷ publication, pp. 56–57, 1946.

[3] I am indebted to the valuable paper of Prof. S. VAIYAPURI PILLAI in *Kalaimagaḷ*' Vol. 30, pp. 297–300. 1946.

[4] WALTER RIPMAN, *Elements of Phonetics*, p. 14 (Dent) 1932.

[5] P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI: *Tolkāppiyam—Eḷuttatikāram—Piṟappiyal* 83. Madras Oriental Series No. 3. 1930. p. 12.

[6] R. H. STETSON, Motor-Phonetics. A study of speech movements in action. *Archives Néerlandaises de Phonétique-Expérimentale*, III. p. 29. 1928.

[7] E. W. SCRIPTURE, The Nature of the Vowels, *Archives Néerlandaises de Phonétique Expérimentale* 7, p. 68. 1932.

It is to be noted that the author of the oldest Tamil grammar departs from the view of the traditional grammarians and appears to subscribe to the modern accepted notion that the physiological characteristic of an act of speech is that it occurs in a specific locus of the human body ; the respiratory tract and the mouth, rarely (as in esophagal speech) the stomach. If a cross section be taken of the stream of speech at a given moment each of the organs concerned is seen to have at that moment a specific functional status ; a moment later the situation would be different. Obviously the different organs do not change from one functional status to another always at the same moment, the statuses overlap.[8]

In the first sūtra of *el̤uttatikāram* Tolkāppiyar lists the *linear phonemes* i.e. phonemes occurring one after the other in the stream of pronunciation.[9]

El̤utteṉappaṭupa
Akaramutal
Nakara Viṟuvāy muppa∴teṉ pa
Cārṇ́tu˙varaṉ marapiṉ mūṉṟalaṅ kaṭaiyē.

"The thirty-sound classes (phonemes) from *a* to *ṉ* except the three *non-linear phonemes* are termed El̤uttu". The very fact that in the *Tolkāppiyam el̤uttatikāram sūtra* (1), it is clearly stated that there are only *thirty linear phonomes* in old Tamil is proof positive that our stand against CALDWELL's theory of the convertibility of surds and sonants in ancient Tamil (*comparative grammar of Dravidian languages* pp. 22–3) is justified.[10]

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[8] C. F. HOCKETT—A system of descriptive Phonology—*Language* 18, pp. 3 and 5. 1942. How far *Tolkāppiyar* in *Piṟappiyal* anticipates the modern theories in regard to the position and relative relationship of the physiological organs when producing certain speaking resultants, I hope to discuss at length in my forthcoming monograph.

[9] For TRUBETZKOY'S conception of *linear* and *non-linear* co..trasts see his Grundzüge der Phonologie (*Travaux du Cercle Linguistique de Prague*, 7 Prague 1939). Cf. Z. S. HARRIS, *Language*, 17, p. 347, 1941.

[10] C. R. SANKARAN and A. C. Sekhar, Middle Dravidian Morphology, *BDCRI* VI. p. 159. 1946, of also P. S. SUBRAHMANYA SASTRI, *Tolkāppiyam el̤uttatikāram* with an elaborate (Tamil) commentary, p. 5. 1937.

It can be inferred also that *Tolkāppiyar* realised that the differences between the vowels [*i*] and [*I*], [*u*] and [*U*] be marked in transcription by the use of distinct symbols, and not merely by the use of a mark of length, for otherwise he would not

In the next sūtra Tolkāppiyar speaks of the *non-linear phonemes*, i.e. phonemes occurring simultaneously with other phonemes.

Avaitām
Kuṟṟiya likaram kuṟṟiya lukaram
Āytam-eṉṟa
Muppāṟ puḻḻiyu meḻuttōraṉṉa

" The *non-linear phonemes are i˙, u˙* and *o˙* [which are represented by dots (in script)]''.[11]

The non-linear phoneme *Āytam* was conceived to have made its appearance between a vowel and one of the six consonant phonemes *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p* and *ṟ*. I had dealt with this conception in a number of papers beginning with the paper "The Phonemic Variants of *Āytam* in Old Tamil'' (*BDCRI*. Vol. II, pp. 342–50, 1941). It is this conception alone which led me on further to make a wider generalisation in my formulation of the *α*-phoneme theory in its present form, based on certain assumptions resulting from the experimental work of scientists like Prof. E. W. SCRIPTURE, A. GEMELLI and TANAKADATE (*BDCRI*. Vol. 6, pp. 79–130 ; 235–250, 1946 : Vol. 7, pp. 249–53, 1947).[12]

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have stated that there existed 30 phonemes (12 vowels + 18 consonants), but would have said instead that there existed only 25 phonemes (7 vowels + 18 consonants). It is significant that the findings by the laboratory phonetician confirm the validity of the stand taken by *Tolkāppiyar* who undoubtedly has shown a very rare insight [see W. N. LOCKE and R. M. S. HEFFNER, Notes on the length of Vowels (II) *American Speech* 15. 1940, p. 79.]

[11] I hope to be able to deal with the questions concerning the orthography of old Tamil later. To render as P. S. SUBRAHMAṆYA SASTRI does *cārpeḻuttu* as secondary sounds (*Tolkāppiyam Eḻuttatikāram* Vol. I. With a short commentary in English p. 1. 1930) is unthinkable !

[12] My *α*–phoneme construction in the *current Science* (Vol. 13, 1944, pp. 11–2), paper is to be regarded as an auxiliary idea for the purpose of visualisation. Any attempt to see in this construction something more than a mere mathematical symbol is to contradict my original intention. That would mean the committing of the frequent error of transforming a fiction into an hypothesis, a mathematical auxiliary idea into a physical theory. But that is actually done in the three papers based on the *α*–phoneme theory that have followed my first paper in *current Science*, viz., the three Bulletin articles that have followed !

The *α*–phoneme as originally conceived is purely imaginary in the strictly mathematical sense. No special physical meaning was to be ascribed to it ; I was then convinced (and the conviction stands today) that I was not giving expression by means of it to any *real* fact of nature, although this method of conceiving apparently *fits* the situation and is very neat. I desired in my *current Science* article to limit the meaning of my term *α*–phoneme in such a way that it designates nothing except the ' Dedekindian gap ' in the events of speech-elements (which are in the last analysis merely arithmetical sub-divisions of the observer's consciousness be it that of the hearer or speaker, of the passage of *time* during such an utterance) forming a one-dimensional sequence which are ' well-ordered ' (that is to say, between any two such events, another can be imagined) ; and the *whole* (i. e. the *sum total*) of these events may be supposed to form a continuum, and to be correlated with the real numbers, At any rate, in the case of the so called *Āytam*, Tolkāppiyar must have had in mind some kind of pronunciation with greater force in the expulsion of air from the lungs than in the case of the normal pronunciation.

Tolkāppiyar has a clear-cut conception of the non-linear phonemes. Witness for instance sūtra 101 also of *Eḻuttatikāram* : *cārṅtu variṉ allatu tamakkiyal pilaveṉat Tērṅtuveḻi paṭuttavēṉai mūṉṟuń Tattañ cārpir piṟappoṭu civaṇi Yotta kāṭciyiṟ ṟammiyal piyalum.*

The three *non-linear* phonemes *i*˙, *u*˙, *and* ∴ *depend upon the sufficient condition* of the adjacent consonant. In the case of *i*˙, *u*˙, (extra-short [?] *i*˙, and *u*˙) such an *adjacent consonant* is the one that precedes and in the case of the *Āytam*, it is the one that succeeds.

Tolkāppiyar had in mind the old Tamil speech-forms like *Keṇm*$^{i\cdot}$*yā* and *n'āk*$^{i\cdot}$*yātu* and *n*'$^{u\cdot}$*n*'^{tai} when he spoke of the extra-short (?) *i*˙ and *u*˙ which were clearly *non-linear* phonemes.[13]

Now we may examine the phenomenon known as *aḻapeṭai*. Tolkāppiyar makes a clear-cut distinction between *Kuṟṟiyalikaram* and *kuṟṟiyalukaram* (whose status was the same as that of the *Āytam*) on the one side, and the *aḻapeṭai* phenomenon i. e. the appearance of short *i* or short *u* for metrical exigencies after long *ī* and long *ū* respectively. In other words, the author of this great grammar of old Tamil has anticipated concepts of the *non-linearity* and the *linearity* of *phoneme-combinations* in the steam of speech !

A short sound is added to a long one for metrical exigencies. In sūtra 6 of *Eḻuttatikāṟam*, Tolkāppiyar says :—

N'īṭṭam vēṇṭiṉavvaḻa puṭai ya
Kūṭṭi yeḻū utaleṉmaṉār pulavar.

" If extension in articulation is required, then to that extent a phoneme (necessarily short in duration) is to be added—this is the opinion of learned men".

The original formulation of the theory does not involve any idea concerning the nature of the physical cause of the speech-phenomena.

Therefore, one will be unquestionably right in rejecting the later interpretation of the α-phoneme as a physical entity as a gross misunderstanding. Such a confusion betrays a lack of methodological insight into what constitutes the difference between fiction and an hypothesis. (See H. VAIHINGER, The Philosophy of 'As if' London 1924, pp. 222-4).

I had originally treated the α-phoneme only as a *representation* and I did not profess to say to what physical idea it may thereafter point, or into what it will resolve itself. I did not then allow myself to be led astray by any mathematical utility of the conception into seeing in it more than a mere ' representative ' idea. In direct opposition to this early declaration, an attempt to find a physical hypothesis in this idea of α-phoneme marks the three subsequent papers in the Bulletin (so far published) bearing on the subject.

[13] I hope to deal with this problem in my forthcoming investigations on vowel-length—A study in Experimental Phonetics.

According to the author of *Tolkāppiyam*, such short sounds which are added to the long ones are separate distinct entities and they are called by him *aḻapeṭai* ; certainly these two phonemes (the long and the added short) do not merge into an extra-long which is known as *pluta* by Sanskrit grammarians. It is as clear that there is no question of *pluta* here even as the *non-linear phonemes i˙* and *u˙*—what we call for want of a better term the *extra-short i˙* and the extra-short *u˙* are not *i* and *u* shortened beyond the usual limit.[14] In the case of these *extra-short i˙* and *u˙* and the *Āytam* therefore probably there was *close juncture* ; that is, in actual pronunciation there was the absence of any interruption in the breath stream between each of these and the neighbouring consonant phoneme which proved the *sufficient condition* for the occurrence of each of these. But in the case of *aḻapeṭai*,[15] probably there was *disjuncture* ; that is, in actual pronunciation there is separation between the long sound and the short one added, by an interruption in the breath stream. Says, *Tol ; Eḷut*, 273 :

Ekara vokaram peyarkkīṟākā Muṉṉilai moḷiya veṉmaṉār pulavar
Tērramuñ ciṟappu-malvaḷi yāṉa

"*e* and *o* never occur finally in nouns except when they are used as particles to denote certainty and superiority respectively ; *e* and *o* occur finally in the verbs of second person".

Examples : *ē e, ō o* ; *ē e koṇṭāṉ, ō o koṇṭāṉ*.

In the sense of clarity (and therefore certainty), and in the sense of superiority respectively even after nouns *ē* and *ō* occur finally.

Teḷiviṉ ēyum ciṟappiṉ ōvum
Aḻapiṉ eṭutta icaiya eṉpa[16]

Though in this sūtra *ē and ō* are mentioned and not *e* and *o*, but because of *Tol*. 273 (quoted above), it has to be inferred that *e* and *o* came after *ē* and *ō* in the sense of certainty and superiority respectively. Ex. *uṇṭē e maṟumai*. "There *will* be rebirth" "*ō o* ! *uvamaṉ uṟaḷviṉṟi ottatē* !" (*Kalavaḷi*, 36).

"Oh ! It resembles the absence of hostility of the dumb" (it indicates superiority, the power of the mighty opposition). *ē e yi∴tottaṉāṇilaṉ* (*Kalittokai*, 62). "This one man is certainly devoid of shame" *ō o kaṭalē* (*Kalittokai*, 144). "What a sea ! "

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[14] *Tol. eḷut.*, Sūtra 5 *denies* the existence of three-morae sounds in Old Tamil.
mūvaḻapicaittal ōreḷuttiṉṟē.
" One Sound never has three morae ",

[15] *Kuṉṟicai moḷivayiṉiṉṟicai n'iṟaikkum*
N'eṭṭeḷuttimpa rotta kuṟṟeḷuttē.
" For filling up the gap in the foot a short sound of the same class is added'. *Tol., Eḷut.* 41.

[16] *Tolkāppiyam collatikāram* 204 edited by K. Namaccivāya Mudaliar Madras, 1922, p. 10/. See also *Tol. Coll.* ed. by M. V. Venugopal Pillai 1941, p. 280.

Tēṟṟa vekaramuñ ciṟappi ṉovvum Mēṟkū ṟiyaṟkai vallel̤uttumikā.[17] "A consonant phoneme (voiceless[18] *k*, *c*, *ṭ*, *t* or *p*) is not inserted after the particles *e* (denoting certainty) and *o* (denoting superiority)."

Examples : *yāṉē e koṇṭēṉ,*
avaṉō o koṇṭāṉ.

But in the case of verbs of second person, an additional consonant phoneme occurs. There is, in other words, the doubling of the consonant.

Examples : *ēekkoṟṟā.*
ōokkoṟṟā.

These speech forms appear to have been even used in old Tamil in the sense of "do a particular work for me" and "desist from doing this" (*Tol. el̤ut.* ed. by Kanaka Sundaram PILLAI, south India Śaivasiddhanta Society Publications 1933, p. 174).

ē yeṉ iṟuti k kekaram varumē. (*Tol. el̤ut.* 278).
"*ē* will be followed by *e*". Ex. *ēekkoṭṭil.*

In sūtra 291 of *El̤uttatikāram*, Tolkāppiyar says that there is no change in sandhi if the standing word ends in *ō* denoting negation, question or doubt.

Examples : *Yāṉō koṇṭēṉ* "did I possess ?"
pattō patiṉoṉṟō. "ten or eleven",
Māṟuko ḻeccamum viṉāvu maiyamum
Kūṟiya vallel̤ut tiyaṟkai yākum.

In sūtra 292, we are told that, there is no change also when *ō* is *ol̤iyicai*, i.e. suggests something that is left out. For instance, *Koḻalō koṇṭāṉ* :—*ol̤ińtata ṉilaiyu mol̤ińta vaṟṟiyaṟṟē.*

In the sūtra following (*Tol. el̤ut.* 293), we are told that the *case-relation sandhi* when the standing word ends in *ō* is same as when it ends in *ē* (i.e. a voiceless consonant is inserted and *o* follows *ō*).

Vēṟṟumaik kaṇṇu mataṉō raṟṟē.
Okaram Varutalā vayi ṉāṉa.[19]

Examples : *ō o - k - kaṭumai.*

In sūtra 227 of *Tolkāppiyam*, *el̤ut.* also we are informed that *a* occurs after a word ending in *ā* with a short vowel in the previous syllable as for instance *palā-a-k-kōṭu*, or *kā-a-k kuṟai.*

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[17] *Tolkāppiyam el̤uttatikāram*, 274.

[18] It is definite that in Old Tamil there were no voiced *g*, *j*, *ḍ*, *d*, *b* (see footnote 10).

[19] *Tol. el̤ut.* 292. It should be noted that here *Tolkāppiyar* speaks of the occasionally expressive function of phonemes. Cf. A. W. DE GROOT, instrumental Phonetics; its value for linguists. *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie*......65, p. 54.

What takes one's breath away in this sūtra is that Tolkāppiyar says that the same thing happens in the case of *syllabic-phonemes* (*ōrel̤uttu mol̤i*) too.[20]

Kuṟiyataṉ muṉṉarum
Ōrel̤uttu mol̤ikkum
aṟiyat tōṉṟum
akarak kiḻavi (*Tol.*, *el̤ut.* 227),

In *collatikāram* (Morphology) too, Tolkāppiyar discusses *aḻapeṭai*. *Aḻapeṭai mikū u m ikaraviṟupeyar iyaṟkaiya ākuñ ceyaṟkaiya veṉpa.* (*Tol. coll.* 125).

According to *Uraiyāciraiyar* (one of the commentators of *Tolkāppiyam*), if *al̤apeṭai i* ends finally, very *naturally* (*iyaṟkaiya*) it will take vocative. By the word *ceyaṟkai* ('artificially') he takes to mean that there are two sets of people who represent this phenomenon in writing by assigning 3 and 5 morae respectively.[21]

Both Cenāvaraiyar and Naccinārkkiniyar (two other commentators of *Tolkāppiyam*) confuse the issue by considering the *aḻapeṭai* phenomenon in the aggregate such as *āa* (or *īi*) as a *single unitary phoneme*. This is obviously an error, and it was never intended by the author of *Tolkāppiyam* according to whom the short *a* (or *i*) added as a *separate phoneme* to the long *ā* (or *ī*) was to be called *aḻapeṭai*. Ex. *tol̤ī ii* (*Kalittokai* 103, line 40) "Oh woman, who has got the function of seeing" !

It is very *significant* that the author of *Tolkāppiyam* in *collātikāram*, *distinctly* refers to *Kuṟṟiyalukaram* (the *non-linear phoneme*—the extra-short *u*˙) laying emphasis on its true status in the sūtras 122 and 123, while in sūtra 125 he refers to the *aḻapeṭai* phenomenon.

Ōvum uvvum ēyoṭu civaṇum. (*Tol. coll.* 122).
"nouns ending in *ō* and *u* take *ē* after them".

Ceruppiṟ pūl̤iyar kōvē (*Patiṟṟupattu*, 3rd *pattu*, 21, line 23).[22]
"Oh ! the king of the mountain called *ceruppu*".
………… ……………………………………*vēńtē*.
…………………………………………………
…………………………………………………
tavāaliyar ……………………………………
(*Patiṟṟuppattu*. 2nd *Pattu*, 14 lines 17 to 22. U. V. Swaminatha Iyer's 2nd edition p. 8. 920).

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[20] It is definite that *el̤uttu* in *Tolkāppiyam* signified a *sound-class* (*Phoneme*). The *syllabic phonemes* are those we meet with in French *ici* ($i\text{-}{}^1t^si$) *ui*′ ; (^{1}ɥ*i*). Vide Robert A. Hall, Old French phonemes and orthography : *Studies in Philology* 43, 1946. p. 578 (3. 1).

[21] This view appears to be most tenable in the light of the language of the *sūṭra* itself. Cf. P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, *Tolkāppiyam collatikāram-kuṛippurai*, p. 122, 1930.

[22] U. V. Swaminatha Iyer's edition, Madras, 1920, p. 24.

That the *u* referred to in this sūtra (viz., *Tol. coll.* 122) is *kur̲r̲iya-lukaram* is specially emphasised by *Tokāppiyar* in the next sūtra. The *significance* of this *emphasis* is clear. *Tolkāppiyar* distinguishes the *non-linear phonemes* (extra-short *i*˙ and extra-short *u*˙) from the *linear phonemes* in the phenomenon known as *al̲apeṭai* (for instance, short *i* added to long *ī* for metrical exigency).

> *Ukaraṅ tān̲ē kur̲r̲iyaḷukaram. Tol. coll.* 123).
> "The *u* referred to above is *kur̲r̲iyalukaram*".[23]

We have seen that *Tolkāppiyam eḷuttatikāram* 273 says that in case of the absence of any idea about clarity (certainty) and superiority short *e* and short *o* would not come at the end of the noun. *In that case*, *e* and *o*, would come *only* in the verb of the 2nd person, and not at all in the 1st or 3rd persons. Therefore it is inferred from the sūtra that in the case of *distinct reference* to clarity (certainty) and superiority, the short *e* and the short *o* come at the end of the noun in all the three persons (this is *arthāpatti*). Hence is the necessity of the following sūtra (*Tol. eḷut.* 274) which says, that in case when clarity (certainty) and superiority are signified and therefore short *e* and short *o* come respectively, there is no doubling of the consonant that follows the short *e*.

Examples :	*yān̲ēe-koṇṭēn̲*,	"I *alone* possessed it".
	nīyēe koṇṭāy,	"you *alone* possessed it".
	avan̲ēe koṇṭān̲,	"he *alone* possessed it".
	yān̲ōo koṭiyan̲,	"*Am I* the villain ? ".
	nīyōo koṭiyai,	"*Are you* the villain ? ".
	avan̲ōo koṭiyan̲,	"*Is he* the villain ? ".

Again from *Tol. Eḷut.*, 274, it is to be inferred that when short *e* and short *o* come *only* in the verb of the 2nd person when there is complete *absence* to any idea of clarity (certainty), and superiority, there is a doubling of the consonant that follows the short *e*.[24]

Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram 325[25] further says that it is possible that *al̲apeṭai* comes also for rhythm.

al̲apeṭai yacaiṅilai yākalu murittē.

Examples: *Kaṭāa* "unsuspicious" as in the following.
Kaṭāa vuruvoṭu

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[23] P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, *Tolkāppiyam collatikāram.*: Annamalai University, 1945, pp. 134-5.

[24] Cf. the examples already given. *ē e - k k o r r ā.*
ō o - k k o r r ā.

In old Tamil, these expressions seem to have signified "do a specific work for me" and "desist from doing in this manner" (*Tol., eḷut.* ed. by Kanaka Sundaram Pillai, p. 174).

[25] *Tolkāppiyam Poruḷatikāram*, edited by Chidambaram Pillai and S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, p. 362.

Kaṇṇañcātiyāṇṭu
Mukā amai
Vallatē yoṟṟu.[26]

"He alone is the proper spy who dresses in a suitable form which does not arouse suspicion, and who faces boldly those who suspect him, and who does not betray his cause under any circumstances".

The phenomenon where a short *a* and *i* follow the long *ā* and long *ī* respectively is known as *aḻapeṭai*. This is *not* on the same status as the extra-short *i*˙, or extra-short *u*˙ (*kuṟṟiyalikaram* and *kuṟṟiyalukaram*) whose status is that of the *non-linear phoneme* like that of the *Āytam* :[27] but when the short *i* or short *u* follow the long *ī* or long *ū*, there is only *linearity* of the *phoneme-combinations* in the stream of speech.

The present paper is only an introduction to the study of old Tamil phonemics. Therefore, a full exhaustive treatment of the subject has not been given here, but reserved for a future date. For the moment, it is sufficient to say in conclusion that what I have given above would convince the reader how a modern student of Phonemics could rediscover many things from *Tolkāppiyam*, the oldest Tamil Grammar. In fact, the author of this great work has actually anticipated many a modern concept as it appears from a very close examination of the work.

It is, therefore, worth the while to subject the work[28] to a detailed scrutiny from the point of view of modern Phonemics, and the author of this paper[29] hopes to accomplish this task in his forthcoming monograph.[30]

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[26] *Tirukkuraḻ*, 585..

[27] *Tol. eḷut*, 2. See P. S. Subrahmanya Sastri, *Tolkāppiyam eḷuttatikāram kurippuraiyuṭan*, 1937, under sūtra 101, p. 103.

[28] No doubt the orthodox method of interpretation of this ancient grammar of Tamil is extended by pure Tamil scholars like V. Venkatarajulu Reddiar (see his *Tolkāppiyam Eḷuttatikāravārāycci* Madras University, Tamil Series, No. 16, 1944). But no attempt has been so far made to exploit this ancient grammar from the rigorous view-point of *modern Phonemics*. In the present paper, such an attempt is indicated.

[29] In this paper generally the ordinary Roman transliteration method has been mainly followed, and the international phonetic transcription has been only used sparingly as in foot notes 10 and 20 for instance, for obvious reasons. In such places the symbols of the international phonetic transcription are enclosed within rectangular brackets.

[30] I am indebted to the Library staff of the Institute for the special library facilities I have enjoyed in the course of my investigations.

SOME NOTES ON HINDU COSTUME

By

G. S. GHURYE

GENERAL

(a) PLACE OF DRESS IN THE BEAUTIFICATION OF A PERSON

In Hāla's *Gāthāsaptaśatī* occurs a verse which may be thus rendered : "Passersby look longingly and with a fixed gaze at the daughter of a peasant, even though she is whitened all over by the flour that is blown over her, as if she were goddess Lakṣmī emerging out of the milky ocean". (Gā., IV, 89). Both the commentators have taken the purpose of this verse to be to inculcate the famous dictum in Sanskrit which runs : "Even distortion of the beautiful lends charm to their person", (*ramyāṇām vikṛtirapi śriyam tanoti*).

Vidūṣaka, in Bhāsa's *Avimāraka*, seeing his hero, the Sauvīra prince, in his love-lorn condition, remarks that even that condition becomes him ; for "anything is an adornment to the beautiful", (*sarvam alaṅkāro bhavati surūpāṇām*). (Bh. p. 129 : Av. II 833). One of the maids of the heroine of the above drama similarly observes regarding the futility of adornment of the heroine as in her opinion the very form of the heroine was an ornament incarnate. But in the course of conversation she modifies her statement by the generalization, "naturally charming things appear more charming when adorned", (*ākṛtireva bhartṛdārikāyā alaṁkāra iti bhaṇāmi...svabhāvaramaṇīyāni maṇḍitāni atiramaṇīyāni bhavanti*).[a] (Bh. p. 47 : Av. IV 21.26). In the *Pratimānātaka* Sītā's maid voices the first sentiment with greater emphasis on the power of the beauty of a charming person. She says : "Beauty looks well, with anything", (*sarvaśobhanīyam surūpam nāma*), when asked by Sītā whether the bark-garment will become her. When Sītā persists, the maid remarks that not only does her mistress look well in the bark-garment but she has beautified the latter by her own charm to such an extent that it appears as if it were made of gold. (Bh. p. 253 : Pra. I, 4, 54–7).

In Kālidāsa's *Mālavikāgnimitra*, the king, the lover, speaking of his beloved Mālavikā in her love-lorn condition remarks : Oh! Loveliness gains in charm in whatever condition", (*aho sarvāsvavasthāsu cārutā śobhāntaram puṣyati*) (M., II before v 6). In the *Śākuntala* the Kañcukī finding the king in his repentant and love-lorn condition admires his charm thus : "Oh ! Beautiful persons appear charming under all conditions", (*aho sarvāsvavasthāsu ramaṇīyatvam ākṛtiviśeṣāṇām*),[b] (S., VI, 6). The king speaking of Śakuntalā on his first view of her in the hermitage and finding that she was dressed in a bark-garment is displeased to note the impropriety of that kind of garment for her age and yet is pleased to find that even that inappropriate garment added to her splendour and adornment. He begins to ponder over this apparently contrary and disharmonious phenomenon and finds a complete explanation for it. He observes: "A lotus is beautiful though interwined with moss; the dark spot in the moon adds to its charm; this slender lady has her charm enhanced by the bark-garment; what cannot serve as adornment to beautiful forms?" He means as an answer that anything can enhance the charm of a naturally beautiful object. Even the inappropriate dress of a bark-garment in this particular case adds to the loveliness of the heroine (*kāmam ananurūpam asyā vayaso valkalam na punar alaṁkāraśriyam na puṣyati : sarasijam anuviddham śaivalenāpi ramyam malinam api himāṁśor lakṣma lakṣmīṁ tanoti ; iyam adhikamanojñā valkalenāpi tanvī kimiva hi madhurāṇām maṇḍanam nākṛtīnām*).[c] (S., I, 7). The commentator Rāghavabhaṭṭa remarks that the verse produces the figure of speech known as '*mādhurya*', 'sweetness', and characterizes it in the following quotation from somewhere: '*sarvāvasthāviśeṣeṣu mādhuryam ramaṇīyatā*', loveliness under all conditions is called sweetness'. In another connection the same commentator quotes a definition of '*rūpa*', 'natural beauty', 'handsome form' from somewhere (S. VI, 6). As we shall see later it is from a work called *Sudhākara*. It runs: "That is natural beauty which makes the limbs of a person appear as if they were adorned even when actually no artificial ornaments are put on". (*aṅgānyabhūṣitānyeva prakṣepādyair vibhūṣaṇaiḥ yena bhūṣitavadbhānti tadrūpam iha kathyate*).[d]

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[a] आकृतिरेव भर्तृदारिकाया अलंकार इति भणामि...स्वभावरमणीयानि मण्डितानि अतिरमणीयानि भवन्ति ।

In one place in the *Raghuvaṁśa* Kālidāsa goes further and voices the sentiment that even a dishevelled dress lends charm to the faces of young ladies (*manojña eva pramadāmukhānām ambhovihārākulitopi veṣaḥ*)[e] (R. XVI, 67). Mallinātha properly quotes in this connection from somewhere the dictum that 'even distortion of the beautiful lends charm to the person', (*ramyāṇām vikṛtirapi śriyam tanoti*).

On one occasion a sentiment contrary to the one so far described is voiced by a female friend of Śakuntalā who is also an inmate of the hermitage. On seeing Śakuntalā adorned with whatever decorations the hermitage could provide she remarks : "Handsome form which is fit for ornaments is disfigured by decorations available in a hermitage" *ābharaṇocitam rūpamāśramasulabhaiḥ prasādhanair viprakāryate* (S. VI. 6).[f] A sentiment which is exactly the complement of the above is expressed once in the *Mālavikāgnimitra*. The Vidūsaka speaking to the king about Mālavikā as she was dressed for her wedding observes : "Her honour Mālavikā appears particularly and peculiarly beautiful in her wedding attire" (*kimapi vaivāhikanepathyena saviśeṣam khalu śobhate tatrabhavatī Mālavikā*,[g] M., V., before v. 7). Whereas in the former passage the possibility of a naturally beautiful person being disfigured by improper decoration is stated, in the latter the capacity of proper attire to lend special charm to a person is asserted.

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[b] अहो सर्वास्ववस्थासु रमणीयत्वमाकृतिविशेषाणाम् ।

[c] काममननुरूपमस्या वयसो वल्कलं न पुनरलंकारश्रियं न पुष्यति
सरसिजमनुविद्धं शैवलेनापि रम्यं
मलिनमपि हिमांशोर्लक्ष्म लक्ष्मीं तनोति ।
इयमधिकमनोज्ञा वल्कलेनापि तन्वी
किमिव हि मधुराणां मण्डनं नाकृतीनाम् ॥

[d] अङ्गान्यभूषितान्येव प्रक्षेपाद्यैर्विभूषणैर्येन भूषितवद्भान्ति तद्रूपमिह कथ्यते ।

[e] मनोज्ञ एव प्रमदामुखानामम्भोविहाराकुलितोऽपि वेषः ।

Bāṇabhaṭṭa in his play *Pārvatīpariṇāya* puts the following sentiment in the mouth of one of his characters in describing the beauty of Pārvatī when she was dressed for her wedding with Śiva. "That ornaments beautify the body is the popular belief. In the case of Pārvatī, however, her limbs produced an indescribable charm in the ornaments put on her" *aṅgam bhūṣaṇanikaro bhūṣayatītyeṣa laukiko vādaḥ ; aṅgāni bhūṣaṇānām kāmapi suṣamāmajījanaṁstasyāḥ*,[h] (p. 39). In king Harṣa's *Nāgānanda* the hero tells the heroine that her limbs adorn her, while the ornaments she has put on simply torment her (*svāṅgaireva vibhūṣitāsi ; vahasi kleśāya kiṁ maṅdanam*)[i] (N. p. 50 : Act. III).

In the *Mālatī-Mādhava* of Bhavabhūti, Makaranda describing Mālatī, adorned for her wedding, remarks to her lover Mādhava, that Mālatī even with her pale and emaciated appearance lent a charm to the ornaments she was made to put on instead of the ornaments adorning her (*iyamavayavaiḥ pāṇḍukṣāmairalaṅkṛtamaṇḍanā*), (Mm., VI, 1, 61). The Buddhist nun seeing Mālatī in her love-lorn condition bursts out with a praise of the extraordinary beauty of Mālatī who, even when she is pale and dusky, appears charming (MM., II, 11, 122 125).

In the *Karpūramañjarī* of Rājaśekhara we are introduced to a discussion on female beauty, what it consists in and the place of embellishment in its make-up. When the king sees the charming heroine suddenly brought in his presence from her bath and therefore half-clothed, he is so struck by her naked beauty that he tantalizingly describes her features to the Vidūṣaka. His description leads the otherwise foolish Vidūṣaka to introduce the topic of the value of ornaments in the make-up of beauty. To corroborate the king's estimate of beauty of the heroine he points out that even though she was without ornaments and cosmetics, the former being removed at the time of bathing and the latter being washed off in the bath, she looked quite lovely. His purpose would appear to be to suggest to the king that the heroine would appear even more charming than she was at the time, being devoid of the aid of embellishment. This idea he conveys in the next verse. He observes that embellishment imparts a certain comeliness to charm of those who, like the heroine, are naturally handsome. The king who is dominated by the physical aspect almost ignores the complete import of the Vidūṣaka's remarks and accepting his opinion that the heroine is naturally handsome again indulges in a description of her charms which have already begun to make him love-sick. After he had his fill of the description of her physical charms and of the avowal of his having been enamoured of her, he had time to revolve in his mind the full significance of Vidūṣaka's remarks to which now he rejoins. He is not in a mood to accept his dicta. He is too much dominated by the physical aspect, being treated to the heroine's almost naked charms, to concede that apparel and such other accessories, which, whatever else they may or may not achieve, certainly conceal completely or partially some of the bodily features, can be an aid to beauty. He asserts that the persons of women are the most handsome when they are adorned in their own natural excellences and that the splendour of attire seems rather to conceal the beauty of the person. It is for this reason that charming women are able to captivate the other sex with their glances unaided by other accessories. Having contradicted the general observation of the Vidūṣaka he returns again to his favourite topic of describing the physical allurements of the heroine. (Km., I, 30-34).

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[f] आभरणोचितं रूपमाश्रमसुलभैः प्रसाधनैर्विप्रकार्यते ।

[g] किमपि वैवाहिकनेपथ्येन सविशेषं खलु शोभते तत्रभवती मालविका ।

[h] अङ्गं भूषणनिकरो भूषयतित्येष लौकिको वादः ।
अङ्गानि भूषणानां कामपि सुषमामजीजनं स्तस्याः ।

[i] स्वाङ्गैरेव विभूषितासि । वहसि क्लेशाय किं मण्डनम् ।

The topic is renewed when the king has an opportunity of interrogating about the heroine a friendly maid of the queen in the second Act of the drama. As a love-sick person the king naturally hopes to calm himself with scraps of information about his lady-love. He asks the maid what was done to the heroine by the queen's maids when she was taken into the female apartment. She narrates to him her dressing and adornment step by step and he makes an observation every time indicating that the particular step in adornment or the stage in embellishment was proper and must have led to a heightened effect. When the description of the heroine's dressing ends he remarks that it was like the creation of the splendour of spring on a pleasure-ground. It is quite clear from this that the king is quite willing to admit the propriety of dressing the heroine and also its capacity to show her off to greater advantage. This gives the Vidūṣaka his opportunity of pressing his view about the role and propriety of accessories in beautification.

He seems to have slightly modified his views to suit the taste of his patron. He states that collyrium befits the eyes that are straight and bright and a pearl-necklace becomes large breasts. But he would regard the placing of a gorgeous girdle on expansive buttocks as both an adornment as well as a disadornment. It seems he has appreciated his patron's point of view that a gorgeous girdle conceals the contour of the buttocks, which physical feature is such an attraction to the king. Yet the splendour of the jewels of the girdle in the Vidūṣaka's judgment lends a charm to the whole, perhaps because he is unable to get over the dazzling effect of such splendour. The king completely subjugated by the physical charms of the heroine as she appeared to him first, almost unmindful of the Vidūṣaka's remarks, again describes her in her first appearance, whereupon the Vidūṣaka draws his attention to the fact that he himself was speaking of her appearance after she was completely dressed and adorned. He being vexed a little, makes bold to state his original view with modification. He observes that "Adornments unfold to advantage the comeliness even of a person who is naturally handsome" and supports his statement by the illustration that the jewels show off to greater beauty when they are set in gold. Though jewels have a natural splendour of their own which is much greater than that of gold yet their beauty is enhanced when they are set in gold.* This irritates the king to throw off his politeness and to tell the Vidūṣaka in so many words that he is a fool. He says: " It is only the hearts of fools that fair women captivate by their witchery of attire; while clever men can be won only be natural beauty ". To support his view the king too gives an illustration by pointing out that grape-juice is not rendered sweeter by the addition of sugar.

At this stage the clever maid seeing that it was a good opportunity to plead the extraordinary beauty of her friend, the heroine, and also to pay off her old score against the Vidūṣaka states that the naturally charming features of the female body, like swelling breasts, are not further beautified by dress and adornment. She is the person who described so minutely and tantalizingly as far as the king was concerned, the dressing of the heroine. As if remembering her part, she amplifies her view by stating that though dress and adornment hardly impart any additional beauty it is considered desirable or agreeable because custom or habit is hard to break. She means to state that though people realize that dress and ornaments do not aid the charms of a naturally handsome female yet they go on wearing dress and ornaments and appreciating them because of the force of habit or custom. In this manner she finds a way out, serving her friend's interests, pleasing the king and justifying the queen's and her own actions in regard to the dressing of the heroine.* The king is ready to silence the Vidūṣaka with this statement of the maid but himself is not prepared to leave his position. He makes his view more clear and emphatic now by drawing a distinction between the women who try to attract through attire and those who captivate by their natural charms as he had tried to clench the issue with the Vidūṣaka by distinguishing between foolish and wise males who are captivated by the splendour of attire and by inherent charms respectively. He observes : "What is the use of artificial ways of adornment ? Those are the tricks of actresses. High-born ladies captivate the hearts of men by their own lovely persons". He further illustrates the truth of his observation by pointing out that it is because of the fact that true and blissful satisfaction is given only by naturally charming features that people do not wish for splendour of dress in that act, which gives the greatest pleasure, in which all the limbs of the body come into play, viz., sexual congress. (KM., II, 12–28).

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* The reading on which this rendering is based is the one given in Km. (b).

In the third Act when the king narrates to the Vidūṣaka his dream regarding the heroine, the latter asks him to tell him the cause that leads certain people to indulge in wish-fulfilment. The king who is love-sick naturally replies that it lies in love. The Vidūṣaka here corners the king. He asks him whether his intent gazing at the heroine, which implies that he is in love with her, does not mean that she is superior in certain qualities to the queen for whom the king has already developed great love. The king finding himself placed in a difficult situation attempts to wriggle out of it. He asserts that that way of looking at his passion for the heroine and at his attitude towards the queen is not right. The attraction that he feels for the heroine, like all such attractions, is the consequence of something unknown and not of the beauty of the person. People generally ascribe such a feeling to the beauty of the person only to prevent the curious and the wicked from talking about it. He means to say that physical charm is credited with creating a passion for the person by a public, which does not understand that such passion is really something deeper or is due to some internal incalculable force. People therefore

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* The text when rendered into Sanskrit reads:
"*yattadapi sarvam priyam saṁyuktam. śṛṇu tatra kāraṇamidam, rūḍheh kā khaṇḍanā*".[j]
This is rendered by KONOW and LANMAN as : "But why then is even that all agreeable ? Listen while I tell you the reason for it now : You cannot spoil natural beauty;" The meaning given by the commentator Vāsudeva, is more or less the same. To me it appears that with the meaning the justification is rather lame. It only means that adornment does not spoil natural beauty. That adornment does not spoil natural beauty is not enough ground to look upon it as agreeable. To get this meaning too we have to torture the words, '*rūḍhi*' being made to signify what is rooted and hence natural. The usual meaning of the word is custom. The meaning given above is straight and more in keeping with the context.

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[j] यत्तदपि सर्वं प्रियं संयुक्तं शृणु तत्र कारणमिदं रूढेः का खण्डना ।

put forward beauty as the cause of their new passion to prevent the public from making further curious inquiries. After a short disquisition from the king on the nature of love the Vidūṣaka seems to grasp his point of view, viz. that it is some indescribable internal feeling which tends to awaken in the other party affaction or love, and he returns to his topic in the discussion of which he was worsted. He wants to know, in view of this peculiar nature of passion or love, why women, and perhaps men too, use the trickery of the splendour of ornaments which is believed to rouse that feeling. The query is quite proper. If passion or love is the result of something which is an indescribable internal force these externals of dress and ornaments fulfil no pupose. The king admits the force of his argument, which is in the line of his own original point of view. He remarks that it is neither the splendour of embellishment nor even beauty that crowns young women with success in love. It is something else that achieves it for them. This something is so very common at a certain time in the life of a woman that it is possessed in equal degree by the consort of an emperor and the wife of a common man in spite of a certain difference in the external splendour which is caused by rubies, saffron and garments. We expect the king to mean by this his original point of view wherein he stressed the great significance of the physical features of a woman for her attractive capacity. But no; here he goes further. He says that that something common to the consort of an emperor and the wife of a commoner is not the bright eyes nor the moonlike face nor even the swelling breasts. It is something else than these or their ensemble that captivates men's hearts. What that is exactly he leaves unspecified. But the Vidūṣaka does not allow him to leave the thing shrouded in a mystery. He points out very frankly that what during childhoood is unattractive to the heart of man comes to develop something which exercises this attraction of beauty when the woman becomes adolescent. In an abstract and indirect manner this voices the same sentiment as is conveyed straightforwardly in the popular adage, 'when the sixteenth year is attained even an asslike female appears like the paragon of beauty' (*prāpte tu ṣoḍaśe varṣe gardhabhī hyapsarā bhavet*).[k] The king seems to see the point but expresses it rather grandiloquently. He says that in the case of woman two Creators must be working at her creation, one giving her the girlish form and the other the loveliness she attains during adolescence. With this it is easy for him to return to his original point of view and state it in an emphatic and unequivocal manner, justifying fully our contention that from the first the king was dominated by the physical aspect of the female beauty. Art of embellishment, splendour of ornaments and the beauty of attire are all superseded by the youthful bloom of maidens as a captivating device, which is so patent that it may be termed the sixth arrow of Cupid, who has traditionally only five arrows in his quiver. What this youthful bloom precisely signifies is made clear by the specific mention of usual five features of the physique of a youthful lady, viz. lovely form, large and long eyes, swelling breasts, waist adorned with three folds and capable of being grasped in the fist, and expansive full buttocks. Thus the king's first opinion that naturally charming features alone, and not the attire, is source of attraction is finally emphasized by him. (Km., III, 9.19). It may be of interest to note that the commentator quotes from *Sudhākara* the following definition of beauty of form : *aṅgānyabhūṣitānyeva prakṣepādyair vibhūṣaṇaiḥ yena bhūṣitavadbhānti tadrūpamiha kathyate*[1] "that is called beauty of form which gives the limbs the appearance of being adorned even though actually they are not adorned with artificial ornaments". (Km. (b), p. 30).

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[k] प्राप्ते तु षोडशे वर्षे गर्द्धभी ह्यप्सरा भवेत्।

Maṅkha describing the attiring of the ladies of the Kailāsa mountain mentions how it led to different results with different ladies according to the differences in their natural form and beauty. He says : "The attire created new beauty for some who did not naturally possess any ; it simply manifested the natural charms of some, who possessed them in moderate amount; it enhanced the charms of some others [evidently by concealing skilfully some of their features which did not harmonize with their other charms] ; in the case of some ladies who had inherent perfect beauty, however, it concealed their charms". (Sr., XIII, 47). Thus attire produced results differing according to the degree of natural charms possessed by the ladies. Here we have a moderate opinion about the utility of dress in enhancing the charms of a lady. It is noteworthy therefore that even in a sober and moderate view of the functions of dress it is considered to be a positive hindrance in the case of naturally perfect beauties. But naturally perfect beauties being rare on the whole, dress appears to this poet to fulfill a significant role in the creation of beauty.

Śrīharṣa in describing the preparation of Damayantī for her wedding with Nala dilates on the natural charm of Damayantī and the role her attiring and ornamentation for the marriage-rite played. When her skilful attendants attired her they knew that the charms of Damayantī's beauty were the paragon of their class and could not be enhanced. Yet on decorating her they found that a certain indescribable charm was produced which appeared to be much greater than the natural beauty of Damayantī. Seeing the result they began to wonder whether it was the ornaments that created the enhanced charm of Damayantī's person or whether it was the handsomeness of Damayantī that lent additional charm to the ornaments as they were put on her. With all their acuity and profundity in these matters they were unable to decide the question either way (Na., XV, 48). In another mood the poet thinks quite decisively that the ornaments had no share in the enhancement of Damayantī's charms. He says: "When the ornaments themselves by their juxtaposition and by the charm of her limbs attained beauty, the maids could not say anything more as they found that the etymological meaning of their name signified that their making was useless" (Na., XV, 48). Thus the poet puns on the word '*alaṁkaraṇa*' which means 'an ornament' and may be made to signify 'something whose making is futile' and conveys his opinion that the ornaments did not produce any charm and that the charm that was produced was the result of the total ensemble in which the natural beauty of a person was the preponderant and decisive factor. Finally, however, he concedes to them some positive though secondary function. "The ornaments heightened the greatness of the natural charm, just as the sanctity of the Ganges is enhanced by the particular sacred places or as the affection a parent feels for the children is strengthened by the good qualities of these children or as moral conduct impresses more by the bright fortunes of its professor" (Na., XV, 54). Ornaments are thus accessories which heighten the charm of a person.

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[1] अङ्गान्यभूषितान्येव प्रक्षेपाद्यैर्विभूषणैः येन भूषितवद्भान्ति तद्रूपमिह कथ्यते ।

(b) MODESTY IN FEMALE COSTUME

Parivrājikā, who was appointed the judge to decide on the merits of the students of the two dancing masters in the *Mālavikāgnimitra* directs that the girls when showing their performances should be clothed in thin dress so that the grace of all their body might be displayed (M. I, before v. 20). From this special injunction to dress the girls in thin garments so as to expose their charms it may be inferred that generally it was not thought proper to dress in such thin garments as would expose the female charms.

Bhāravi describing, in his *Kirātārjunīya*, the amours of the Gandharva ladies offers a justification on their behalf for their loosening their lower garments to such an extent as to expose their navels. They are represented as doing it under the influence of wine (Ki., IX, 65). Mallinātha commenting on it quotes from somewhere the injunction of the sacred law that one shall not expose one's navel, *na nābhim darśayet*.

On the other hand, the description of Kādambarī in her home conversing with persons not belonging to her immediate family has it that her fine thighs could be clearly seen through the thin white garment she had put on, *svacchāmbaradṛśyamānamṛṇālakomalorumūlam*[m] (Ka., p. 343). Similarly Mālatī, the confidante of Dadhīca is described as wearing so fine a cloak or coat as to show clearly the sandal paste on her body (H., pp. 50–51).

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[m] स्वच्छाम्बरदृश्यमानमृणालकोमलोरुमूलम् ।

In the *Siśupālavadha* Māgha gives a poetic description of the city of Dwārkā and its ladies. He states how the fineness of the garments worn over their breasts by the ladies allowed the breasts to be seen clearly. (Si., III, 56).

Hemacandra praises the womankind of the city of Anahilapātaka, the capital of Gurjararāṣṭra for their modesty of dress. They used to cover properly all the parts of their body (Dv. Vol. I, 37). Abhayatilakagaṇi commenting on the passage, about the middle of the thirteenth century A. D., remarks that it greatly adds to the beauty of high-born ladies if they conceal all their limbs very properly, *kulāṅganānām hi sarvāṅgopāṅgasaṁgopanam śobhātiśayahetuḥ.*[n]

In the commentary *Rasikapriyā*–first quarter of the 14th century, (Gg., III, 2) is quoted as from '*Rasikasarvasva*' the following passage which explains the motive of modesty as exemplified in covering up certain parts of the body : "If a lady looks longingly at her navel artfully exposing upper abdomen or breasts, or if the knot of the pleats of her lower garment gets loosened and if she frequently undoes and ties up her hair when she sees her lover's friends or when her good fortune is being praised she indicates her passion for her lover" *nābhīmūlakucodaraprakaṭanavyājena, yadyoṣitāṁ sākāṅkṣam muhurīkṣaṇam skhalitatā nīvīnibandhasya ca ; keśabhraṁśanasaṁyamau ca kamitur mitrādisaṁdarśanaiḥ, saubhāgyādiguṇapraśastikathanai-statsānurāgengitam.*[o]

(c) CERTAIN USAGES AND BELIEFS ABOUT DRESS

In the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka, Cārudatta is represented as throwing his mantle over the maid in the dark as he thought it was getting windy. It so happened that the person over whom he threw his mantle was not his maid but the courtezan Vasantasenā who had come there. When Cārudatta discovered that the person over whom he had thrown his mantle was a different lady from his maid he blamed himself for having contaminated her or rather outraged her modesty (Mr., I. v. 54). It was considered outrageous to offer the garment worn by a male to a female who was the wife of a stranger, though one might offer it to one's maid.

People used to express their close friendship and appreciation of mutual help by exchanging their upper garments (K., XIII, 18, 21). The technical term for this friendly exchange of garments was '*Niruñchanaṁ*'. Mallinātha quotes the lexicon *Medinī* giving the meaning of the term as 'exchange of garments for the sake of brotherhood,' *niruñ-*

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[n] कुलाङ्गनानां हि सर्वाङ्गोपाङ्गसंगोपनं शोभातिशयहेतुः ।

[o] नाभीमूलकुचोदरप्रकटनव्याजेन यद्योषितां
साकाङ्क्षं मुहुरीक्षणं स्खलिततानीवीनिबन्धस्य च ।
केशभ्रंशनसंयमौ च कमितुर्मित्रादिसंदर्शनैः
सौभाग्यादिगुणप्रशस्तिकथनैस्तत्सानुरागेङ्गितम् ॥

chanam bandhutāyai vāsasaḥ parivartanam.[p] The custom seems to have been prevalent in his time and had his approval. He mentions that the people cemented brotherly relations by tying a turban (*uṣṇīṣa*) on each other's heads. The exchange of upper garments referred to by Kālidāsa is covered by the practice of Mallinātha's contemporaries, though the latter was perhaps more significant in view of the great importance of the head-dress.

In the *Harṣacarita* Bāṇa tells us that the king Harṣa sent to Haṁsavega, the messenger from the friendly king of Assam, the remnant of the sandal-paste used by himself, two garments touched by his person and other things (H., p. 293). Evidently one's regard and affection for another was shown by presenting him with articles used by oneself, here paticularly garments touched by self as indicative of use by oneself. The person towards whom such behaviour could be adopted was one whose status was distinctly lower than oneself.

(d) Miscellaneous

Kālidāsa has voiced a popular sentiment regading the purpose of attire as worn by females. The main purpose why females dress up is that they may be appreciated by their beloveds in such attire, *strīṇām priyālokaphalo hi veṣaḥ*, (K., VII, 22). This verse is quoted in the commentary, *Rasikapriyā*, without the mention of its source (Gg., VI, v. 4).

Prostitutes are declared to have their being and essence in dress and ornaments, *ākalpasāro rūpājīvājanaḥ* (Ds., p, 118). '*Ākalpa*' is '*nepathya*' according to *Amarakośa*. '*Nepathya*' includes both dress and ornaments.

Hemacandra conveys some common wisdom through the admonition that even one's own garment and one's own sandal may cause one's fall, the former by being worn too low so that it covers the ankles and the latter being too high, *patanāya bhavennijāpi paṭyāprapadīnānupadīnikā ca tuṅgā.*,[q] (Dv., vol. II, 432). We may conclude that the lower garment was properly worn rather short so that it did not by covering the ankles slightly hinder one's free movement.

FEMALE DRESS

Bāṇabhaṭṭa has described Sāvitrī standing by the side of Brahmā in the following details. (She wore a very white and fine garment made from the bark of the tree of paradise and had put on a piece of cloth made of lotus-filaments as her upper garment. She had made with this upper garment the Swastika-shaped knot between her high breasts. She wore a white ascetic's wrap as her scarf, hanging from one shoulder and going under the other like the sacred thread. (H., p, 16). The Swastika-shaped knot is technically referred to in the text as the '*gātrikāgranthi*'. It is interpreted as above on the authority of the commentator, who further states that the particular knot was generally formed by the females in their upper garment at region of the breasts. The description of Mālatī, confidante of Dadhīca, gives us a picture of the female dress perhaps put on only when riding on horseback. At least Mālatī was riding a huge horse. We are told about two garments only. We may judge from this that on occasions like that of riding ladies wore only the two garments more or less minutely described by Bāṇa. Mālatī put on a cloak, made of the finest washed silk, which was of the purest white colour and reached right upto the toes or at least covered the ankles. It was so fine and thin that her limbs could be clearly seen through it. There was no other garment for the upper part of the body. The dried-up sandal-paste as well as the rich necklace resting on the fine breasts was perfectly visible through the cloak. The thinness and fineness of the garment is forcefully brought to the notice of the readers by its being described as being lighter than the cast-off slough of a serpent. The lower part of the body was covered by a piece of apparel called '*caṇḍātaka*' which was coloured with safflower dye and variegated with spots in different hues and was visible under the cloak. According to the lexical meaning of the term '*caṇḍātaka*' it was a garment which reached the middle of the thighs only. Whether it was tied at the waist with its own strings and was a cut and sewn piece of apparel and therefore to be equated with half drawers--Marathi-'*māṇḍacolaṇā*'-or whether it was a short petticoat, not being divided into legs, or whether it was only a piece of cloth held at the waist by tucking in, is not at all clear from its description. On her hips jingled a girdle : *sakalajīvalokahṛdayahaṭaharaṇaghoṣaṇayeva raśanayā śiñjānajaghanasthalā, dhautadhavalanetranirmitena nirmokalaghutareṇāprapadīnena kañcukena tirohitatanulatā, acchātakañcukāntaradṛśyamānairāśyānacandanadhavalairavayavaiḥ...kusuṁbharāgapāṭalapulakabandhacitram caṇḍātakam antaḥsphuṭam sphaṭikabhūmiriva ratnanidhānamādadhānā.*[r] (H., pp.50—51). She is fancied to have provided her head with head-dress in the form of the lustrous rays cast there by the jewelled ornament she wore at the top of her forehead. Further she had as it were a veil of blue netted silk over the upper portion of her face in the form of the bees which were hovering round her eyes, mistaking them to be lotuses : *lalāṭalāsakasya sīmantacumbinaścaṭulātilakamaṇerudañcatā cañcalenāṁśujālena raktāṁśukena kṛtaśirovaguṇ-*

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[p] निरुञ्छनं बन्धुतायै वाससः परिवर्तनम् ।

[q] पतनाय भवेन्निजापि पट्याप्रपदीनानुपदीनिका च तुङ्गा ।

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[r] सकलजीवलोकहृदयहटहरण घोषणयेव रशनया शिञ्जानजघनस्थला, धौतधवलनेत्रनिर्मितेन निर्मोकलघुतरेणाप्रपदीनेन कञ्चुकेन तिरोहिततनुलता, अच्छातकञ्चुकान्तरदृश्यमानैराश्यानचन्दनधवलैरवयवैः...कुसुम्भरागपाटलपुलकबन्धचित्रं चण्डातकं अन्तःस्फुटं स्फटिकभूमिरिव रत्ननिधानमादधाना।

ṭhanā...vīkacanayanakuvalayavanakutūhalanilīyamānayā alikulasaṁhatyā nīlāṁśukajālikayeva niruddhārdhavadanā,[s] (H., pp. 52, 51). From these fancies it may be properly inferred that it was not unusual for ladies to fold some gay cloth round their heads as headdress. The practice of fine net being used as a veil for the face too must have been pretty common. In the description of Lakṣmī figures only one garment which is so thin and fine and shows her limbs so well that Bāṇa fancies her as coming out of her garment. The garment was ornamented with various flowers and birds, which must have been either woven into the texture of or painted or embroidered on the fabric. (H., p. 168). There were slight folds in the garment worked up by the wind. As no other garment is mentioned we may take it that the one garment she had on was worn in such a manner as to cover not only the lower but also the upper part of the body. Otherwise, it is inconceivable that she should not have carried an upper garment covering the upper part of the body.

Harṣa's mother, queen Yaśomatī, when she prepared to immolate herself because of the approaching death of her husband, wore two garments coloured red or orange with safflower juice, *kusumbhababhruṇī vāsasī dadhānā*, (H., p. 2. 28).

The death of Harṣa's father is fancied to have left the 'earth-lady' a widow and Harṣa advises her to put on the widow's weeds, viz. two white garments, *paridhattāṁ dhavale vāsasī vasumatī*. (H., p. 236). It is seen that a widow too was expected to wear the upper garment.

The Mātaṅga maiden in the *Kādambarī*, who was brought before the king Tārāpīḍa, with the extraordinary parrot of hers, is described as wearing only two garments. Her main garment was a blue long coat or gown, reaching the ankles and thus covering her body in blue to such an extent that the poet is led to fancy the girl to be a doll made of blue precious stone : *gulphāvalaṁbinīlakañcukenāvacchannaśarīrām.*[t] Over the upper part or the head she was wearing a veil of red cloth : *upariraktāṁśukaracitāvaguṇṭhanām,*[t] (Ka., p. 21). We must note that the piece of apparel called '*kañcuka*' was a tailored garment and generally as a member of the female wardrobe signified a garment covering some small portion of the upper part of the body. In this case it is clearly a garment covering the whole body. It cannot therefore be taken to be the close-fitting piece of apparel that the female '*kañcuka*' or '*kūrpāsaka*' was. It must be taken here to connote a piece of apparel very much like the '*kañcuka*' or overcoat of the male

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[s] ललाटलासकस्य सीमन्तचुम्बिनश्चटुला तिलकमणेरुदङ्चता चङ्चलेनांशुजालेन रक्तांशुकेन कृतशिरोवगुण्ठना......विकचनयनकुवलयवनकुतूहलनिलीयमानया अलिकुलसंहत्या नीलांशुकजालिकयेव निरुद्धार्द्धवदना।

ull. DCB गुल्फावलम्बिनलिकञ्चुकेनावच्छन्नशरीराम्। उपरिरक्तांशुकराचितावगुण्ठनाम्।

usherer called the '*kañcukin*', a loose long overcoat, almost identical with the 'choga'. The clear mention of its length reaching the ankles leaves no doubt about its being this piece of apparel. Though it is not called '*colaka*' here, perhaps this latter term, which may be looked upon as the original of the 'choga', was equivalent to it. The specific mention and the poetic utilization of the blue colour of the piece of apparel is also significant. We shall see later that to wear a blue-coloured single garment of the loose long coat type was the privilege of maidens. The Mātaṅga girl is described as a maiden and the blue colour specifically mentioned must be taken to describe the reality that maidens used to put on long gowns or coats of blue colour. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that the word '*nīla*' is rendered '*harita*' 'green or yellow' by the commentator. It is worthy to note that even a Mātaṅga maid wore a veil when being presented to high personages. She had a girdle on her hips (Ka., p. 22).

The description of Mahāśvetā as Candrāpīḍa found her gives us the typical dress of high-born ladies when they were under some vow. There is no reference to a girdle or belt. The lower garment was of fine silk and of white colour. It was hanging rather low covering the ankles or reaching the toes. It looked reddish because of the reddish lustre of the soles of her feet which were turned up in the particular ascetic fashion of sitting. She wore an upper garment of the choicest bark in the shape of a 'chowree' or a fan—being under a vow, she could wear nothing else but a bark-cloth as her upper garment—which was worn with a knot fastened on the bosom at the small gap between the breasts. *āprapadīnena ca svabhāvasitenāpi brahmāsanabandhottānacaraṇatalaprabhāpariṣaṅgāllohitāyamānena dukūlapaṭena prāvṛtanitambām...cāmararucirākṛtinā stanayugalamadhyanibaddhagranthinā kalpatarulatāvalkalena kṛtottarīyakṛtyām,*[u] (Ka., p. 248). Kādambarī too is described as wearing two very fine white silk cloths, when she proceeded to meet Candrāpīḍa. *jyotsnāśucinīkalpadrumadukūle bibhratīm*, (Ka., p. 368).

In the *Mālatī-Mādhava* of Bhavabhūti the bridal dress sent for Mālatī by her future husband's people consisted only of two items. One of them is described as a '*colaka*' of the finest white silk and the other as red fine cloth, to be used as the upper garment, '*uttarīya*' (Mm., VI, 1.83). The commentator paraphrases '*colaka*' by '*kūrpāsaka*' and observes that it was made of the finest white silk. Ordinarily '*kūrpāsaka*' means a bodice, a piece of apparel covering the bosom. If only two items of apparel, of which one is undergarment, are mentioned and if the other item is to be identified with a bodice, which could cover only the bosom, the question would arise as to what was to be the piece of apparel for the lower part of the body. It is nowhere mentioned. It would be strange that in a bridal suit of apparel there was no provision for the lower garment. I think the difficulty is got over if we identify '*colaka*' with the long variety of that piece of apparel, reaching the ankles and analogous to the 'choga'. If the garment signified by '*colaka*' was a long coat or a gown-like piece of apparel to be put on over the usual lower garment there was no question of the lower garment being referred to. That this is the sense which must be attached to the word '*colaka*' is rendered probable, nay almost certain, by the fact that later on these items of apparel are used by a male, Makaranda, to dress himself with and to pass off for Mālatī in her bridal dress. (Mm., VI, ll. 236–40). Nothing would have suited so well as a long over-coat-like piece of apparel for this purpose of obliterating the difference in the contours of the body of a female and a male and a fairly large and loose cloth thrown over the body as an upper garment. '*Colaka*' must be taken to signify a 'choga' like loose tailored garment.

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[u] आप्रपदीनेन च स्वभावसितेनापि ब्रह्मासनबन्धोत्तानचरणतलप्रभापरिषङ्गाल्लोहितायमानेन दुकूलपटेन प्रावृतनितम्बां......चामररुचिराकृतिना स्तनयुगलमध्यनिबद्धग्रन्थिना कल्पत वल्कलेन कृतोत्तरीयकृत्याम् ।

In the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Bhānumtī, the queen of Duryodhana, narrates the dream she had in which a mungoose killing one hundred serpents removed her breast-cloth, *stanāṁśukam*, (Ve., p. 44, Act. II). Her friend and Duryodhana both concur that the dream forebodes evil and the latter particularly is sure that the removal of Bhānumatī's breast-cloth is pregnant with evil news (Ve., p. 46, Act. II). It is clear from this attitude towards the removal in dream of a married lady's breast-cloth that widows were not entitled to wear a breast garment.

In Rājaśekhara's *Karpūramañjarī* the description of the heroine as she appeared before the king brought there while she was bathing given by the king and also by the Vidūṣaka leaves no doubt that she was wearing only one garment. The king seeing her in the half-wet garment, was immediately captivated by the physical charm of her features. He states his conviction that the heroine was brought there while she was bathing and supports it by pointing out the fact that she had put on only one garment, (Prkt., *siaañcala*; Skt. *sicayāñcala*).* As she was taking her bath evidently she had poured water on some part of the body rendering certain portions of her single garment wet, thereby revealing the naked beauty of some of her features as the

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The text reads '*ekkam siaañcalam ṇivasiam*' (skt., *ekam sicayāñcalam nivasitam*)

* I have . The commentator construes the first expression in the straightforward

'gown' do not fit in the context ment and to make proper sense, out of the whole he has to

the heroine. ng with water,' and cannot give it the staightforward

ing given above takes 'nivasitam' in its proper

utologous expression for 'garment'.

Vidūṣaka notes. Her garment must have been worn rather loosely as ladies do in Mahārāṣtra even now, to enable them to wash all the parts with fair ease. When she found herself suddenly in the presence of august personages she must have begun to tidy her dress as much as she could so as to follow the dictates of female modesty. The king describes these actions of hers. He tells us that she was properly arranging one end of her garment which was intended to cover the breasts and which was slipping off from its proper place. This part of the garment is referred to in the text as '*pottañcala*'.* With the other hand she is represented as holding the waist-garment which had got displaced through movement (Km., I, 27). The description would lead one to think that the heroine had two garments on her person; one, the upper garment which she was trying to keep in its proper place to cover her breasts, and the other, the lower garment, which too was being similarly treated. But this inference is not borne out as the correct one if we piece together all the references to the nature of the heroine's dress when she was suddenly presented before the king. We have just seen that in the very first reference to her clothing made by the king, she is distinctly spoken of as one who is wearing a single garment. Later on, too, when the king remembers her condition as she appeared to him he refers only to one garment, which is there called a bath-garment, '*ṇhāṇapottam*' (skt. *snānavastram*), (Km., II, 24). The Vidūśaka, too, refers to her garment as being wet and revealing her bodily charms. (Km., I, 28). He too seems to have only one garment in view. It is clear from this that the heroine, when she appeared before the king for the first time, was clad in a single garment. The garment was worn in such a manner that a part of it was wound round the waist and the lower part of the body, the remaining portion going over the bosom and covering the breasts and the upper part more or less. The further description of the manner in which the heroine's garment was resting on her person and thus proclaiming her bodily charms can fit in properly only if she was wearing only one garment. The king gloating over his memory of the heroine describes to himself and to the Vidūṣaka indirectly the greatness of her bodily charms by minutely portraying the precise lie of the garment on her body. The garment was hugging close and lying rather low at the shoulders, thus indicating that they were sloping and not squarish. It was rather high and puffy in the region of the breasts, demonstrating the largeness of her breasts; it was again low and clinging in the region of the upper portion of the abdomen, showing the part to be thin and rather drawn-in. In the region of the low part of the abdomen it was again raised and puffy revealing siveness of her buttocks (Km., II, 24). From the fact that the heroine did not have on her any girdle, (Km., I, 24), it appears that a single garment could be worn without the aid of the girdle or that the girdle was usually laid aside at the time of bathing. A single garment was worn only at the time of bath; for in the description of the manner in which the heroine was dressed up by the queen's attendants it is clearly stated that she was clad in two silken garments, '*paṭṭaṁsuajualaa*' (skt. *paṭṭāṁśukayugalaka*) which were both of them dark green in colour like the feathers of a king-parrot. At the waist a girdle of emeralds was fastened on her (Km., II, 14-15). It may be noted that there is no reference to the bodice having been put on her; but we must remember that as the king already announced (Km., I, 14) the spring having set in, the ladies had discarded their bodices, which were worn in all probability only during winter. Two garments one lower and one upper, with a bodice only worn in certain seasons must be taken to be the female dress described by Rājaśekhara in the *Karpūramañjarī*.

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* In the the text of the N. S. P. ed. [Km. (b)], th (skt *vastrāñcalam*). In another place, Act. II, v. 2 condition as she first appeared to him speaks of '

Other references to the female clothing only support this statement. Thus, in the third Act (v. 3) the king narrating his dream tells the Vidūṣaka how he caught hold of the loose end of the upper garment '*varilla*' of the heroine and how the latter slipped away disengaging herself by simply leaving the garment in his hand. This is possible only if the upper garment is a cloth separate from the lower garment and worn rather loosely, being thrown over the shoulders. In the Vidūṣaka's description of the heroine trying to console herself on a swing it is stated that one got glimpses of her lovely form as her upper garment '*varilla*' was tossed up by the breeze generated by the motion of the swing (Km., II, 36). This statement again fits in appropriately with the piece of apparel for the upper part of the body being a separate cloth thrown rather loosely over the shoulders like the scarf.

The play *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* of Rājaśekhara affords us a fairly clear picture of the dress of an unmarried lass prevalent at least in the Mahārāṣṭra of his time. The king sees a most lovely lass in his dream and gets infatuated with her beauty. He and his friend, the Vidūśaka, find later a painting which the king declares to be the picture of the lass seen by him in his dream. This girl is the heroine of the play. In the painting she is represented as being clad in a blue or dark green skirt, '*colaka*'* (Vs., I, 34). The Vidūṣaka seeing the picture remarks, in order to whet the passion of the king, that the lass is proclaimed by her dress to be an unmarried girl. The king repeats his inference and corroborates it by an explanation. He tells us that the dress of ladies after their marriage was one which appeared charming owing to the arrangement of the knot, '*nīvinivesasubhaga*' (Vs., I, 33–34). Thus the chief distinction between the dress of an unmarried female and the married one was that whereas the former wore a skirt, which did not require the arranging of a knot as her lower garment, the latter put on a garment which was held in its place by a knot which enhanced the charm of the dress. Unmarried females wore bodice as well as another upper garment. The former piece of apparel was worn by the heroine, before she was married to the king and is referred to in the play more than once. Thus in the second Act (v, 18) the emaciation of the heroine through her love-sickness is forcefully conveyed through the statement that her bodice, '*kañcuka*', sits loosely on her. The heroine trying to comfort herself on a swing, is described as having confined her breasts in a bodice which sits rather loosely because of the thinness of her abdomen (Vs., IV, just after v. 6). The presence of a loose upper garment as a part of her dress-ensemble is to be inferred from the very first description of her given by the king in his narration of his dream. Thus he tells us that when he saw her in his dream he tried to hold her by the end of the hem of her silk garment, *dukūlasyāñcala*, (Vs., I, 18). In the description of the heroine sporting with the ball occurs a reference to the end of the hem of her garment which is fluttering owing to her rapid movement in pursuit of the ball, *vellitacelāñcalam*, (Vs., II, 6). In the third Act (v. 16) the king describes the heroine as being clad in two fine China silk garments, *tanunī cīnāṁśuke bibhrátī*. The heroine while comforting herself on a swing removed the garment lying over her breasts above the bodice as it was fluttering owing to its being rubbed against her arms which were raised to hold the strings of the swing, *kuñjodaradaraśithilakañcukasthagitastanabharādapanīyate ūrdhvakarāgrakarṣaṇodvellodvasanam*[v] (Vs., IV, just after v. 6). The upper garment which was thrown over both the shoulders could not properly remain in its place as both the hands were raised up and occupied in holding the strings of the swing. The heroine to free herself for her unfettered swinging must have removed it. Thus it is clear that the unmarried heroine had clad the upper part of her body in two pieces of apparel, one, the bodice and the other, the loose upper garment or scarf. The lower part of the body as already pointed out was dressed in a skirt which needs no tying of a knot (*nīvi*).

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* I have rendered '*colaka*' by 'skirt' because the meanings 'bodice', and 'gown' do not fit in the context as will be seen from the discussion of the dress of the heroine.

In his work *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* Rājaśekhara, following the lead of Bharata, classifies certain aspects of poetical compositions and locates them as peculiar to certain regions of India. Like his great predecessor he recognises three such aspects for classification and localization. They are, 'Pravṛtti', 'Vṛtti' and 'Rīti'. Bharata justifies the term 'Pravṛtti' 'appearance' as applied to that side of man's life which proclaims him and his country. It predominantly refers to the style of dress and ornaments. 'Vṛtti', 'conduct', stands for carriage and manners in general, while 'Rīti', 'style', refers to linguistic usage. But Rājaśekhara goes further than Bharata in propounding a theory of the origin of the different 'Pravṛttis' or appearances which are four in number according to both of them. In the opinion of Rājaśekhara they are the styles of dress and ornamentation, which his imaginary Sāhitya-vidyāvadhū, science of Poetics in the form of a lady, wore to attract the attention of the equally imaginary Kāvyapuruṣa, Soul of Poetry in the form of a gentleman. She followed him over a large part of India trying to win him for herself and finally succeeded in inducing him to marry her in the Berars. The style of dress and ornamentation adopted by the imaginary lady differed in the different regions and the one favoured by her in a particular region became afterwards the fashion for the female population of that region. Thus, the styles of dress prevalent in and peculiar to the different regions of India appeared to Rājaśekhara, in the first quarter of the 10th century A. D., to be more or less of divine origin and the result of divine aesthetic sense. They have a high value in aesthetics in general and poetics in particular. It is interesting to note that Rājaśekhara, who was a Mahārāṣṭrian by birth, shows his poetic divine male as having been won over with the help of the style current in India, South of the Narmadā.

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[v] कुञ्जोदरदराशिथिलकञ्चुकस्थगितस्तनभरादपनीयते ऊर्ध्वकराग्रकर्षणोद्वेल्लोद्वसनम् ।

'Auḍra-Māgadhī Pravṛtti' or the appearance prevalent in Orissa and Magadha, which was put on by his imaginary divine female while traversing through the countries of North-Eastern India and which failed to captivate the divine male, is prevalent in the countries of Bengal and parts of Assam etc. The essence of this manner of appearance lies in this that the ladies draw the garment over the upper part of the body so that it passes over the parting line of the hair on the head but leaves the shoulders bare, *sīmantacumbisicayaḥ sphuṭabāhumulaḥ*. 'Pāñcālamadhyamā Pravṛtti' represents the style common in Kashmir, among the Bāhikas and the Bālhikas, the Pāñcālas and the Śūrasenas, and may, therefore, be properly termed as the North-Western appearance, though Rājaśekhara speaks of it as the style of the beauties of Mahodaya, i. e. of Kanauj. The ladies paint their temples, the patterns on which appear beautiful owing to the brilliant ornaments casting rays over them. They put on a neckless of pearls reaching up to the navel and slightly dangling over the body. The lower garment is worn in sucis a manner that it covers the hips and the lower part of the body upt'. ie ankles, *āśroṇigulphaparimaṇḍalitāntarīyam*.*

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* The 'from is the reading which Madhusūdana Miśra has adopted in his edition of '*Kāvyan* has the' (Kam., (b), p. 34). The variant reading which is adopted in the other edi e castes the work is '*āśroṇigulphaparimaṇḍalitottarīyam*'. About it in his commen armpit. ie passage, he remarks, "the first reading makes no meaning as 'uttar n in the te pper garment. The latter reading with 'antarīya', which is a lower
rdinary knot

'Āvantī Pravṛtti' is the style of appearance prevailing in the countries of Surāṣṭra, Arbuda, Avanti, Mālava, Vidiśā, Bhṛgukaccha and others. It is thus the central and Western manner of dressing. The specific characteristics of this style are not mentioned. The general peculiarity is that whereas the males of these regions affect the mode of dressing current in the North-West, the females clothe themselves in the Southern style. This would be a very important piece of information, if correct, whatever might be the specific manner of female dressing prevalent in the South. As we shall presently see the female dress of Surāṣṭra as described briefly or indirectly in the literature of the early part of the 12th century is quite different from the Southern dress. Rājaśekhara does not seem to have very much cared to observe the actual dress of the people in order to classify it. Nay his description of the southern dress is not quite clear. Having divided India into the well-known regions on the basis of some widely accepted difference in linguistic heritage and usage he seems to have stuck to it and tried to fit the peculiarities of dress, as far as known, to the grouping thus stabilized. What was more natural than a mixture of the Pāñcāla and Southern styles in the region lying between Pāñcāla and Southern India ? Whatever the explanation of his assertion regarding the peculiarity of the dress of the people of Surāṣṭra, Southern Rajputana, Malwa and part of Central India it is hard to accept it as current in his time. As a matter of fact, we can see from the evidence of sculpture that female dress round about Vidiśā at least had its analogues at Ajanta and Elora as well as at Mathura, while Gujarat, Southern Rajputana and Kathewad show no such dress from the 12th century onwards, when its dress comes to be referred to or described in literature. The few sculptures of the 8th to the 10th century A. D. known from these regions do not contradict this evidence.

'*Dākṣiṇātyā Pravṛtti*' prevails in the countries of Kuntala, Mahārāṣṭra, Kerala, Gaṅga and Kaliṅga. The ladies of these regions wore their lower garment in such a way that the knot, keeping it in its position is secured by arranging it at the side of the waist. Thus the dress would exactly correspond to the wearing of the 'sari', represented in some of the sculptures of Mahārāṣṭra. It refers to the gathers being secured not at the navel where, in the manner of dressing prevalent in

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garment, is the proper one as what is being or intended to be described is the lower garment." The meaning according to him is : They wear their lo[illegible] garment so as to cover the lower part of the body from the hips to the ankles. H[illegible]rther quotes a verse without giving its source to specify the meaning of '*antar*[illegible] as the lower garment. Rājaśekhara first describes the manner of wearing th[illegible]ver garment prevalent among Eastern India ladies. Regarding the dress of the S[illegible]dian ladies too, he only speaks of the manner in which the principal garment is[illegible] by them. There is no cogent reason why he should be describing the manner [illegible]ng only their upper garment in the case of the ladies of Kanauj.

other parts of India, they were merely tucked in but at one side of the waist where a sort of regular knot was fastened (*kakṣānevešanibiḍīkṛtanīvireṣaveṣaḥ*)* (Kam., pp. 7-10). Rājaśekhara quotes a verse from somewhere praising the dress of females in spring. The garment which goes over the head is said to be gold-embroidered, (Km., p. 105).

According to Kalhaṇa's description the royal ladies of Kashmir used to wear bodices, '*kañcuka*' even as early as the time of Mihirkula, which is about the beginning of the 6th century A.D. (Raj., I, 294). King Harṣa at the end of the 11th century is represented to have substituted the bodice from the Deccan for the one prevalent in Kashmir in his time as we shall presently see. From the peculiarity of the Deccan variety of that piece of apparel mentioned by Kalhaṇa we may conclude that the bodice previously worn in Kashmir was a long-sleeved one. In all probability the Kashmir variety to judge from the intended contrast with the Deccan variety must be construed to be either the usual North-Indian long-sleeved back-fastening one or, in the light of the sculptural and later historical evidence, the long-sleeved shirt-like tunic, which could not bring into prominence the shape of the breasts as effectively as the Deccan pattern of the bodice (Raj., VII, 930).

Describing the travels and hardships of the royal ladies of the family of king Yudhiṣṭhira I, Kalhaṇa portrays them as raising their hands to their heads "with their slipped off head-garment fastened at the breasts", (*stanayugatalanaddhasrastamūrdhāṁśukānām*), (Raj., I, 373). Royal ladies used to wear a loose piece of garment over their heads and it was a mark of utter humiliation for them to take it off their heads and expose them. The Deccan fashions introduced towards the end of the 11th century included keeping one's head uncovered (Raj., II, 929). Thus at the end of the 11th century A.D., and according to Kalhaṇa's knowledge four or five centuries earlier, the ladies of Kashmir used to wear some piece of loose garment to cover their heads and at least among the royalty it was considered a disgrace to keep the head uncovered.

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* The above interpretation which I have put on the expression is the most satisfactory. It may be objected that this type of dress is not known to have been in use in Malabar or Kerala whose dress is described by Rājaśekhara. But such an objection applies to the very scheme of his, wherein there is süpposed to be a uniform manner of dressing from Kaliṅga to Malabar. We must interpret the term Malabar in a rather free manner as only typical of South and not specifically the region called Malabar. There are three other interpretations possible. First, the expression may be translated thus : The knot is made secure with the help of the gathers being tucked in behind i. e. by arranging what is called '*Kaccha*' or in Marathi *kāsotā*'. But this interpretation is open to the additional objection that the hind-tucked gathers do not in any way make the knot more secure. Second interpretation is given by Madhusūdana Miśra. It runs : "the knot is secured by means of the end of the garment". Perhaps thus interpreted it would correspond to that manner of wearing the 'sari' which is known in Marathi either as '*sogalyānī nesaṇé*' or *paravanṭāné nesané*'. The other end of the 'sari' is wound round the waist and is used to strengthen the knot. This interpretation entirely depends on the plausibility of the meaning 'end of the garment' (*antarīyāñcala*) given to the word '*kakṣā*'. No lexicon gives such a meaning. Profescor A. S. ALTEKAR, in his book *Position of Woman in Hindu Civilization*. (p. 350) takes it to mean the wearing of the garment 'from high above the navel, its knot being tied under the armpit.' This interpretation has the advantage that even now not only in Malabar but on the Nilgiri hills there are castes whose females tie their lower garments high above the breasts under the armpit. Such dress is represented even in the Ajanta frescoes. But the expression in the text cannot possibly yield this meaning. It would reduce the '*nīvi*' to an ordinary knot and not the knot of the gathers which is its usual meaing.

While Kalhaṇa has allowed us a glimpse into the dress habits of the females of Kashmir only by implication, he has very graphically described the dress of the Deccan ladies of his time, second half of the 12th century A.D. Describing the great doings of king Harṣa of Kashmir, who flourished towards the end of the 11th century A.D., Kalhaṇa informs us that the king, who was a devotee of beauty, liked the fashions of the ladies of the Deccan region with its centre at Bidar as the most becoming, and introduced them in Kashmir. The poet minutely describes the fashions of Deccan females as follows: "They wore their hair in long braids with golden Ketaka-leaf-ornaments braided into them and with bows of string woven with gold fastened at the ends of the plaits. They wore ornamental pendants on the forehead which rendered the forehead-marks unsteady. They joined the corners of their eyes with their ears by a line drawn with collyrium. Over the hair no veil was worn, (*nirnīraṅgika*). With the long tail-ends of their lower garments they kissed the ground. Their breasts were tightly confined in bodices which covered half the length of their beautiful arms, (*dākṣinātyābhavadbhaṅgiḥ priyā tasya vilāsinaḥ...nirnīraṅgikakeśāntabaddhahemopavītakāḥ, adharāmbarapucchāntairlambai-scyumbitabhūtalāḥ, pracchāditardhadorlekhakañcukāṅkapayodharāḥ*),[w] (Raj., VII, 925–930).

Hemacandra in likening the dress of the males of Surāṣṭra to that of the females of Gurjararāṣṭra by implication describes to us the dress current among the females of Gurjararāṣṭra (Dr. Vol. I, p. 432). Unfortunately he does not furnish us with any details. Abhayatilakagaṇi, commenting about the middle of the 13th century, supplies the information to some extent. The females of Gurjararāṣṭra wore a broad piece of cloth as the lower garment. It was broad enough to cover the ankles. They wore it in such a fashion that there were no pleats to be tucked, in all probability neither the hind ones nor even the front ones. The lower garment was simply a broad piece of cloth. It was held in place by its own knot (Dv. Vol. II, p. 7). There was another piece of apparel called '*uttarīya*' 'upper garment' which was used to cover the the upper part of the body. The two garments were so small and manageable that a lady in order to attract her lover's attention towards herself could afford to attempt dressing herself up in his presence, manipulating the upper cloth with one hand and the lower with the other. In this process she artfully disclosed the charms of her figure (Dv., Vol. I, p. 775). They wore girdles which made the jingling sound when the wearers moved in excitement and hurry (Dv., Vol. II, p. 510). They wore braids of hair which appeared very crooked like the letter 'ऌ' of the Sanskrit alphabet (Dv., Vol. I, p. 15) and their breasts were prominent and round like the letter 'ठ' of the same (Dv., Vol. I, p. 37). They are praised for not forgetting decorum even in the excited state of mind. Thus even when intoxicated in their amorous sports they did not use their fine lower garment for folding a turban on their heads, (*noṣṇīṣīcakrire nābhyaṁ vasanāntam madepitāḥ*), (Dv., Vol. II, p. 408). By implication we may conclude that the ladies of the royal household as well as the camp followers used to wear ordinarily some kind of headdress. Strange to say we do not come across any reference to the bodice.

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[w] दाक्षिणात्याभवद्भाङ्घः प्रिया तस्य विलासितः...निर्णीरंगिककेशान्तबद्धहेमोपनीतकाः, अधराम्बरपुच्छान्तैर्लम्बैश्चुम्बितभूतलाः, प्रच्छादितर्धदोर्लेखकञ्चुकाङ्कपयोधराः।

Hemacandra's description of the doings of the females of the Maru country in their eagerness to see king Durlabharāja gives us some information about their dress. It seems that they wore their upper garment alone for covering the upper part of the body without any bodice. For we are informed that some of them coquettishly exposed the region about their armpits raising their hands under the pretext of scratching their ears (Dv., Vol. I, p. 555). The upper garment was used in such a manner that it covered the head, the bosom and the uncovered part of the abdomen. The part of the garment going on the head was drawn forward over the forehead so as to serve as the veil. This part of the garment is referred to as '*nīraṅgī*' and is said to obstruct the wearer's vision so that to get a better and fuller view of the king some of them removed their veils from their heads, *kācidaṁśāt-pataddādaridryamāṇodarāṁśukam, dṛśorprorṇonūyamānām nīraṅgīm kāpyudakṣipat*),[x] (Dv., Vol. I, pp. 555, 556).

The expression '*udarāṁśukam*' is paraphrased by the commentator as '*udarastanapidhāyakam vastram*' 'garment covering the stomach and the breasts', while '*nīraṅgī*' is rendered by '*mukhācchādakavastrāñcalam*', 'the end of the garment covering the face'.

Among the people of Gurjararāṣṭra of Hemacandra's time it was a regular custom for unmarried girls to be dressed in a piece of apparel called '*colaka*', which seems to have been a tailored garment covering in one piece the whole body, (*yaccolakamadhāstannādyāpi kanyātvamatyagāḥ*),[y] (Dv., Vol. I, p. 738). The word '*colaka*' is translated by the commentator as '*kanyocitam sarvāṅgīnakañcukaviśeṣam*', 'a particular kind of gown covering the whole body and fit for unmarried girls'.

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[x] काच्चिदंशात्पतद्दादारिद्र्यमाणोदरांशुकं, दृशोर्प्रोर्णोनूयमानां नीरङ्गीं काप्युदाक्षिपत्।

[y] यच्चोलकमधास्तन्नाद्यापि कन्यात्वमत्यगाः।

III

VEIL

'*avaguṇṭhana*', '*niriṅgi*', '*nīraṅgikā*' '*mukhapaṭa*', '*śirovastra*', '*yavanikā*'.

In the *Pratimānāṭaka* of Bhāsa, Rāma asks Sītā to take off her veil ('*avaguṇṭhana*') when they were starting for the forest and the citizens had gathered together to have a look at them. Sītā does remove her veil and Rāma exhorts the persons gathered to have a good look round with the dictum "ladies may be seen without any blame [for the parties concerned] in a sacrificial session, in marriage festivities, during a calamity and in a forest", (*nirdoṣadṛśyā hi bhavanti nāryo yajñe vivāhe vyasane vane ca*), (Bh., p. 263 : *Pra.* I, 285, 29). The widows of king Daśaratha when they went to the house where the image of the late king was installed were veiled. They removed the veil before Bharata to enable him to see their condition (Bh., p. 280 : *Pra.* III, 147).

Vasantasenā's mother, having received from Śakāra ornaments for her daughter as an earnest of his desire to keep her as his mistress, sends the same to her daughter with her maid and asks her to go in the carriage bedecked with the ornaments. Significantly enough she asks her to put on her veil (*avaguṇṭhana*) too (Bh., p. 237 : *C.* IV, 28–29). This instruction must be taken to signify that even a courtezan, when she had accepted a suitor, had to use a veil in public, just as married women were expected to do.

Vāsavadattā, who was deposited with Padmāvatī as a married lady whose husband was away by her supposed brother, avoided the sight of the male in the person of the bachelor-mendicant. Padmāvatī was struck with pleasant surprise at this action of hers. She was glad that her charge and ward avoided the sight of male strangers as it was much easier to take proper care of such a female than of one who did not mind being in the company of strangers, (Bh., p. 8 : *Sv.* I, 12^{6}–9). Evidently it was not a universal or obligatory custom for married ladies whose husbands were away to avoid the sight of strange males, otherwise Padmāvatī could not have been both surprised and pleased. On the other hand, it could not have been an altogether untoward practice to cultivate for a lady in that condition. In the plot of the drama, Vāsavadattā's not being seen by males upto a certain time at least is absolutely essential. The dramatist therefore depicts her as following a practice convenient to his plot but not opposed to custom, though not compulsorily enjoined by it, (Bh. p. 32 : *Sv.* VI, 13^{19}). The veil she used to wear is called '*yavanikā*', (Bh., p. 54 : *Sv.*, VI, 16^{1}). Vāsavadattā in the company of her nurse was allowed to go to visit the temple of Yakṣiṇī outside the gate in a palanquin whose protective covering was removed because Vāsavadattā, being a maiden, might be seen by the people without any blame, (*'kanyakādarśanam nirdoṣamiti kṛtvāpanītakañcukāyām śibikāyām*)[z] (Bh., p. 91 : *Pr.* III, 5^{13}).

When Vasantasenā in the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka hands over her slave-maid Madanikā to Śarvilaka as his wife she says that Madanikā has by her wifehood attained a status superior to that of Vasantasenā. In spite of this, Śarvilaka exhorts Madanikā to bow down to Vasantasenā, through whom she attained the difficult status of wife (*'vadhū'*) and its accompaniment, the veil, (*'avaguṇṭhana'*) (*Mr.* IV, 24). We may conclude from this that a married lady was expected to and also entitled to use a veil while moving in the public. This inference is rendered very much stronger by the fact that later in the play the title and status of a married lady, (*'vadhū'*), is conferred on Vasantasenā by the king. The messenger and officer of the king who delivers this message immediately thereafter puts the veil, (*'avaguṇṭhana'*) on her (*Mr.* X, 58^{18-21}). The sentiment embodied in the observation of Cārudatta that it is not proper to look at another man's wife, (*'na yuktam parakalatradarśanam'*), (*Mr.*, I, 541) is only a reflection of the general practice of married ladies going about with a veil on.

Mālavikā was dressed in the attire, proper at the time of marriage. Yet when the queen offered her to the king as his wife he hesitated to take her hand ; and his friends Vidūṣaka and Parivrājikā, reminded the queen that Mālavikā, who was a princess by birth and was to be a queen by marriage, was not properly attired for such a union. The queen thereupon admits her mistake and asks her maid to bring a particular kind of silk garment, which it would appear was the privilege of the queens and princesses only to wear. When the garment was brought the queen draped it as a veil over Mālavikā and then offered her hand to the king who willingly took it. (M., V, from before v. 18 to before v. 19). It may be concluded from this that a woman could not get the status of a properly married wife unless she had worn a veil and was given the privilege of wearing one. When Śakuntalā was introduced in the court before Duṣyanta she is described by him as a lady with a veil, whose beauty is therefore not very clearly revealed. The word used for veil is *'avaguṇṭhana'*, which is rendered by Rāghavabhaṭṭa as *'saśiromukhaprāvaraṇa'*, 'a covering for the head and the face' (S., V, 13). Later Gautamī, the elderly lady-escort from the hermitage, asks Śakuntalā to put away her sense of modesty for a while as she would remove her veil in order to enable the king to see Śakuntalā's unveiled face and thus to recognise her (S., V, before c. 19). Evidently the veil, however thin it might be, was enough of a covering not to reveal the full features of the face and was used as a means of modesty. The idea was that ladies of position, married ladies as we may specify further, were not expected to allow themselves to be seen by males other than those of their immediate family.

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[z] कन्यकादर्शनं निर्दोशमिति कृत्वापनीतकञ्चुकायां शिबिकायाम् ।

The ocean is described as the face-ornament of the earth worn by her at her wedding. The expression for face-ornament (*vaktrābharaṇam*), is rendered as 'veil over the face for the sake of modesty' by Mallinātha (R. XIII, 8), (*lajjārakṣaṇārtham mukhāvaguṇṭhanam*). It is clear that a bride had to wear a veil so as to cover her face and it was probably white in colour.

A princess of the Sumha country is described as being open to public view without let or hindrance during a festival of ball which she was advised to celebrate (Ds., p. 207). We may take it that royal ladies in the Sumha country generally observed 'purdah'.

Bhāravi uses the simile of people looking to their heart's content at the face of a newly married lady, who bends down very much through modesty, when it is manifest owing to the veil being removed : ('*vyaṁśukasphuṭamukhīmatijihmāṁ vrīḍayā navavadhūmiva lokaḥ*'),[a] (Ki., IX, 24). The expression, '*vyaṁśuka*' is rightly rendered by Mallinātha as 'from which the veil (*avaguṇṭhana*) is removed'.

Bāṇa in his fanciful description of the ladies of Sthāṇvīśvara says that the [blue] veil, which they put on, was a mere customary appendage, really not necessary as the bees hovering round their faces, being drawn there by their sweet-smelling breath, formed a sufficiently dark extinguisher, ('*surabhiniḥśvāsākṛṣṭam madhukarakulameva ramaṇīyam mukhāvaraṇam kulastrījanācāro jālikā* '),[b] (H., p. 149). It is quite clear that the high-born ladies of Sthāṇvīśvara used to go about covering their faces with a veil, which, as according to the commentator Śaṅkara was also a sort of head-dress, must have depended from the head. When Rājyaśrī was brought to the place where she was to be given in marriage she was wearing red or orange-coloured veil (' *aruṇāṁśukāvaguṇṭhitamukhī* '), (H., p. 206). The Mātaṅga maiden who is brought with an extraordinary parrot with her before the king, Tārāpīḍa, wore a red veil, (' *uparir aktāṁśukaracitāvaguṇṭhanām* '), (Ka., p. 21). ' *Avaguṇṭhana* ' is rendered ' *mukhācchādana* ' by the commentator. Patralekhā who is presented to Candrāpīḍa by his mother to be his maid, is described as wearing a crimson garment for her veil, ('*śakragopakālohitarāgeṇāṁśukena racitāvaguṇṭhanayā*), (Ka., p. 192), '*Avaguṇṭhana*' is rendered '*śiroveṣṭana*' by the commentator. When Kādambarī desired to go out unobserved by her peoples she wore a red garment over her head ('*padmarāgaratnaraśmivinirmiteneva raktāṁśukena kṛtaśirovaguṇṭhanā*'),[c]

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[a] व्यंशुकस्फुटमुखीमतिजिह्मां व्रीडया नववधूमिव लोकः ।

[b] सुरभिनिःश्वासाकृष्टं मधुकरकुलमेव रमणीयं मुखावरणं कुलस्त्रीजनाचारो जालिका ।

[c] पद्मरागरत्नरश्मिविनिर्मितेनेव रक्तांशुकेन कृतशिरोवगुण्ठना ।

(Ka., p. 302). The flowers worn by her attracted towards her a swarm of dark blue bees which created the illusion of her having taken a blue veil, (*madhukarajālena nīlapaṭāvaguṇṭhanavibhramamiva saṁpādayatānubadhyamānā'*),[d] (Ka., p. 312). One of the activities of Kādambarī during her long separation from her lover, Candrāpīḍa, was to wear a mass of flowers on her head. The bees drawn by the scent of these flowers are fancied by the poet to make a blue veil over her. The idea of the blue veil leads the poet to attribute to Kādambarī the taking of lessons in putting on the dress of a love-sick woman approaching her lover with a view to be an expert in the art, ('*śirasikusumagandhalolupena bhramatā bhramarakulena divāpi nīlāvaguṇṭhaneneva candrāpīḍābhisaraṇaveṣābhyasyantī'*),[e] (Kā., p. 259). It seems that a blue veil was taken by a woman more properly at night and that too by those who wanted to reach their lovers unobserved by others.

In the *Priyadarśikā* of Harṣa, when the hero first comes across the heroine, he says to his friend, the Viduśaka : " She is a maiden who may be seen without any blame. Let us observe her without any reserve " : (' *nirdoṣadarśanā kanyakā khalviyam, viśrabdhamidānīm paśyāmaḥ* '[f] (Pr., p. 28, Act II). The same sentiment is more generically expressed in the play *Nāgānanda* where it is said : " Maidens may be looked at without any blame ('*nirḍoṣadarśanāḥ kanyakā bhavanti* '), (N. p. 10, Act I). Further, the Vidūśaka, who got two red garments from the heroine as a marriage present, says that in order to avoid the nuisance of the bees he will dress himself like a woman, using one of the cloths as [illegible]rment of which he proposes to make a veil (*uttarīyakṛta* [illegible] N., p. 41, Act III). It must be concluded from this that [illegible] used to wear their upper garments in such a manner [illegible]eof was turned into a veil.

Māgha twice [illegible] the ladies of Kṛṣṇa's household being gazed at for the time by [illegible]7). It [illegible]ble as they had removed their veils, implying clearly that genera[illegible]ch ladies wore veils and therefore could not be seen by the pe[illegible] As they were alighting from their conveyance and while the atte[illegible]nts were engaged in removing the people who had gathered there, [illegible]ne ladies had their veils slipped off in the excitement of getting down. The people, who were still there, the attendants not having succeeded in driving away the whole crowd, gazed at the beautiful faces of the ladies in fear and admiration, ('*yānājjanaḥ parijanairavatāryamāṇā rājñīrnarāpanayanākulasauvidallaḥ, srastāva-*

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[d] मधुकरजालेन नीलपटावगुण्ठनविभ्रममिव सम्पादयतानुबध्यमाना ।

[e] शिरसिकुसुमगन्धलोलुपेन भ्रमता भ्रमरकुलेन दिवापि नीलावगुण्ठनेनेव चन्द्रापीडाभिसरणवेषाभ्यस्यन्ती ।

[f] निर्दोषदर्शना कन्यका खल्वियं, विश्रब्धमिदानीं पश्यामः ।

guṇṭhanapaṭāḥ kṣaṇalakṣyamāṇavaktrāśriyaḥ sabhayakautukamīkṣate sma),[g] (Si., V, 17), 'Avaguṇṭhanapaṭa' is paraphased as 'nīraṅgīvastra' by Mallinātha. While the ladies were going on horseback their faces were naturally uncovered by a veil (Ki., XII, 20).

In the *Mahāvīracarita* of Bhavabhūti, Rāma tells Sītā to put on her veil in the presence of Paraśurāma, as he was of the status of her father-in-law. ('*priye, ete guravaḥ, tadapasṛtya kṛtāvaguṇṭhanā bhava*') (Ma., p. 63, II, after v–26). The commentator, Vīrarāghava, renders '*avaguṇṭhana*' by '*ācchādana*', 'covering'. It is clear from this that married ladies wore their veils in the presence of the elderly males belonging to their husband's families. Mādhava describing Mālatī to his friend tells him that the particular manner of dressing which was adopted by her clearly indicated her maidenhood. The dress was bright, tasteful and simple : ('*ujjvalavidagdhamugdhanepathyaviracanāvibhāvitakumārībhāvā*'), (Mm., I, p. 207). Jagaddhara makes the position clear by adding the information that the absence of a veil was the index of the person's maidenhood.

Vākpatirāja in his *Gaüḍavaho* describes ladies at dusk having only the bluish net over their heads as ornament (G., V, 11–29). The expression in Prākṛt is '*jāliāmaṇḍanam*' which is translated by the commentator as '*jālikādipaṭṭādimayaśirovastram saiva maṇḍanam*', head-scarf of net-like silk cloth itself serving as the adornment. The rpose adopted by the ladies in removing their veils in order to see their lovers is poetically described by comparing it with the pos e archers assume when drawing their bows (G., V, 1136),149). It is q kṛt expression, '*niriṅgivinivesa*' means adjustment of to go about rf or veil, ('*śrovāsaso viniveśaḥ*'). to the commentat

Maṅkha in the *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* fanci depended from the Kailāsa mountain as the silken veil of the ladies in she was to f the quarters (Sr., IV, 29). The expression used is "*kṣ red veil ṅgikā*" which is paraphrased by the commentator, Jonarāja, bel maide have flourished about the middle of the 15th century, as '*paṭṭa* king, *vaguṇṭhanapaṭaḥ*'. In another place (Sr., XIII, 55) the poet fanci *n* '), e beautiful and plentiful curly tresses arranged over the forehead s the to dangle there as an adornment as serving the purpose of a face-cloth, '*mukhapaṭa*' or a veil. While in the case of another lady the bees drawn to her and hovering round her face allured by the fragrance of the blossoms used by her as an ornament served to conceal or cover her face as with a veil of blue silken net, ('*nīlapaṭajālikā*') (ibid.).

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[g] यानाज्जनः परिजनैरवतार्यमाणा
राज्ञीर्निरापनयनाकुलसौविदल्लः ।
स्रस्तावगुण्ठनपटाः क्षणलक्ष्यमाण-
वक्त्राश्रियः सभयकौतुकमीक्षते स्म ॥

IV

FEMALE UPPER GARMENT

'Uttarāsaṅga', *'uttarīyavasana'*, *'uttarīyavāsas'*, *'udarāṁśuka'*, *'saṁvyāna'*, *'stanāṁśuka'*, *'stanottarīya'*.

The Gopa-maidens felt very excited when they saw Kṛṣṇa enter the pool of water tenanted by the great serpent, Kāliya. They are described as having their upper garment slipped down, (*'sambhrāntā galittottarīyavasanā*), (Bh., p. 544 : *B*. IV, 1). In the play *Avimāraka* the heroine makes use of her upper garment to hang herself with, (*'uttarīyavāsasātmānamanudbadhya vyāpādayiṣyāmi'*) (Bh., p. 167 : *Av*. V, 33).

When the king brought Ūrvaśī back to her friends he described her condition as a gentleman could without giving offence. She was very excited and there was a tremor which was so great that the garland over Ūrvaśī's breasts was heaving owing to it. Later on the tremor subsided and its existence or persistence could be inferred from the slight heaving of the end of the garment that lay between the breasts. The garland must have been worn above the upper garment which was covering the breasts. It is simply called a garment and not specified as an upper garment (V., I, vv. 7–8).

The king in his wild search for Ūrvaśī who had vanished refers to the colour of the breast-garment worn by her as being dark green (*'śukodaraśyāma'*). The breast-garment could drop off and fall down in excited motion of the wearer (V. iv, 17). It must have resembled the thin small scarf of the Punjabi and Sindhi ladies or of the Rajput ladies seen in the post-Moghul Rajput paintings and must have been lightly thrown over the upper part of the body.

The upper garment used in summer was so light and thin that it could be displaced or removed by breath and yet was studded or interwoven with pearls to provide cooling touch (R., XVI, 43). *'Stanottarīya'* 'a garment covering the breasts' adhered closely to the breasts (R. XVI, 17). It is called *'uttarāsaṅga'*, too (K., v. 16).

Even in the hermitage the female inmates used an upper garment which, though it was a piece of bark, was tied in such a way as to cover the breasts (S. I., before v. 17). It or its flying ends are generally obliging enough to help the hero or the heroine by their pranks. Queen Bhānumatī had her upper garment entangled in a bush, thus delaying her and enabling her maid to warn her master, Duṣyanta, of the approach of the queen (S. VI, after v. 22).

The *'uttarīya'* may be called *'vasana'* (S., VII, v. 21) and is rendered *'upasaṁvyāna'* by Rāghavabhaṭṭa.

In spring, ladies used to wear thin and orange-coloured cloth for covering their breasts (Rt. VI, 4). In summer they wore only a light cloth to cover their breasts (*'staneṣu tanvaṁśukam'*), (Rt., I, 7).

In Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*, queen Vasumatī is described as attempting to commit suicide by making a noose with the half portion of her upper garment, ('*uttariyārdhena bandhanam viracya*'), (Ds., p. 10). In the description of a sleeping damsel, the daughter of the king of Śrāvastī, her fine breast-garment, ('*stanāṁśuka*'), is said to be slightly displaced. This leads the author to fancy her to be the earth-goddess with her upper garment in the form of the milky ocean slipped off her shoulders (Ds., p. 189). From this we may conclude that at least while sleeping ladies used to cover the upper portion of the bodies with the loose garment which is described either as mere upper garment, '*uttarīya*', or more specifically as breast-garment, '*stanāṁśuka*'. The upper garment, '*uttarīya*', put on by a lady, separated from her husband is described as worn out (Ds., p. 194). A royal maiden engaged in ball-sport is described as engaged in adjusting with one hand her breast-garment which had slightly slipped off, '*āgalitastanataṭāṁśukaniyamanavyāpṛtaikapāṇipallavaṁ*'),[h] (Ds. 1, p. 210).

In the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi Arjuna mentions the incident of the stripping off of Draupadī in the assembly by the Kaurava princes. It was her upper garment according to this statement that was forcibly removed, thereby outraging her modesty and insulting her husbands, the Pāṇḍavas ('*hṛtottarīyām prasabham sabhāyāmājātahṛiyaḥ*') (Ki., HI, 49). Draupadī, having been won by the Kauravas in their gambling with Yudhiṣṭhira was a slave of theirs and as such, it appears, according to the notions of those times, was not entitled to the use of an upper garment, which by implication must be considered to have been the privilege of the free married ladies only. Some of the Gandharva ladies are described as having their silken garments covering their breasts slipped off while collecting flowers, while others as having exposed the region of their armpits in the act of managing their hair (Ki., VIII, 17-18). The poet in another place uses the imagery of a lady holding her upper garment, ('*saṁvyāna*'), a part of which was floating and fluttering in the air (Ki., IV, 28).

In Bhartṛhari's *Sṛṅgāraśataka*, a lady is described as having warded off the rays of the moon with her upper garment covering the bosom by holding it up on high, ('*stanottarīyeṇa karoddhṛtena*') (Sub., II, v. 21).

Bāṇa in his *Pārvatīpariṇaya* referring to various seductive activities of the Apsarasas designed to captivate Śiva speaks of the sweet jingling of bracelets in the act of adjusting the breast-garment that was slipping off the shoulders, ('*bāhoḥ srastakucottarīyaghaṭanāmañjukvaṇatkaṅkaṇaiḥ*),[i] (Pp., p. 12). We may conclude from this that modesty required the breast-garment to be in its place and that its conscious displacement was meant to be a seductive action worthy only of public women and not of ladies. In the *Harṣacarita* are described the queens of king Prabhākaravardhana as engaged in festivities at the birth of Harṣa. While they were thus engaged, some of them held with their hands the portions of their upper garment hanging from the shoulders, one on each side. In this position they looked as if they were holding the strings of their swing, ('*kāścitskandhobhayapālīlambamānalambottarīya-lagnahastalīlādolādhirūḍhā iva preṅkhantyaḥ*');[j] (H., pp. 189–190). Evidently these ladies had worn their upper garment thrown over the back of the shoulders with the two sides of it hanging over the chest on either side of the neck. They were thus very unsuitable for dancing and such other active occasions. The ladies therefore had to hold each one of the hanging sides of the garment in one hand to prevent the garment from dropping off. Others had evidently put on their upper garments in quite a different fashion, which rendered it unnecessary for them to hold them. There were others who had their fine upper garments torn up by their golden armlets on which the garments had to settle when worn in such a manner as to cover the upper part of the body with the ends turned over and allowed to dangle on the back. ('*kāścitkanakakeyūrakoṭivipāṭyamānapaṭṭāṁśukottaraṅgāstaraṅgiṇya iva taraccakravākasīmantyamānasrotasaḥ*'),[k] (H., p. 100).*

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[h] आगलितस्तनतटांशुकनियमनव्यापृतैकपाणिपल्लवम् ।

[i] बाहोः स्रस्तकुचोत्तरीयघटनामञ्जुक्वणत्कङ्कणैः ।

Dissatisfaction with her childlessness of queen Vilāsavatī rendered her breathing hard enough to move her breast-garment, ('*taralīkṛtastanāṁśukāstavāyatāḥ śvāsamarutaḥ*'), (Ka., p. 122). The upper garment slipped off in excited motion of its wearer (Ka., p. 165). One end of it could be used to ward off the rays of the Sun, ('*ravikiraṇanivāraṇāya kuru śirasyuttarīyāṁśukapallavam*'),[l] (Ka., p. 166). A maid could roll up her upper garment and make a temporary seat of it for her master (Ka., p. 180). When Kapiñjala visited Mahāśvetā to implore her on behalf of his friend Puṇḍarīka, she washed his feet and wiped them dry with the end of her upper garment (Ka., p. 283). Similarly, Kādambarī treated Mahāśvetā (Ka., p. 348). When Kādambarī was informed of Candrāpīḍa's movement to Ujjain at his parents' behest she was beside herself through disappointment. In this condition she ceased speaking even to her confidantes and simply laid herself down on her bed covering her head with her upper garment, ('*śayanīye nipatyottarīyavāsasottamāṅgamavaguṇṭhya*'),[m] (Ka., p. 439).

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[j] काश्चित्स्कन्धोभयपालीलम्बमानलम्बोत्तरीयलग्नहस्तलिलादोलाधिरूढा इव प्रेङ्खन्त्यः ।

[k] काश्चित्कनककेयूरकोटिविपाट्यमानपट्टांशुकोत्तरङ्गास्तरङ्गिण्य इव तरच्चक्रवाकसीमन्त्यमान-श्रोतसः ।

* The commentator aṅkara reads '*taraṅga*' in place of '*uttaraṅga*' and gives its meaning as '*uttarīya*' 'upper garment'. Either the original text as we have it is corrupt or the word '*taraṅga*' read in the commentary ought to be '*uttaraṅga*'.

[l] रविकिरणनिवारणाय कुरु शिरस्युत्तरीयांशुकपल्लवम् ।

[m] शयनीये निपत्योत्तरीयवाससोत्तमाङ्गमवगुण्ठ्य ।

The courtezans whose duty it was to bathe the king and who had therefore to bring jars full of water and pour them out on the body of the king had their large breasts tightly fastened by a garment, ('*aṁśukanibiḍanibaddhastanaparikarāḥ*') (Ka., p. 31). Female ascetics, who had taken the vow of remaining unmarried, forming part of the company of Mahāśvetā and Kādambarī, had their large breasts rigidly confined in a white garment, contrasting with the red or orange-coloured lower garments they had put on : ('*dhāturāgāruṇāṁbarābhiśca parivrājakābhiḥ... sitavasananibiḍanibaddhastanaparikarābhisca*'),[n] (Ka., p. 371).

The heroine of *Priyadarśikā* who is a maiden, wears a breast-cloth, which slips off from her breasts in her exertion of plucking the lotuses and the hero describes her with her breast-cloth slipped off as particularly charming to look at : ('*yātā yā vigalatpayodharapaṭāddraṣṭavyatām kāmapi*').[o] This breast-cloth was a garment in addition to the upper garment. We are told that the heroine when troubled by the bees covered her face with her upper garment. Later on, being assured by the approach of human steps, which she thought were her friend's, she removed it from her face (Pri., II, vv. 7–8). In the *Ratnāvalī* of Harṣa we are told that the breast-cloth of the heroine, slipped off from her was caught in the fire created by the magician (Ra., IV, v. 17).

In the *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha the sportive activities of the ladies of Kṛṣṇa's household on the Raivataka mountain are described at great length. One lady in front of her lover put out one of her hands to gather some flowers. In this act she exposed the nail-marks she bore on the beautiful region of her armpit. She immediately tried to cover that part of the body by drawing over it with the other hand her upper garment, to accomplish which she had to draw the garment very tight over her breasts, ('*Priyamabhi kusumodyatasya bāhornavanakhamaṇḍanacārumūlamanyā, muhuritarakarāhitena pīnastanataṭarodhitirodadheṁśukena*'),[p] (Si., VII, 32). Mallinātha rightly paraphrases '*aṁśuka*' by '*uttarīya*' 'upper garment'. This description seems to fit in with a female dress which does not include a bodice or includes only a sleeveless bodice as its component. But a little consideration would convince one that the situation described can be created even when a lady is wearing a bodice, and that too with sleeves, if it is a backless one cut rather deep at the sides so that a portion of the armpit-region could be exposed when the arms were raised to reach an object that is rather high up. As we have in another place in this work the description of the bodice as a piece of female apparel we must conclude that the bodice worn by the ladies was a backless one cut rather deep at the sides. The partial exposure of the region of the armpit is further on mentioned as occurring when a lady was engaged in tying up her hair in a knot (IX, 69 ; VII, 40). Another reference to the upper garment and its use as a covering for the breasts occurring in this work must be interpreted in this context. We are told that the large breasts of another lady, engaged in the act of reaching some flowers rather high up on the tree, loosened by their swell the knot of her thin upper garment. The description must be taken, as Mallinātha has done, rather metaphorically to mean the slipping off of the garment, covering the breasts, ('*prasakalakucabandhuroddhuroraḥ prasabhavibhinnatanūttarīyabandhā*),[q] (Si., VII, 34). Mallinātha remarks: '*Gātravijṛṁbhaṇād visrastakucāvaraṇetyarthaḥ*'.[r] Ladies' upper garment would appear to be quite often of orange colour while that of the male was of white colour. It is described how a lady getting up from her bed wherein she and her husband were sleeping picks up her husband's upper garment as her own, as it too appears rather orange-coloured owing to the rays of the early sun falling on it. (Si., XI, 52). For sportive occasions ladies generally preferred an orange-coloured upper garment, ('*kausuṁbham pṛthu kucakuṁbhasaṅgivāsaḥ*'),[s] (Si., VIII, 30). This upper garment was so worn that one end of it could float and flutter in the air, serving as a sort of a banner, in strong breeze, without displacing it totally from the body (Si., XIII, 36). The passage describes a situation observed in Indraprastha when the ladies of the place eagerly turned to see Kṛṣṇa as he arrived there. One of the ladies got on to the top of her house, where owing to her garment being blown by the wind she, as it were, raised a banner in honour of Kṛṣṇa with the end of her garment thus fluttering in the air. The word used is '*vasanānta*' 'the end of the garment'. Though '*vasana*' generally means the lower garment, I think I am right in taking it here to mean the upper garment, as '*aṁśuka*' meaning 'garment' in general signifies also 'upper garment' in appropriate context.

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[n] धातुरागारुणाम्बराभिश्च परिव्राजकाभिः...सितवसननिबिडनिबद्धस्तनपरिकराभिश्च ।

[o] याता या विगलत्पयोधरपटाद्द्रष्टव्यतां कामपि ।

[p] प्रियमभि कुसुमोद्यतस्य बाहोर्नवनखमण्डनचारुमूलमन्या, मुहुरितरकराहितेन पीनस्तनतटरोधितिरोदधेंशुकेन ।

We are informed in the *Mahāvīracarita* of Bhavabhūti that the upper garment of Sītā which she had let fall when she was abducted by Rāvaṇa, bore the name of Anasūyā (Ma., p. 182, Act V). Vīrarāghava, commenting on it, remarks that the upper garment, '*uttarīya*', being a present from Anasūyā bore her name. Anasūyā must have presented her own upper garment to Sītā. Upper garments often bore the names of their owners. In the *Mālatī-Mādhava*, Lavaṅgikā in the presence of the lover of Mālatī, Mādhava, and that of their common well-wisher, the Buddhist nun, takes off or removes the breast-cloth '*stanāṁśuka*', of Mālatī to show to them the flower-garland which was worn by Mālatī on her breasts, as it was prepared by Mādhava himself (Mm., III, 1.186). Mādhava, the hero and the lover of Mālatī, made remarks showing some longing. Jagaddhara, commenting on this, points out that the longing or rather wistfulness was due to his having seen the bare breasts of his love, the breast-garment having been removed by her friend. May we conclude from this that very often for the upper part of the body unmarried ladies at least had no other garment than the so-called breast-cloth, which was otherwise known by the more generic name of '*uttarīya*' ? Makaranda, the friend of Mādhava, tells him how his lady-love, Madayantikā, embraced him regardless of the fact that her upper garment had slipped off from its place, when she saw him wounded (Mm., IV, 1.137). Jagaddhara, the commentator, paraphrases '*uttarīyam*' by '*stanāvaraṇavāsaḥ*' 'cloth covering the breasts'. Madayantikā describing her condition tells her friends that in her fancies and dreams she sees her lover, Makaranda, catch hold of the end of her upper garment, slipping off from her throbbing breasts (Mm., VII, 1.145). She further states that in that condition she lets her garment go in order to move away from him and covers her large breasts with her arms so that the breasts may not be visible to him (Mm., VII, 11. 148–150). Here again it is plain that the usual upper garment was the only covering for the breasts in the case of maidens at least.

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[q] प्रसकलकुचबन्धुरोद्धुरोरहः प्रसभविभिन्नतनूत्तरीयबन्धा ।

[r] गात्रविजृम्भणाद्विस्रस्तकुचावरणेत्यर्थः ।

[s] कौसुम्भं पृथु कुचकुम्भसाङ्गिवासः ।

For royal ladies to have their upper garment, or 'outer garment' as Telang renders it, falling off, which might happen in consequence of great grief or such other emotion, was considered a derogation, ('*vakṣastāḍanabhinnaratnavalayam bhraṣṭottarīyamśukam*'),[t] (Mu., III, v. 5).

In the *Amaruśataka*, a lady suspecting the messenger, whom she had sent to fetch her husband or lover, of foul play asks her how the saffron-paste on her face had disappeared. To this the clever woman replies that it was wiped out by the upper garment rubbing against the face, ('*bhraṣṭam kuṅkumamuttarīyakarṣaṇāt*'), (Am,, v. 113). From the fact that the reply was considered plausible we must conclude that a part of the upper garment was drawn over the head and the face.

Jayadeva speaks of the loose upper garment, ('*urasi dukūlam*'), as if it was the only piece of apparel covering the breasts (Gg., XII, 3). In another place he describes the purely amorous actions of a lady on beholding her beloved, one of which was to raise up her arms and thus to expose under a pretext the charms of her breasts (Gg., II, 12). This description also fits best that dress for the upper part of the body wherein the breasts are covered only with a loose garment or a cut-away bodice.

Maṅkha, describing Pārvatī as she was enjoying herself on the swing, refers to the end of her upper garment which was fluttering rather high owing to the breeze generated by her swinging motion as the victory banner of Cupid, ('*vellolottarīyāñcala*'), (Śr., VII, 66).

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[t] वक्षस्ताडनाभिन्नरत्नवलयं भ्रष्टोत्तरीयांशुकम् ।

Śrīharṣa narrates the experiences of Nala when incognito he entered the palace of Damayantī to plead before her the cause of the divine personages who were her suitors. In the inner apartment as he was proceeding, seeing the breast-cloth of a damsel suddenly displaced by the wind he cast down his beautiful gaze, not bearing to see the bare bosom of a lady (Na., VI, 18). We may conclude from this that inside the house ladies did not wear a bodice but only a loose upper garment to cover their bosom. The description of a lady proceeding in excited haste to see Nala in the bridegroom's procession even suggests that not only was this the usual practice inside the house but even when desiring to peep out of the house ladies would go to the front or the windows in the same dress. One of the ladies in her eagerness to get a sight of Nala failed to notice that nearly half of her upper garment covering her bosom had been blown off from its place thus revealing one of her breasts. The poet fancies that with the uncovered breast she presented Nala with the auspicious pot, which is customary, *ajānatī kāpi vilokanotsukā samīrdhūtārdhamapi stanāṁśukam, kucena tasmai calate akarotpuraḥ purāṅganāmaṅgalakumbhasaṁbhṛtim*'),[u] (Na., XV, 74).

Hemacandra, describing the ladies of the capital of the Maru country proceeding hastily in their eagerness to see king Durlabharāja of Gurjararāṣṭra as he arrived there to attend the self-choice marriage of the sister of the king of that country, mentions that some of them did not care to adjust their upper garment so as to cover their bosom and abdomen (Dv., vol. I, p. 555). It is noteworthy that the term for the upper garment used here is '*udarāṁśuka*', 'a stomach-garment', which is paraphrased by the commentator as '*udarastanapidhāyakam vastram*' 'a garment covering the stomach and the breasts'. It is clear that it was considered proper to wear the upper garment in such a manner that it not only covered the bosom but also the portion of the abdomen which remained uncovered by the lower garment.

V

BODICE, JACKET

'*kañcuka*', '*kañculikā*', '*kūrpāsa*', '*kūrpāsaka*'.

In Hāla's *Gāthāsaptaśatī* young women in villages are declared to enchant the hearts of the connoisseurs simply by the beauty of their breasts which are adorned only with madder-coloured bodices, *kusumbharañjiakañcuiāharaṇamettāo*', Skt. : '*kusumbharāgayuktakañcukābharaṇamātraḥ*'), (Ga., VI, 45). The nature of the bodice is revealed to some extent in the description of his beloved to a lover. He is informed that the expansive breasts of the lady are not completely confined within her blue bodice but a portion thereof peeps out of it, (*'ṇīlakañcuabhariuvvariaṁ vihāi thaṇavaṭṭam'* Skt. : *'nīlakañcukabhṛtorvaritam vibhāti stanapṛṭham'*),[v] (Ga., IV, 96). This picture brings to mind the front-fastening short bodice rather than the back-fastening one. Another verse still more clearly defines the precise nature of the bodice through its reference to the space of about an inch between the two breasts exposed to view when the panels of the bodice are knotted together to fasten it. The verse may be thus translated: "The young lady as it were presents a specimen of her breasts to the eyes of the young men, having fastened her particularly dark bodice with its panels leaving an open space of the breadth of two fingures at their junction". The fastening of the bodice is done by bringing close the two panels and then tying a knot out of their ends. In this procedure just above the knot a little slit is left between the two panels of the bodice. This slit reveals the whiteness and the texture of the breasts to some extent, which are heightened by the contrasting dark colour of the bodice-cloth (Ga., VII, 20). As one commentator remarks, it is the kind of bodice prevalent in the far South that is referred to (Ga. (b), p. 89).

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[u] अजानती कापि विलोकनोत्सुका समीर्धुतार्धमपि स्तनांशुकं कुचेन तस्मै चलते अकरोत्पुरः पुराङ्गनामङ्गलकुम्भसंभृतिम् ।

Ladies are said to wear *'kūrpāsaka'*, 'bodice', in the two colder seasons of *'hemanta'* and *'śiśira'*, it being described as 'charming', (Rt., IV, 16; V, 8). The bodice fitted so tightly in the coldest season that the ladies are described as having their breasts tortured by it. The description of the wearing of the bodice early in the morning fits the kind of garment which was full and not backless. The hair were turned over the face in front so that it should not soil the back of the bodice—the wearing of the bodice being the first thing to be done in the morning—and the loose hair tied up afterwards. Evidently the bodice was not worn in the spring and summer seasons. In addition to the bodice, according to the most accepted reading of V, 8, ladies wore a coloured cloth to adorn and cover their breasts. In spring the ladies are described as adorning their rounded breasts with orange-coloured fine cloth, (*'tanvaṁśukaiḥ kuṅkumarāgagauraiḥ*), (Rt., VI, 4).

A lady, separated from her husband, wears a bodice which is tattered and made of fine cloth of blue colour according to a usual interpretation of the expression *'nīlāṁśukacīracūḍikāparivṛtā'* in a passage of the *Daśakumāracarita* (D., p. 194). The expression in question has proved a knotty one; yet both Kale and Agashe in their notes see a reference to the bodice of the lady. One of the commentaries, *Padacandrikā*, is believed to render the term *'cūḍikā'* by *'kūrpāsa'*, 'bodice'. But this explanatory word is found given in brackets and must be considered to be a restoration or emendation. The word '*cūḍikā*' is not listed in Apte's *Sanskrit-English Dictionary*. Blue colour of the bodice or garment far from being typical of a lady separated from her husband is associated with an 'abhisārikā', a woman who stealthily approaches her lover. The general description of her garments as worn out is already given at the beginning of the passage and a reference to garments or bodice again is rather strange and out of place. The context too makes reference to garments rather irrelevant. In the particular sentence the hair braided in one braid is the principal item of description and the expression above quoted occurs between the hair and its qualifying adjective, a most unlikely place for a reference to garments. In the commentary *Bhūṣaṇā* we find '*cīracūḍikā*' taken as one word meaning the bracelets, either of conch-shell or of ivory, worn on their wrists by ladies whose husbands are living. Taking this to be the correct way of interpreting the passage, there is still the blue garment and its connection with bracelets and the context to be explained which the commentator has not tried. In the commentary, *Laghudīpikā*, occurs the expression '*nīlāṁśukacūlikā* which, with some violence to lexicography, may be rendered as 'cloak of blue cloth'. Here again the fundamental discrepancy that a lady separated from her husband is shown wearing the dress of a love-sick woman approaching her lover stands out, even if we were to ignore the fact that the meaning of the word '*cūlikā*' as given in Apte's Dictionary is quite different from what is, attributed to it in our interpretation. Altogether the expression is not clear and may be left out of account in considering the history of dress.

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[v] णीलकञ्चुअभारिउव्वरिअं विहाइ थणवट्टम् (नोलकञ्चुकभृतोर्वरितं विभाति स्तनपृष्ठम्)।

Bhartṛhari describes the piercing winds of the latter half of the cold season as undoing the breast-garments of ladies and raising horripulation on their heavy breasts, '*vakṣaḥsūtkañcukeṣu*' (Sub., II, v. 99). The commentator renders the expression '*utkañcukeṣu*' by '*udgranthikūrpāsakeṣu*'. Thus in his view the '*kañcuka*' worn by the female was the same thing as the '*kūrpāsaka*' and was kept in place over the bosom by some kind of knot. The description seems to fit the front-tying '*coli*' more than the back-tying '*kañculi*'.

Bāṇa tells us that the ladies of Sthāṇvīśvara used to wear bodices (H., p. 148), ('*kañcukinyaḥ*'). The varied preparations for the wedding of Rājyaśrī included the making of bodices overlaid or interwoven with bright pearls, (H., p. 203).

Māgha in his *Śiśupālavadha*, while describing the doings of the ladies of the royal household of Kṛṣṇa in their sojourn on the Raivataka mountain, mentions how they delighted the hearts of the youth when they exposed the regions near their armpits in the act of removing their bodices which had become very tight owing to the perspiration on their bodies, '*prasvedavārisaviśeṣaviṣaktamaṅge kūrpāsakam kṣatanakhakṣata-*

mutkṣipanti'),[w] (Si., V. 23). The same ladies when going on horseback are described as having wavy bodices on their bodies, these pieces of apparel moving up and down owing to the movements of the ladies' breasts caused by the gait of the horses, ('*valgadgarīyaḥstanakamprakañcukam*'),[x] (Si., XII, 20).

In the *Skandapurāṇa* as quoted by the commentator, Nārāyaṇa, a bodice, '*kūrpāsaka*'; is declared to be an article which like red lead a married woman must always wear as a life-prolonger of her husband, (Na., XV, 55), (*Haridrām kuṅkumam caiva sindūram kajjalam tathā, kūrpāsakam ca tāmbūlam māñgalyābharaṇam śubham, keśasaṁskāraśabarīkarakarṇavibhūṣaṇam, bharturāyuṣyamicchantī dūrayenna pativratā*').[y]

In the *Amaruśataka* occurs the statement of a woman who was advised by her friends to get offended with her lover and was unable to do so. In justifying her inability to stand proudly off she states that when she meets him the joints in her bodice snap off by themselves in hundred places, ('*sakhyaḥ kim karavāṇi yānti śatadhā yatkañcuke saṁdhayaḥ*'),[z] (Am., v. 11). '*Kañcuka*' was thus a tailored garment with a number of joints in it. Amaruka describes the love-pranks of a husband or a lover in another verse. He begins by assuring his love or wife that she would look quite charming without her bodice and touches the knot of the bodice with a view to undoing it, ('*tvaṁ mugdhāsi vinaiva kañculikayā dhatse manohāriṇīm, lakṣmīmityabhidhāyini priyatame tadvīṭikāsaṁspṛśi*'), (Am., v. 27).[a] The commentator, Arjunavaramadeva, who must have flourished before the middle of the 13th century, commenting on the verse rightly points out that the bodice meant here is the one which is tied in front with a knot as the word '*vīṭikā*' can apply to this knot alone and not the other variety, the fastening of which is procured by a string called '*kaṣā*' or '*tanikā*'. He further states that the kind of bodice meant in this verse is the variety used in the South and known as '*colikā*'. In spite of this fact which should imply the general use of bodice by ladies, in the same work we are told of the frantic efforts of a lady at the end of the sexual embrace to catch hold of her two garments which were lying about (Am., v. 90). This means that ladies slept and moved about in their household with only two loose garments on.

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[w] प्रस्वेदवारिसविशेषविषक्तमङ्गे
कूर्पासकं क्षतनखक्षतमुत्क्षिपन्ति ।

[x] वल्गद्गरीयःस्तनकम्प्रकञ्चुकम् ।

[y] हरिद्रां कुङ्कुमं चैव सिन्दूरं कज्जलं तथा ।
कूर्पासकं च ताम्बूलं माङ्गल्याभरणं शुभम् ॥
केशसंस्कारशबरीकरकर्णविभूषणं ।
भर्तुरायुष्यमिच्छन्ती दूरयेन्न पतिव्रता ॥

[z] सख्यः किं करवाणि यान्ति शतधा यत्कञ्चुके सन्धयः ।

[a] त्वं मुग्धासि विनैव कञ्चुलिकया धत्से मनोहारिणीं
लक्ष्मीमित्यभिधायिनि प्रियतमे तद्वीटिकासंस्पृशि ।

Vākpatirāja describes the amours of the ladies of the royal harem of Kanauj in the time of king Yaśovarman which sheds important light on the nature of the bodice worn then in that region of northern India. When Yaśovarman started on his tour of world-conquest the poet describes the rush of the citizens to see him. Some of the ladies in their haste and in their desire to get a glimpse of him stood sideways covering their right leg with the left. In this pose they unwittingly exposed their left breast (G., v. 202). If it was the custom to put on a loose upper garment over the bodice it would naturally, in the position described, be dishevelled so as not to cover the figure completely. Thus whether tbe ladies used an additional loose upper garment or not the bodice worn by them must have been such that in a sideways view, if the loose upper garment were not in position, the sides and also some portion of the breast were exposed to the public gaze. Ordinarily ladies took care to conceal the sides by properly adjusting their loose upper garment. In haste, in excitement and such other conditions the bodice could reveal some part of the breasts. The bodice must be inferred to have been of the open-back-variety which alone, if it did not sit properly, is capable of revealing some region about the breasts in a sideways view. The royal bards in praise of the royal ladies inform us that their breasts were so firm that when the king placed his hand at the junction of the fastening cord of their bodices in order to undo the tie it simply slipped off (G., v. 731). The Prākṛt text has '*jālasutta*', 'net-thread', which is rendered by the commentator in Sanskrit as '*jālakasūtra*', 'thread of the net', and is paraphrased as 'thread for tying the bodice', ('*kañcuka*'). When the hand did succeed in unfastening the tie of the fastening cord the sides of the breasts shone, slightly revealing the three folds of skin below the bust, (v. 732). The Prākṛt text reads '*jāliyāvalaya*' which is rendered into Sanskrit as '*jālikāvalaya*', 'ring of net', and is interpreted by the commentator to mean, 'the knot of the joint of the bodice', ('*kañcukasandhibandha*'). The two verses describing the kingly attempts at and success in removing the bodices of the royal ladies paint the picture of a bodice which is long enough to cover the fleshy folds, beloved of the poets and of the husbands of the ladies, which could be revealed only in the act of unfastening the tie. This bodice was plainly kept in its place by the fastening of a net of strings or a string which was probably ornamentally woven so that it was tubular in shape and cellular in appearance, which fact may explain its description as '*jālaka*' or '*jālikā*'. When the tie was undone first the sides of the breasts shone. All this description fits best the open-backed long bodice, which covers large part of the abdomen and is fastened at the back, or may be at the side, by means of a string which as fancied by the royal ladies of Kanauj of king Yaśovarman's time was intricately woven in tubular shape. This was one type of bodice. In the case of some other ladies of the royal household we are told that their tight bodices pressed hard on the nailmarks made on the region of the breasts by their husbands and that when the knot of the bodice was undone the breasts appeared like the moon with its spots, the breasts being likened to the moon and the blackened nailmarks to the moon-spots (G. v. 733). The Prākṛt expression is '*gāḍhakavāḍa*' which is translated by the commentator as 'bodice which was tight like the panel' ('*gāḍho nibiḍo yaḥ kapāṭaka iva pāṭakaḥ kañcukaḥ*'). The bodice contemplated in this passage cannot surely be identified with the variety of bodice pictured in the description given above. The reference to panels, as will be easily realized, links it up with the front fastening short and tight bodice which is knotted with the ends of the two panels just under the breasts and between them. This bodice, then, must be taken to represent a second variety. Other ladies, still, are described as having their nostrils puffed out owing to their hard breathing which was caused by their tight bodices pressing heavily on their necks as their lovers in haste were pulling off their bodices over their heads (G., v. 734). Evidently the type of bodice represented by the above description is the one which is taken off by pulling it out over the head and must have been slipped in its position over the head and the neck. It would thus appear to be a third variety of bodice which was closed and had no fastening arrangement, which was not necessary, as when slipped over the head and passed over the breasts like the modern pull-over it would sit smugly over the body.

These are the various ways in which, according to Vākpatirāja, the bodices ('*kañcua*' Skt. : '*kañcuka*') of the ladies of the royal household were being taken off by their beloveds (G. v. 736). In the description of the wives of Yaśovarman's soldiers the poet speaks of the slight opening between the two breasts, where they come nearest to each other and where the front-fastening bodice is knotted, as the third eye of Śiva confined there by the ladies (G. v. 757). This is clearly the front fastening type of bodice and must be considered to be the most common variety used by common people. The Prākṛt text uses the expression '*kuppāsantaram*' which is translated by the commentator as the spot where the breasts nearly meet and where lies the centre of the bodice, ('*kūrpāsasya kañcukasya antaram madhyam stanasandhivicchinnasthānam*').[b]

Rājaśekhara, a Mahārāṣṭriyan by origin, living at the courts of Kanauj and of Cedi, modern Bundelkhand, refers to both '*kuppāsaa*' and '*kuñculiā*' and '*kañcua*' as pieces of apparel used by ladies to cover their busts. In the *Karpūramañjarī* the king describing the advent of spring speaks of ladies having given up wearing their bodices, '*kuppāsaa*',

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[b] कूर्पासस्य कञ्चुकस्य अन्तरं मध्यंस्तनसन्धिविच्छिन्नस्थानम् ।

(Km., I, 13). '*Kūrpāsakam colikā*' observes the commentator, Vāsudeva (Km. (b) p. 12). By implication it means that bodices were worn in winter to ward off cold. In the quarrel between the queen's maid and the Vidūśaka regarding learning and the ability to compose poetry, the former twits him with using inappropriate and disproportionate terms and conveys her meaning by giving similies. One of these similies of inappropriateness is the putting on of a trig bodice ('*kañculiā*') on a pot-bellied woman (Km., I, 207). The distinction, if any, between a '*kuppāsaa*' and a '*kañculiā*' is not at all clear. In the play *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* the heroine is described as enjoying the pleasures of the swing in the company of her friends. There we are informed that she wore a bodice (*kañcua*), which, though slightly loose owing to the thinness of the abdomen, confined her heavy breasts, (Vs. IV, after v. 6). In the description of the heroine's love-sickness her emaciation causing her bodice and its knot to sit loosely on her body is referred to (Vs., II, 18). The expression '*pasiḍhilaṇīviakañcuam*' must be translated as 'in which the bodice had its knot rendered very loose'. The heroine was pining away and the expression is used to describe very graphically her shrinkage. The bodily emaciation was so great that the bodice which was fit and trig formerly was now very loose. Its knot could no longer sit tight on the divide of the breasts. This use of the word '*nīvi*' to mean simply a knot without reference to the female lower garment is perhaps unique in Sanskrit literature.

Bilhaṇa describes the breasts of ladies as being so firm and large as to tear their bodices, ('*kañcua*') (Vi., VIII, 45). In the eager haste of the ladies of Kalyan to see king Vikrama as he returned there some of them did very funny things. One of them, for instance, took up her bodice to put it on and yet forgetting to wear it she proceeded to the place whence she could see the king (Vi. XII, 24). We may conclude that the bodice as a piece of apparel was meant rather for wear in public than in private surroundings.

Kalhaṇa informs us that a king of Kashmir, Mihirakula, (early 6th century A.D.), proceeded to conquer the king of Simhala or Ceylon being enraged at his stamping the cloth exported from his country with his footprints. Once he noticed that the breasts of his queen, who was wearing a bodice, (*kañcuka*) made of cloth from Simhala, were marked with golden foot-prints. Inflamed he asked the reason of it and was informed that all cloth coming from Simhala was marked with the footprints of the king of that country (Rāj., I, 294–295).

Maṅkha fancifully ascribes to the bodice, (*kañcuka*) the actions which a lover does towards his beloved. Thus it is said to cling round the neck, confine the arms and press the breasts (Sr., XV, 11). A lady seeing that her lover was gazing at her put on her bodice (*kañculikā*), to conceal her breasts. But her feeling of passionate love made it burst, thus exposing her breasts to the great delight of her lover (Sk. XIII, 32). Here we see that ladies did not wear their bodice at all times but only when and if necessary.

VI

FEMALE LOWER GARMENT

'*Ambara*', '*aṁśuka*', '*antarīya*', '*jaghanāṁśuka*', '*nivasana*', '*paridhāna*', '*vasana*', '*vastram*', '*vāsas*', *sāuli*'.

Hāla refers to the knot whereby the lower garment of a woman is held in its position as '*vatthagaṇṭhi*' (Skt. : *vastragranthi*') (Ga., VII, 46). A young lady is advised to adjust her lower garment as it was being displaced by the wind thus exposing the upper part of her thighs with their nail-marks, ('*vāuvelliasāuli*', Skt. : '*vātodvellitavastre*'). In all probability the garment was worn in such a manner that one part of it covered the upper portion of the body; for in one verse we are told that a lady got herself disengaged from her lover by forcibly snatching away the end of the portion of her garment which he had taken hold of ('*acchoḍiavatthaddhantarapatthie*', Skt. : '*balādākṛṣṭavastrārdhāntaprasthite*'),[c] (Ga., II, 60). If it were merely the end of the loose upper garment that was caught hold of, then, as is generally described, the lady would have simply slipped off, leaving the garment in the hands of her lover.

Gopa-maidens are described as having put on lower garments of varied hues in preparation for a festive dance with Kṛṣṇa, (*nānāvirāgavasanāḥ*'), (Bh. p. 539 : *B*. III, 2). In Kālidāsa's *Vikramorvaśīya*, the king in a very excited and imaginative mood during his search for Ūrvaśī describes a foaming river as if it were Ūrvaśī herself dragging her white garment which had got loose in her excited and hurried motion, (V. IV, 52). The lower garment of the females must have been worn in a manner which made it necessary for it to be kept in position by mere tuckings or fastening which were not strong enough to stand the strain of hurry and excitement. As the garment is fancied to have been trailing and dragged, it must have been more of the type of the '*sāri*' rather than of the '*ghāgrā*', which can hardly be imagined as being dragged by the wearer. The lower garment ('*vastra*') is described as clinging to the loins of ladies after bath (R. XVI, 65). A river with its rapid current is fancied to be a lady moving briskly and hence in a faltering gait and the eddies of waters of the river are fancied to be the navel of the lady bared owing to the lower garment slipping down as the result of the quick and faltering movement (Me. 28). The lower garment was thus generally worn by ladies in such a manner as to cover the navel. And as the commentator, Sthiradeva, observes, baring of the navel under some pretext or another was a display of one's sexual charm intended to attract the lover or to invite him to sexual embrace. The lower garment is called '*vasana*' (Ś. VII, v. 21) which is rendered '*antarīya*' by Rāghavabhaṭṭa.

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[c] अच्छोडिअवत्थद्धन्तरपत्थिए (बलादाकृष्टवस्त्रार्धान्तप्रस्थिते)।

The lower garment ('*nivasana*') was evidently of different material according to the nature of the season. Thus winter garment is referred to (R. XIX, 41) ('*haimanam nivasanam*'). The garment was treated with some smelling substance like incense. Either because of this treatment or rather, as Mallinātha would have it, because of some other unspecified treatment, the garment could give out a murmuring sound (R. XIX, 41. Mallinātha quotes Amara : '*atha marmaraḥ, svanite vastraparṇānām*', '*marmaraḥ* is the sound produced by garment or by leaves').

Lower garment is called '*nivasana*' (S. IV, before v. 13).

Ladies are described as having adorned their thighs ('*ūru*') with coloured silk garment, ('*sarāgakauśeyavibhūṣitoravaḥ*') (Rt. V, 8). The lower garment of ladies would thus appear to be considered as mainly necessary for covering the thighs. In spring the lower garment was dyed saffron-red, ('*kusumbharāgāruṇita*') (Rt. VI, 4). It is described as 'red-coloured like the young sun', ('*taruṇārkarāgam*'), (K. III, 54). It is even said to surpass the colour of Aruṇa in one place, where Mallinātha interprets the expression to mean that the garment was dyed with 'safflower' ('*kusumbha*').

Vasantasenā goes on a rainy evening to the house of Cārudatta. She has her umbrella-bearer with her. But the rain was pouring, and she is described as being wet, her hair dripping with water and her feet full of mud. Cārudatta, the lover, tells us that one of her breasts was drenched with the water dropping down the kadamba flower which she had placed on her ear, suggesting through this description that the other was either dry or could not be properly seen by him. Yet in the very next sentence he declares that both the garments (*vāsasī*) of Vasantasenā were drenched with water and asks the Vidūśaka to bring two high-class garments ('*pradhānavāsasī*') for her to wear, (Mr., V, 38). It is clear that Vasantasenā had put on only two garments. That fresh dry garments for her could be possibly fetched from Cārudatta's house implies that the garments were pieces of cloth rather than sewn garments. Presumably one served as the lower garment and the other as the upper. If both these garments were wet naturally both the breasts must be drenched. Yet Cārudatta has described only one breasts as drenched. We therefore cannot attach great significance to the lover's description of his mistress and conclude with R. D. Karmarkar (Mr., p. 440) that the garment was worn more or less in the contemporary manner of wearing a 'sāri', which leaves one of the breasts uncovered, partially at least, by the 'sāri'. A lady's dress was formed by two unsewn garments.

On her first venture to the house of Cārudatta Vasantasenā is described as wearing a red-silken garment whose hems were in motion owing to the wind generated in her quick movements to avoid Śakāra and his companion ('*raktāṁśukam pavanaloladaśam*') (Mr., I, 20).

In Daṇḍin's *Daśakumāracarita*, a prostitute, waiting upon an ascetic in his hermitage with the sole purpose of seducing him, is described as wearing a pair of freshly washed garments ('*dhautodgamanīyavāsinī*'), (Ds. p. 83). The sleeping princess of the Aṅgas has only one garment on her person, which is the lower garment. It being of fine China silk is described as clinging to her body, ('*atisliṣṭacīnāṁśukāntarīyam*'), (Ds., p. 127).

A lady separated from her husband is dressed in two garments which are both worn out, ('*kliṣṭanivasanottarīyā*'), (Ds. p. 194). A royal maiden playing with the ball appears lovely through her lower garment hanging from her loins being moved to and fro, ('*nitambavilambitavicaladaṁśukojjvalam*') (Ds., p. 210).

Bhāravi describing the sportive and seductive activities of the Gandharva ladies and the divine courtezans refers to their lower garment, '*aṁśuka*', '*antarīya*', with its gathers or knot at the navel getting loose through the knot giving way and being held partially and precariously in its place by the waist-girdle (Ki., VIII, 16, 24 ; IX, 47–48 ; X, 54). The lower garment was worn in such a fashion that one of its ends, covering one of the thighs, could be removed or blown off from its place by the wind so as to expose the thigh (Ki., X, 45).

Bhartṛhari tells us that in winter the ladies put on a garment dyed red with madder, '*mañgiṣṭhavāsobhṛtaḥ*' (Sub., II, v. 97). The commentator remarks that the practice of wearing red or orange-coloured garments was ordinarily more appropriate for the spring season and that Bhartṛhari's description must therefore be taken to be based on some authority not commonly known. May it be that Bhartṛhari drew upon some local or regional peculiarity ? He describes the chilly winds of the cold season as loosening the knots of the lower garments of ladies ('*saṁsrayantoṁśukāni*') (Sub., II, v. 99). This expression is rightly explained by the commentator to mean the loosening of the knots of the lower garments and not of the garments themselves.

The extensive preparations for the wedding of Rājyaśrī included the weaving or dying or beautifying of various fine garments. In the description of all this figure cloths on which spots with suffron-paste were just being marked, others on which beautiful foliage was being painted on their wrong sides so that on the proper side the whole should look very natural ('*ārabdhakuṅkumapaṅkasthāsakacchuraṇaiḥ...*

kuṭilakramarūpakriyamāṇapallavaparabhāgaiḥ')[d] (H., p. 202). A. B. Gajendragadkar in his notes on *Harṣacarita* takes '*parabhāga*' to mean 'skirts' for which there is no authority either of a commentator or of a lexicographer. The meaning of '*parabhāga*' according to '*Amarakośa*' is 'intensification of beauty'. The garments are described as being light like the slough of a serpent or soft like the internal fibre of the plantain tree, as being capable of being moved or removed by breath and finally as things whose presence could only be inferred by touch and not sight (H., p. 203).

In the *Ratnāvalī* of Harṣa the queen dressed for the celebration of the Madana-festival wore a garment whose ends were dyed red or orange with safflower (Ra., I, v. 20) ('*kausumbharāgaruciraspharadaṁśukāntā*').[e]

Māgha informs us that in their hurry and curiosity the ladies of Indraprastha intent on seeing Kṛṣṇa unwittingly did a number of funny things. One of these was that some of them wore their two garments, the lower and the upper, having interchanged them. Thus the upper garment meant for covering the breasts, '*kucāṁśuka*', was put on as the lower garment, '*paridhāna*', while the one meant for the lower part was used as the upper garment, ('*parivartitāmbarayugāḥ samāpatan*') (Śi., XIII, 32). It is clear from this that there was some difference between the two garments to render their interchange fairly ludicrous, though at the same time the garments were similar enough to lead a lady in excitement to interchange them in wearing and to cover the parts to be covered even with this interchange. The upper garment, that is to say, could not have been a very narrow scarf but must have been fairly broad. The general pattern of the two garments must not have been entirely different.

The lower garment, '*vasana*', of a lady, who got up from her seat in extreme haste as she saw her beloved approaching her, gave way and would have fallen off exposing her body. She held the gathers and the knot in her hand and adjusted her garment at its proper place, slyly giving a view of her thigh in the act (Śi., IX, 75). The portion of the garment which was gathered in pleats and then knotted was thus pulled off with a view to getting a tight hold on it and knotting it, the momentary pulling away exposing to view the thigh which was covered by that portion. When a lady's lover catching hold of one part of her lower garment pulled it away, she, seeing that one of her thighs was thus exposed and wishing to cover it pulled at the other end which was covering the other thigh so as to draw it over the exposed thigh (Śi., X, 83). In all probability, the poet wants his readers to infer that this act of the lady not only defeated her purpose but actually helped the fulfilment of the desire of her beloved by exposing the other thigh.

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[d] आरब्धकुङ्कुमपङ्कस्थासकच्छुरणैः......
कुटिलक्रमरूपक्रियमाणपल्लवपरभागैः ।

[e] कौसुम्भरागरुचिरस्फुरदंशुकान्ता ।

In the *Mālatī-Mādhava* of Bhavabhūti are described ladies as they appeared when they came out from a bath in the river. Their garments being drenched with water were clinging so close to the body that the high and the low features thereof were revealed. They had placed their crossed arms on their plump breasts to cover them from the public gaze (Mm., IV, ll. 148–151). The commentator seems to explain the lines on the basis that a lady wore one garment so as to cover not only the lower part of the body but also the upper portion. The garment having been wet revealed the hips and the breasts to cover which latter the lady crossed her arms over them. I think we are not justified in taking the description to apply to the wearing of one garment to cover the whole body. It may just as well be that the ladies at the time of entering the river for a dip put off their upper garments. They did not mind the exposure of the breasts as long as they were immersed in water as they would not be quite gazed at; but as soon as they came out of the water, knowing the situation, they covered their breasts in the usual and natural manner before they could have change of garment and could wear their usual upper garment.

In the experiences of a sexual embrace narrated by a lady in the *Amaruśataka* we are informed that when her husband or lover came to bed with her the knot of her lower garment loosened by itself and the garment itself remained only in part on her thighs held there by the girdle which itself was unfastened (‘*kānte talpamupāgate vigalitā nīvī svayaṁ bandhanāt, vāso viślathamekhalāguṇadhṛtaṁ kiṁcinnitambe sthitaṁ*’),[f] (Am., v. 101).

In the *Veṇīsaṁhāra* of Bhaṭṭa Nārāyaṇa, Bhīma while killing Duḥśāsana refers to his action of divesting Draupadī of her garment, ‘*paridhāna*’, in the presence of elderly males, (Ve., III, v. 47).

Bilhaṇa, describing the amorous behaviour of the ladies eager to see king Vikramāditya as he returned to Kalyan, poetically narrates the doings of some ladies who were putting their ornaments and garments in their places. In looking at her ear-ornament, and at the end of her garment to assure that they were in their place properly adjusted the eyes of one lady made a journey of eight miles and over, (‘*dṛśāṁ...... karṇāvataṁse ca nijāñcale ca gatāgatam yojanamātramāsīt*’),[g] (Vi., XII, 33). This is very reminiscent of the actions of Hindu ladies, especially of the Deccan, who have to attend to the end of their lower garment which passes over the upper part of the body. Generally they tug at it so frequently that their eyes in attending to it may be poetically described as performing a long journey. This description must be taken to apply to that end of the garment which passed over the upper part of the body. Hence the lower garment of the ladies of the Deccan in the fourth quarter of the 11th century A.D. must have been worn in such a manner that one part of it was used to cover the upper part of the body, the breasts being confined in a bodice. A river in spate is fancied to be a female approaching her lord, the sea, with the end of her silken garment in the form of waves dropping off, (*pariskhaladvīcidukūlapallavā*') (Vi., XIII, 82). This description too fits the above-mentioned manner of wearing the lower garment.

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[f] कान्ते तल्पमुपागते विगलिता नीवी स्वयं वन्धनात् वासो विश्लथमेखलागुणधृतं किञ्चन्नितम्बे स्थितम् ।

[g] दृशां...कर्णावतंसे च निजाञ्चले च गतागतं योजनमात्रमासीत् ।

Srīharṣa's description of the way in which the lower garment of ladies in the inner apartment slipped off leads us to think that the garment was very loosely worn. We are told that when Nala entered the private apartment of Damayantī before his marriage incognito, once finding that a lady not having seen him was passing too near him he tried to avoid her by drawing himself away. In spite of his vigilance and agility some ornament of his got stuck in the lady's garment. As he moved away from her with some force the ornament dragged away the garment of the lady (Na., VI, 28). This garment, whether so loosely worn or tightly fastened at the waist, is described to be the only garment worn by Damayantī after her marriage in her bed-chamber. It was worn so that a part of it could be and was drawn over the upper part of the body to cover the bosom. Thus we are told that Nala looking at Damayantī, who had worn one garment covering her thighs and the bosom, simply smiled because owing to the thinness of the garment the features which she had tried to conceal by the garment were seen through it. Thereupon she tried to draw up the ends of the garment over again to cover the parts thus exposed to view (Na., XVIII, 4). In the sports played by Damayantī and Nala the latter successfully drenches her garment, (*vastram*), which is spoken of only in the singular, and thus reveals to his feasting eyes her breasts, she being reduced to the state of an ascetic of the Digambara Jaina sect, viz. the nude sect (Na., XX, 129). In another place the lover speaks to his beloved conveying his envy of the fine cloth, (*vāsas*), again used in the singular, which embraces her thighs and buttocks and clings to her breasts (Na., XX, 148). The one and the only garment is spoken of as covering the lower part as well as the upper part of the female body.

According to Hemacandra the females of the countries of Vāhīka and Uśīnara wore garments made of fresh and untreated wool (Dv., Vol. II, p. 276).

VII

GIRDLE

'*kakṣyā*', '*kaṭisūtra*', '*kāñcī*', '*mekhalā*', '*raśanā*', '*rasanā*'.

The girdle-zone of Vasantasenā looked picturesque owing to its pearls, '*tārāvicitraruciraṁ raśanākalāpaṁ*' (Mr., I, 27).

Screaming birds riding on the waters of a river are fancied to be the waist-girdle, (*kāñcī*), of the lady in the form of the river. The girdle thus could make jingling or sharp sound when a lady was in rapid motion (Me., 28).

Heavenly damsels, sent by Indra to seduce persons engaged in severe austerities are described as disclosing their girdles, (*mekhalā*), under one pretext or another as one of the amorous activities calculated to evoke sexual passion in the person performing austerities. (R. XIII, 42). It appears that the girdle, (*mekhalā*), was worn in such a manner that normally it could not be manifest to others. In this connection it is relevant to refer to the description of Viṣṇu in *Kumārasaṁbhava*, where he is described as having placed his foot on the thighs of Lakṣmī, the girdle, (*mekhalā*), over which was covered by her silken garment (R., X, 8). The girdle is also described as resting on the hips, (*śroṇi* or *śroṇibimba*), (R. XIX, 40 & 45). In summer the belt, (*mekhalā*), worn was made of jewels, (sapphires ?) (R. XIX, 45).

The girdle is called *mekhalā* and is described as having a central jewel. It is clear from the description that it rested below the central knot or tucking up (K., I, 38). It would be of gold and is described as rather long or dragging, evidently as against another that could be short (K., VIII, 81. Rt., I, 6 ; VI, 24), (*ālambihemarasanāḥ*). In spring perhaps it was fashionable to wear a girdle, called '*kāñcī*', made of some flowers (K., III, 55). It could easily slide down from its place in walking and thus cause obstruction, (K., III, 55 ; M., III, before 20, and vv. 20–21).

'*Raśanā*' which is translated by the commentators as '*mekhalā*' was evidently made up of jewels and was prepared by ladies themselves by fixing one end of the thread on the toe and passing perforated jewels through the other end (K., VII, 61 ; R., VII).

As the '*raśana*' slipped down to the feet it could obstruct the wearer's gait. When disengaged from the feet it could be used as a whip for striking (M., III, from before v. 20 to v. 22). In this particular case it was made of gold strands or cords (M., III, v. 21 ; R., XIX, 41). It too could make jingling sound when the wearer was in motion (R., VIII, 58). The '*raśanā*', ('*raśanākalāpa*' means 'the ornament called *raśanā*' and not 'a bunch of strands'), is described as ceasing to make sound when the wearer has bathed in a river. The strands or threads of the '*raśanā*' being soaked in water the jewels no longer moved here and there and the '*raśanā*' ceased to make the sound. The sound of the '*raśanā*' was thus due to the movement of jewels and their percussion and not to attached bells or such other devices (R., XVI, 65).

Golden cords of the '*raśanā*' were manifested to Agnivarṇa by his wives to attract him to sexual dalliance in winter (R., XIX, 41). Mallinātha explains that the gold cords of the '*raśanā*' or the *mekhalā* were manifested by taking advantage of the unsteadiness '*laulyāt*' of the garments or the girdle.

The milky ocean is fancied by Daṇḍin to be the waist-belt, '*raśanā*', of the lady in the form of the earth (Ds., p. 243). A royal maiden is described as adjusting the jingling and jewelled strands of her belt during her ball-sport (Ds., p. 210).

In the *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi the waist-girdle, '(*kāñcī*), of a lady is fancied to be her friend protecting her modesty by holding her lower garment so as to keep the body covered in some way when it could have dropped down and exposed her body, as the knot holding the garment in its position had slipped off (Ki., VIII, 51 ; IX, 48). The girdle, '*kāñcī*', was evidently made of some material like cotton threads as it could get thickened or heavy when drenched in water (Ki., VIII, 51). The strands of the zone, '*raśanā*', are said to have snapped owing to excess of the emotion of love as the knot of the lower garment got loosened through the same cause and to have impeded a lady's gait as she tried to move away in false or real modesty (Ki., X, 54). The waist-zone, '*kāñcī*' is said to swell the buttocks so that they appear bigger and more expansive owing to the rays of the jewels of the zone being cast on them (Ki., VIII, 23).

In Bhartṛhari's *Śṛṅgāraśataka* is mentioned a jingling girdle made of jewels as well as a girdle-zone with orange-coloured jewels in it, (*raṇanmaṇimekhalā ; aruṇaratnagranthikāñcīkalāpa*), (Sub., II, vv. 67 & 71). One of the ornaments used as apparatus for making jingling sound is a girdle, which, in the opinion of the commentator, is the result rather of the small bells fastened to the girdle than of the cords of the girdle itself (Sub., II, 8).

Bāṇa mentions girdles made of a number of jewelled strings being worn by courtezans which made captivating sweet sound only through the percussion with their hips (*maṇimekhalā*), (Ka., p. 29). Describing the actions of women eager to see Candrāpīḍa as he returned from his studies he refers to the gait of some of them impeded by the girdles falling down through excited movement (Ka., p. 162). Some of them drew the attention of their friends to the slipping off of their girdles, (*kāñcīdāma*), by asking them to raise up their belts (Ka., p. 165). Patralekhā wore a costly golden girdle, (*mahārhahemamekhalā*) (Ka., p. 192).

Māgha refers to the hips and loins of a lady as the abode where the waist-girdle rests, (*kāñcidhāman*), (Si., X, 83). The girdle of gold, '*kāñcanakāñcī*', or other precious material was removed during sex-intercourse; and at the end of it a lady is described as being provided with a zone, '*mekhalā*', in the form of the nail-marks, her husband made as a preliminary to the sexual congress (Si., X, 85). The girdle of a lady could produce some kind of noise in her excited gait, evidently because the beaded or jewelled strands would, in such a gait, rub or dash against one another (Si., XIII, 34). It appears that the girdle, '*kakṣyā*', could produce this sound even with some excited movements in bed (Si., X, 62). The excitement caused to the ladies of Indraprastha by the desire to see Kṛṣṇa as he arrived there led to their doing various funny things. Thus some of them put their waist-girdles, (*kāñcī*), round their necks where the necklaces should have been worn (Si., XIII, 32).

In Bhavabhūti's *Mālatī-Mādhava* Madayantikā while narrating her love-experiences in her fancies and dreams says that in her attempt to move away from her lover she does not succeed because even when she has made up her mind, her quivering thighs get obstructed by the girdle-belt, (*mekhalāvalaya*), getting loose and thus slipping down into a position which makes the movement of thighs difficult (Mm., VII, ll. 149–150).

From the *Amaruśataka* we learn that the girdle of a lady had perhaps a clasp holding it firm over the lower garment and that even when the girdle was unfastened or loosened the garment might be restrained by the strands or strings making up the girdle, (*vāso viślathamekhalāguṇadhṛtam kiṁcinnitambe sthitam*),[h] (Am., v. 101). A lover asks the maids of his lady-love why their mistress is sleeping with the hems of her lower garment fastened tightly with her girdle, (*kāñcayā gāḍhatarāvanaddhavasanaprāntā*), (Am., v. 21). An unfaithful lover is reproached with having made love to another woman being drawn by the jingling sound of the jewels of her girdle, (*kāñcīmaṇiraṇitamākarṇya*), (Am., v. 109).

In the *Karpūramañjarī* of Rājaśekhara, the Vidūśaka continues the list of examples of impropriety or incongruity mentioned by the maid by instancing the fastening of a row of small bells of iron on to a girdle of gold, (*kaṇakakaḍisuttae via lohakiṅkiṇīmālā*) (Km., I, 209). The king poetically describes the fact of the heroine having no creeper-like girdle, (*kañcīlaā*), on her hips as being due to their large expanse (Km., I, 34). The queen's maids dressed up the heroine and put on her hips a girdle which was bejewelled with rubies, (*pommarāamaṇikañcī* Skt. *padmarāgamaṇikāñcī*), (Km., II, 15). This girdle in described by the Vidūśaka as very gorgeous, ('*kovi kāñcīmaraṭṭo*'; Skt. '*kopi kāñcyāḍambaro*'), (Km., II, 23). The girdle had jewelled small bells on it (Km., II, 34). A girdle with bells on it is called a '*mehalā*', (*mekhalā*), (Km., II, 32). In the *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* the heroine while at play with the ball is described as having a girdle which was making a jingling sound, (*jhaṇajjhaṇitimekhalā*), (Vs., II, 6). The girdle with small bells attached is spoken of as '*raśanā*' (Vs., II, 7).

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[h] वासो विश्लथमेखलागुणधृतं किञ्चिन्नितम्बे स्थितम् ।

VIII

MALE DRESS

Bāṇabhaṭṭa has minutely described the dress of the 18-year old lad Dadhīca from which we gather that on the head he carried neither turban, 'topi', nor a scarf but only two wreaths of flowers. One of them was evidently fastened round the head and the other was big enongh to dangle on to his hips even after encircling his head, (H., p. 34). His broad chest and strong but long arms are described in such a way as to render it clear that he wore no garment on the upper part of his body. His lower garment was short enough to expose a third part of his thighs. It thus extended to a little over the middle of the thighs but did not reach the knees. It was so wound that only one third of the thigh was exposed on both sides. It was green or blue in colour like that of the pigeon. It was so tightly fastened at the waist that it seemed to divide the whole body into two parts, the one above the slender waist and the other below it. It looked charming as one of its ends was set in front a little below the navel. The pleats were tucked in just below the navel and their ends were turned up and allowed to drop over the portion that was tucked in. At the back, the other end of the garment was formed into pleats and tucked in behind in such a manner that some portion of the pleats, the ends, were folded over and allowed to lie over the tucked-in pleats. He must have achieved this by tucking in the pleats about ten inches below their ends and then turning out the ends over the tucked pleats, or the formed '*kāsa*' to use a Marathi word which keeps closer to the Sanskrit, '*kakṣā*' ('*purastādīṣadadhonābhinihitaikakoṇakamanīyena pṛṣṭhataḥ kakṣyādhikakṣiptapallavena ubhayataḥ saṁvalanaprakaṭitorutribhāgena hāritaharitā nibiḍanipīḍitena adharavāsasā vibhajyamānatanutaramadhyabhāgam*')[i] (H., p. 36).

The above picture is the only correct one arising out of the description properly interpreted. Śaṅkara's commentary, if it is properly punctuated and if some of the readings given in the foot-notes as alternative are accepted, bears it out. That the commentary as it is given in Fuhrer's edition is neither adequate nor quite correct can be easily perceived. For example, there is the expression, '*adhikaśruti*', which is totally meaningless and must be corrupt. Thus considered the relevant portion of the commentary will run: '*pṛṣṭhataḥ paścādbhāge kakṣyāyāḥ parivalanādadhikaḥ* [*atiriktaḥ*] *kṣipto lambamānaḥ pallavaḥ yasya tat*'. That this is the proper reading, giving the meaning we have adopted above, is supported by the reading in the footnotes which runs : *kakṣyāyāḥ parivalanādadhikotiriktaḥ pallavaḥ prānto yasya teneti samuditārthaḥ*'. This should substantiate the meaning as far as the arrangement of the garment at the back is concerned. Similar arrangement is taken to have been made on the front side because only thus can the full force of the expression, '*īṣadadhonābhinihitaikakoṇakamaṇīyena*', be brought out. It is the end or the hem that is placed below the navel. If the mere tucking in of the pleats were intended to be conveyed a much simpler expression should have served the purpose. The hem placed below the navel is seen and adds charm to the dress. This is why A. B. Gajendragadkar's view (pp. 49–50 of his notes) that the garment was worn in the way which is spoken of, in Marathi, as '*kācā māraṇe*', 'tucking in of the lower ends of the front pleats down tightly behind at the back' does not commend itself. Kane thinks that the description of the dress fits a garment like the "modern '*māṇḍacolaṇā*', i.e. very short 'drawers', tied at the waist with strings" (H. (b), p. 52, notes). It is clear that the description cannot at all fit a garment which is simply tied at the waist with its strings. There is no hem or end for such a garment to be placed below the navel nor is there any hem or end to dangle at the back. Kane's attempt to take '*pallava*' to mean 'tassel' really does not improve the position. One fails to see how and why the tassel of the drawers-strings was taken at the back to dangle there. Altogether the explanation is quite wide of the mark. The interpretation we have put forward must be taken to be the most satisfactory one. The mode of wearing the lower garment or 'dhoti' thus described must be looked upon as the mode most affected by young men.

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[i] पुरस्तादीषदधोनाभिनिहितैककोणकमनीयेन पृष्ठतः कक्ष्याधिकक्षिप्तपल्लवेन उभयतः संवलनप्रकटितोरुत्रिभागेन हारितहरिता निबिडनिपीडितेन अधरवाससा विभज्यमानतनुतरमध्यभागम् ।

Mekhalaka, the letter-carrier to Bāṇa from Kṛṣṇa, a cousin of king Harṣa, is described as being clad in a gaudy garment which was girt with a slip of soiled cloth, (*kārdamikacelacīrikāniyamitoccaṇḍacaṇātakam*' (H., p. 85). The way the garment was held indicates that '*caṇḍātaka*' here at least cannot signify a pair of drawers. It can be taken to stand for a tunic, extending from the neck to the middle of the thighs. The strip of soiled cloth might be taken to have been used to adjust the tunic at the waist. But this meaning certainly does not fit the other context where the piece of apparel signified by the word '*caṇḍātaka*' is worn by Mālatī. Mekhalaka wore another piece of ragged old cloth on the upper part of his body which he placed round his neck in such a manner that it fell dangling on his back, ('*pṛṣṭhapreṅkhatpaṭaccarakar-*

paṭaghaṭitagaladgranthim')[j] (H., p. 85). He was evidently bare-headed and carried the letters on his head.

Pāriyātra, the chief of king Harṣa's door-keepers, was dressed in a clean robe which covered his whole body, and had a golden belt studded with flashing rubies very tightly compressing his waist. He had a white turban on his head, ('*vīdhrakakañcukacchannavapuṣā sumanmiṣan māṇikyapadabandhabandhuravasta* [or *śasta*] *bandhaluptāvalagnena...maulinā pāṇḍuramuṣṇīṣamudvahatā*'),[k] (H., p. 98).

King Harṣa, as he was sitting at ease interviewing Bāṇa, is described as having only two garments on. His lower garment hanging from his loins was purest white and was bedecked with the rays cast by the jewels of his belt. It looked charming owing to the string of the finest silk with which it was fastened. On the upper part of his body he put on another garment which was not thick and was spotted with star-like ornamentations on it, ('*amṛtaphenapaṭalapāṇḍunā mekhalāmaṇimayūkhakhacitena nitambabimbavyāsaṅginā vimalapayodhautena netrasūtraniveśaśobhinā adharavāsasā vāsukinirmokeṇeva mandaram dyotamānam aghanena satārāgaṇenoparikṛtena dvitīyāmbareṇa bhuvanābhogamiva*')[l] (H., p. 115). Sudṛṣṭi, the bard, the reciter of the Purāṇas, wore two white silk garments, which were simply pieces cut from a long piece of cloth, manufactured in the Puṇḍra country, (modern Bihar and Bengal), ('*dukūlapaṭṭaprabhave śikhaṇḍyapāṅgapāṇḍunī pauṇḍre vāsasī vasānaḥ*')[m] (H., p. 130–1).

Maskari, the disciple of the ascetic Bhairavācārya, had for his garland the ascetic's scarf resting on one shoulder and had worn his red upper garment by fastening a knot with its ends on his chest, ('*aṁsāvalambinā kāṣāyeṇa yogapaṭṭakena niracitavaikakṣakaṁ hṛdayamadhyanibaddhagranthinā ca rāgeṇev khaṇḍaśaḥ kṛtena dhāturasāruṇena karpaṭena kṛtottarāsaṅgam*')[n] (H., p. 153).

Śrīkaṇṭha Nāga, the presiding spirit of Sthāṇvīśvara, is described as wearing an extremely white garment called '*caṇḍātaka*'. Over it he had fastened his waist very tightly with a broad white piece of cloth, the remaining part of which he had just allowed to hang down behind him in such a manner that it touched the ground and seemed to support him,

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[j] पृष्ठप्रेङ्खत्पटच्चरकर्पटघटितगलद्ग्रन्थिम् ।

[k] वीध्रककञ्चुकच्छन्नवपुषा सुमन्मिषन् माणिक्यपदबन्धबन्धुरवस्त ["शस्त"] बन्धलुप्तावलग्नेन...मौलिना पाण्डुरमुष्णीषमुद्वहता ।

[l] अमृतफेनपटलपाण्डुना मेखलामणिमयूखखचितेन नितम्बबिम्बव्यासङ्गिना विमलपयोधौतेन नेत्रसूत्रनिवेशशोभिना अधरवाससा वासुकिनिर्मोकेणेव मन्दरं द्योतमानं अघनेन सतारागणेनोपरिकृतेन द्वितीयाम्बरेण भुवनाभोगमिव ।

[m] दुकूलपट्टप्रभवे शिखण्डयपाङ्गपाण्डुनी पौण्ड्रे वाससी वसानः ।

[n] अंसावलम्बिना काषायेण योगपट्टकेन निरचितवैकक्षकं हृदयमध्यनिबद्धग्रन्थिना च रागेणेव खण्डशः कृतेन धातुरसारुणेन कर्पटेन कृतोत्तरासङ्गम् ।

('*ketakīgarbhapāṇḍurasya caṇḍātakāsyopari kṣāmatarīkṛtakukṣiḥ* [*-kukṣim*] *kakṣābandham vidhāya vilāsavikṣiptena dhavalavyāyāma* [*vyāyata*] *phālīpaṭāntena dharaṇītalagatena dhāryamāṇa iva pṛṣṭhataḥ śeṣeṇa*'),[o] (H., pp. 165–66). It is quite clear that the word '*caṇḍātaka*' must signify a long tunic. King Puṣpabhūti, who was there in readiness for him, had worn the '*ardhoruka*' garment. Seeing Śrīkaṇṭha and wishing to grapple with him he girded up his loins over his garment, ('*ardhorukasyopari babandha bāhuyuddhāya kakṣyām*') (H., p. 167). The author has described the disorderly smearing of sandle-paste on the body of Śrikaṇṭha and the sweat of fury and horripilation on the king's body. He must be taken to convey the fineness of the garment through which even sweat and horripilation could be visible. And the terms '*caṇḍātaka*' and '*ardhoruka*' here must be taken to signify tunic, long enough to reach the middle of the thighs. It is necessary to ascribe the meaning of 'tunic' to the word '*ardhoruka*' at one place in the *Daśakumāracarita* (p. 96), where Daṇḍin describes the dress of a robber. He says he was clad in a cloak, '*ardhoruka*', made of blue cloth. One of the commentaries has rendered it by a 'covering garment'.

Harṣa, when he left his palace to start on his expedition, wore two silken garments, both bearing the figures of pairs of flamingo stamped or drawn on them. On his head he had a garland of white flowers encircling it as befitted an emperor, ('*paridhāya rājahaṁsamithunalakṣaṇī sadṛśe dukūle parameśvaracinhabhūtām śaśikalāmiva kalpayitvā sitakusumamuṇḍamālikām śirasi*')[p] (H., p. 274). Later when he actually started on his expedition he put on a tunic of fine white silk, clinging to his body owing to its soft fine texture, ('*kadalīgarbhābhyadhikamradimnā navanetranirmitena dvitīya iva bhogināmadhipatiraṅgalagnena kañcukenāmṛtamathanadivasa iva kṣīrodaphenapaṭaladhavalāmbaravāhī*')[q] (H., p. 280).

In the description of the kings, who accompanied Harṣa on his expedition, occurs some qualifying terms referring to their dress which must be taken to imply alternatives. Some of them had elegantly covered their legs with fine silken cloths on which pictures figured prominently ; others had worn mud-stained cloths which variegated their reddish-brown legs ; still others, had their white accountrements heightened by their blue shiny drawers or shorts, ('*uccitranetrasukumārasvasthānasthagitajaṅghākāṇḍaiśca kārdamikapaṭakalmāṣitapiśaṅgapiṅgai-*

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[o] केतकीगर्भपाण्डुरस्य चण्डातकाश्योपरि क्षामतरीकृतकुक्षिः [–कुक्षिं] कक्षाबन्धं विधाय विलासविक्षिप्तेन धवलव्यायाम [व्यायत] फालीपटान्तेन धरणीतलगतेन धार्यमाण इव पृष्ठतः शेषेण ।

[p] परिधाय राजहंसमिथुनलक्षणीसदृशे दुकूले परमेश्वरचिह्नभूतां शशिकलामिव कल्पयित्वा सितकुसुमसुण्डमालिकां शिरसि ।

[q] कदलिगर्भाभ्यधिकम्रदिम्ना नवनेत्रनिर्मितेन द्वितीय इव भोगिनामधिपतिरङ्गलग्नेन कञ्चुकेनामृतमथनदिवस इव क्षीरोदफेनपटलधवलाम्बरवाही ।

ralinīlamasṛṇasatulāsamutpāditasitasamāyogaparabhāgaiśca').[r] Some of the kings covered the upper parts of their bodies with jackets which appeared dark blue owing to the rays of the dark jewels which they had on their bodies underneath the fine jackets ; some had put on China-made cloaks ; some had their coats, made of a particular species of cloth, with bright pearls interwoven into them ; others wore jackets which were merely variegated with varied decorations ; others still had covered their bodies only with cloths which were greenish in colour like the feathers of a parrot, (*'avadātadehavarṇavirājamānarājāvartamecakaiḥ kañcukaiścāpacitacīnacolakaiśca tāramuktāstabakitastavarakavārabāṇaiśca nānākaṣāyakarburakūrpāsakaiśca śukapicchacchāyācchādanakaiśca'*).[s] All of them wore fine waist-bands twisted round their thin flanks, (*'vyāyāmolluptapārśvapradeśapraviṣṭacāruśastaiśca'*). Some of them had put on the folded turbans, others had covered their heads with their red upper garments, while others had put on linen conical caps inlaid with jewels, (*'uṣṇīṣapaṭṭaviṣṭabdhakarṇotpalanālaiśca kuṁkumarāgakomalottarīyāntaritottamāṅgaiśca cūḍāmaṇikhaṇḍakhacitakṣaumakholaiśca'*)[t] (H., pp. 279–80). Later on when the group of princes is represented as having paid their homage to Harṣa they are described as having on their heads golden crowns with jewels set in them, (' *avanamati...calanaśithilamaṇikanakamukuṭakiraṇanikaraparikararucira-śirasi...rājacakre'*)[u] (H., p. 281).

King Tārāpīḍa, sitting in the midst of feudatory kings and princes, in court so to say, is described as wearing two fine silk-garments, both of which were very white and had on their edges pairs of flamingo drawn in the bright yellow pigment called '*gorccanā*'. Their ends were dancing about owing to the breeze from the chowries, (*'amṛtaphenadhavale gorocanālikhitahaṁsamithunasanāthaparyante cārucāmaravāyupravartitāntadeśe dukūle vasānam'*)[v] (Ka., p. 17). Though he must have had his upper garment as he is described as wearing two silk-cloths, yet his chest would appear to be quite bare because the smearing of the sandal-paste and the overlaid palm-impressions in saffron were clearly visible, (*'atisurabhicandanānulepanadhavalitoraḥsthalam uparivinyastakuṁkuma*

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[r] उच्चित्रनेत्रसुकुमारस्वस्थानस्थगितजङ्घाकाण्डैश्च कार्दमिकपटकल्माषितपिशङ्गपिङ्गैरलिनील-मसृणसतुलासमुत्पादितसितसमायोगपरभागैश्च ।

[s] अवदातदेहवर्णविराजमानराजावर्तमेचकैः कञ्चुकैश्चापचितचीनचोलकैश्च तारमुक्तास्तब-कितस्तवरकवारबाणैश्च नानाकषायकर्बुरकूर्पासकैश्च शुकपिच्छच्छायाच्छादनकैश्च ।

[t] उष्णीषपट्टविष्टब्धकर्णोत्पलनालैश्च कुङ्कुमरागकोमलोत्तरीयान्तरितोत्तमाङ्गैच चूडामणि-खण्डखचितक्षौमखोलैश्च ।

[u] अवनमति...चलनाशिथिलमणिकनकमुकुटकिरणनिकरपरिकररुचिरशिरसि...राजचक्रे ।

[v] अमृतफेनधवले गोरोचनालिखितहंसमिथुनसनाथपर्यन्ते चारुचामरवायुप्रवर्तितान्तदेशे दुकूले वसानम् ।

sthāsakaṁ')[w] (Ka. p. 18). Evidently he must have put on his upper garment in such a way as not to cover his chest completely.

Keyūraka, the sixteen-year-old Gandharva lad, when he visited Mahāśvetā was clad in only one cloth, the lower garment. It was fastened tightly and held in position by a girdle of gold chains. Its ends and puckers, which were remaining over after the tuckings had been done, were dangling about. Through this garment the stale sandal-paste smeared on the thighs was visible, ('*paryuṣitacandanāṅgarāgadhūsaroruḍaṇḍadvayena...cāmīkaraśṛṅkhalākalāpanibiḍaniyamitaṁ kakṣābandhātiriktapreṅkhatpallavamadharavāsa eva kevalaṁvasānena*')[x] (Ka., p. 327). ('*kakṣābandhātkaṭibandhādatiriktasya vastrasya preṅkhanta ullasantaḥ pallavā añcalā yasya tat*, Comm.). He had not covered himself with an upper garment but the rays of the jewelled ornament which he had put on one ear shed such lustre on the shoulder that it seemed to form a particoloured upper garment worn only on that shoulder, ('*karṇābharaṇamaṇerviprakīryamāṇamadhomukhakiraṇendrāyudhajālavarṇāṁśukottarīyamivaikaskandhakṣiptamudvahatā*')[y] (Ka., p. 327).

On the second occasion of his visit to the hermitage of Mahāśvetā, Candrāpīḍa is described as having put off his military accoutrements and put on two garments of the purest white colour and of the finest texture, ('*sainyasamāyogamapanīya sarpanirmokaparilaghunī ghanojjhitajyotsnābhirāme paridhāya vāsasī*')[z] (Ka., p. 523). The commentator's remark on the wearing of two garments implies that it was not very proper for one who was visiting a hermitage but is to be defended on the score of regional or provincial custom, ('*atra vastradvayagrahaṇaṁ deśācāraviśeṣādeva mantavyam*', Comm.).[a]

Rājaśekhara in his *Kāvyamīmāṁsa* informs us that the males of India in the four great regions in which it could be divided in respect of the styles of dress etc. dressed after the fashion adopted by his imaginary Kāvyapuruṣa. It appears from this that he was aware of some differences in the dress of males in the various parts of India though he does not specify them. He states that the males of the intermediate region of Surāṣṭra, South Rajputana, Malwa, and parts of Central India dressed after the manner of the males of the Northern and North-Western region, (Kam., pp. 7–10).

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[w] अतिसुरभिचन्दनानुलेपनधवलितोरःस्थलं उपरि विन्यस्तकुङ्कमस्थासकम् ।

[x] पर्युषितचन्दनाङ्गरागधूसरोरुदण्डद्वयेन......चामीकरशृङ्खलाकलापनिबिडनियमितं कक्षाबन्धातिरिक्तप्रेङ्खत्पल्लवमधरवास एव केवलं वसानेन ।

[y] कर्णाभरणमणेर्विप्रकीर्यमाणमधोमुखकिरणेन्द्रायुधजालवर्णांशुकोत्तरीयमिवैकस्कन्धक्षिप्तमुद्वहता ।

[z] सैन्यसमायोगमपनीय सर्पनिर्मोकपरिलघुनी घनोज्झितज्योत्स्नाभिरामे परिधाय वाससी ।

[a] अत्र वस्त्रद्वयग्रहणं देशाचारविशेषादेव मन्तव्यम् ।

Kalhaṇa describing the gathering assembled to witness the musical performance of a Domba singer at the court of Chakravarman, who was the king of Kashmir about 936 A.D., speaks of it as being resplendent with white headdresses of the males, ('*vibabhau dhavaloṣṇīṣā sabhā dīpta-prabhojjvalā*') (Raj., V, 356). Evidently the male practice of wearing a headdress was confined to the royalty on all ordinary occasions and was in evidence among the commoners only on special occasions like the one mentioned above; for the once common practice had ceased to be common for the generality of the people and was restricted to the royalty during the following hundred and fifty years or so. Kalhaṇa eulogizing the doings of king Harṣa, who flourished about the end of the 11th century A.D., narrates the changes he effected in the fashions of dress. One of the changes introduced was in respect of hairdressing and headdress. Before his time people with the exception of the king, wore their hair loose and had neither ear-ornaments nor any headdress. Evidently Harṣa introduced the use of headdress for all, which is approved by Kalhaṇa as a dress fit for kings, ('*muktakeśā niruṣṇīśā niṣkalābharaṇāḥ purā, saṁtyajyaikam mahīpālamabhavanniha dehinaḥ... tena rājyocito veṣastatra rājñā pravartitaḥ*')[b] (Raj., VII, 922 & 924). There was strict surveillance over the dress of people, at least over that of the great courtiers and leading citizens. A former commander-in-chief, Madana by name, had incurred the king's displeasure for having worn his hair in braids and not loose as was then the custom, ('*dhammillagrathanādyatra madanaḥ kampanāpatiḥ*')—(Raj., VII, 923).

Kalhaṇa further informs us that a former prime minister of Kashmir, Jayānanda, had incurred the displeasure of his king by wearing a piece of apparel, called '*ardhoruka*', which was variegated, ('..., *Jayānandopyamātyāgryaścitrārdhorukadhāraṇāt, anvabhūtpārthivakrodhamaviśeṣeṇa maṇḍale*')[c] (Raj., VII, 923–924). Stein translates the expression '*citrārdhoruka*' by 'a short coat of bright colour.' R. S. Pandit too translates the expression more or less in the same way, making '*ardhoruka*' mean 'a short coat', (Raj. (b), ibid.). As we have seen above '*ardhoruka*' by itself as a piece of male apparel signified a long tunic reaching the middle of the thighs, though as an item of the female wardrobe it denoted a lower garment, a kind of a pair of shorts. The former king did not approve of his chief minister wearing a variegated tunic. Harṣa, who introduced changes in fashion, must be understood to have shown not only tolerance towards the use of a variegated tunic but in the name of beauty even appreciated it. Perhaps the reforms, or rather the changes, that were sought to be introduced by king Harṣa towards the end of the 11th century were the consequences of the powerful will of a masterful personality which revelled in adornment and colour and may not be viewed with further significance. Stein sees in the modifications described by Kalhaṇa some reflection of the Muhammadan West. He observes: "Can the change of fashion here referred to have had something to do with the spread of customs from the Muhammadan West?" The piece of apparel here referred to is not the coat that Stein took it to be. Immediately after the description of the king's partiality for colour and adornment in male dress we are told by Kalhaṇa that in female dress the Deccan style was his favourite (Raj., VII, 925). And Kalhaṇa himself did not sense any influence of the style of a particular region of India, much less of any outside it. We must therefore conclude that there is no reflection of Muhammedan influence in the new fashion of male dress recorded by Kalhaṇa.

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[b] मुक्तकेशा निरुष्णीशा निष्कलाभरणाः पुरा संत्यजैकं महीपालमभवन्निह देहिनः......तेन राज्योचितो वेषस्तत्र राज्ञा प्रवर्तितः ।

[c] जयानन्दोप्यमात्याग्र्यश्चित्रार्धोरुकधारणात् ।
अन्वभूत्पार्थिवक्रोधमविशेषेण मण्डले ।

IX

HEADDRESS (MALE)

'Uṣṇīṣa, kirīṭa, paṭṭa, veṣṭana, veṣṭanapaṭṭa, śiroveṣṭana'

Yaugandharāyaṇa, on the eve of the skirmish that was to ensue between the followers of Udayana and the soldiers of the king of Ujjain, is described as wearing a white turban, (*'pāṇḍurābaddhapaṭṭaḥ'*) (Bh., p. 99: Pr., IV, 3). To bow down to any one with one's head with the diadem on was a particularly humble way of rendering homage (Bh., pp. 208, 374; C., I, 25[12]; P., I, 5). Evidently Śakāra of the play *Cārudatta* used to wear a diadem, *'paṭṭa'*. The Brahmins officiating at the sacrificial session of Duryodhana are described as having their feet rubbed by the head-cloths of kings, (*'rājñāṁ veṣṭanapaṭṭaghṛṣṭacaraṇāḥ'*).

Only the king's headdress is referred to, while the queen's hair uncovered by a headdress are spoken of, the former being called simply 'a winding' (*'veṣṭana'*), which is rendered by Mallinātha by the technical name for the headdress viz. *'uṣṇīṣa'*, (R., I, 42; VIII, 12). When Raghu decided to leave his home for the forest his son Aja is represented as having begged him not to leave him. To add weight to his request by showing his humility, perhaps, he touched his father's feet with his head with its headdress on. The head is described as having looked charming owing to its headdress (R. VIII, 12). In the description of the preparations for the coronation of Atithi we are told about the dressing of the head in some detail. The hair was tied up in some kind of a knot, so as to stand perpendicularly, with a pearl-string intermixed with flower-garland. Thereupon was fixed a resplendent jewel (R., XVII, 23). (Mallinātha renders *'mauli'* by *'dhammilla'*). A king's head was adorned with a gold diadem, (*'paṭṭa'*) (R., XVIII, 44)

Śakāra says that he has tried to appeal to Vasantasenā even with falling at her feet with his head with the turban on, ('*śīrṣeṇa saveṣṭanena*') (Mr., VIII, 31).

Bāṇabhaṭṭa fancies the river Mandākinī to be a fold in the silken turban of the mount Sumeru, ('*aṁśukoṣṇīṣapaṭṭikāmiva sumeroḥ*') (H., p. 30). Clearly a folded turban, whose folds could be easily distinguished is meant and not a crown. The commentator rightly renders '*uṣṇīṣa*' by '*śiroveṣṭana*'. The young soldiers accompanying Dadhīca had apparently no headdress apart from their upper garments which they had folded on their heads, ('*uttarīyakṛtaśiroveṣṭana*') (H., p. 33). The old escort of Dadhīca had encircled his head with a white silk band, ('*dhautadukūlapaṭṭikāpariveṣṭitamauli*') (H., p. 39).

The princes and kings gathered round the king Tārāpīḍa were wearing '*kirīṭa*' for their headdress (Ka., p. 29). The followers of Candrāpīḍa too wore jewelled '*mukuṭa*' on their heads (Ka., p. 215). The divine person that arose out of the moon at the death of Puṇḍarīka had made up the knot of his headdress with a piece of white fine silk, '*dhavaladukūlapallavakalpitoṣṇīṣagranthiḥ*') (Ka., p. 312) ('*uṣṇīṣagranthirmūrdhaveṣṭanagranthiḥ*', Comm.). The Draviḍa devotee waiting upon the goddess Caṇḍikā used to keep his head always covered with a conical cap made of black blanket, ('*kṣaṇamapyamuktakālakambalakhaṇḍakholena*')[d] (Ka., p. 401).

Harṣa in his *Ratnāvalī* describes the doings of Śiva and his troupe at the sacrifice performed by Dakṣa. The troupe is represented as removing the clothes wound over the heads of the officiating priests of Dakṣa. ('*capalagaṇahṛtoṣṇīṣapaṭṭaḥ*') (Ra., I, v. 3).

X

UPPER GARMENT (MALE)

'*Uttarīya*'

In Bhāsa's *Dūtavākya*, Duryodhana is described as wearing a white silk cloth as his upper garment (Bh., p. 442 ; D., I, 3).

Golden upper garments ('*uttarīya*') of males are spoken of by Kālidāsa (K., XIII, 21).

Bāṇabhaṭṭa describes the young soldiers accompanying Dadhīca as having used their upper garments to fold them over their heads to form their headdress (H., p. 33). The messenger Kuraṅgaka as he was hastening forward had his upper garment waving or fluttering about his flanks owing to the strong breeze blowing in his face and thus appeared as if equipped with wings, ('*abhimukhapavanapreṅkhatpravitatottarīyapaṭaprāntavījyamānobhayapārśvamatitvarayā kṛtapakṣamivāśu patantam*')[d1]

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[d] क्षणमप्यमुक्तकालकम्बलखण्डखोलेन ।

[d1] अभिमुखपवनप्रेङ्खत्प्रविततोत्तरीयपटप्रान्तवीज्यमानोभयपार्श्वमतित्वरया कृतपक्षमिवाशु पतन्तम् ।

(H., p. 212). Harṣa after his return when he came to know the serious condition of his father simply let himself down on his bed in despondency and covered himself wholly with his upper garment, ('*śayanīye nipatyottarīyavāsasā sottamāṅgamātmānamavaguṇṭhyātiṣṭhat*')[e] (H., p. 224).

Candrāpīḍa, wishing to enter his camp unnoticed by his followers in order to surprise his friend Vaiśampāyana, covered his head with his upper garment though he was still riding his horse, ('*mūrdhānamāvṛtyottrīyeṇa*') (Ka., p. 473). The princes, in their excitement when they came to know of the arrival of Candrāpīḍa, had their upper garments unwittingly slipped off from their bodies owing to their hurried gait, (' *samantātsasaṁbhramapradhāvitānāmacetitottarīyaskhalanānām* '),[f] (Ka., p. 474). As Kapiñjala was coming down one end of his upper garment was flapping about owing to his proceeding through the windy path. He had girded up his loins with the bark of a tree, ('*anilapathasaṁcaraṇacalitaikāñcalottarīyam, tarutvacā dṛḍhabaddhaparikaram* '), (Ka., p. 583). At the death of his friend Puṇḍarīka, Kapiñjala in his fury girded up his loins with the bark upper garment in readiness to fight, ('*saṁjātakopo badhnan sāvegamuttarīyavalkalena parikaram*'),[g] (Ka., p. 313).

In the *Ratnāvalī* of Harṣa, the Vidūṣaka uses his upper garment, '*uttarīya*' to cover the picture-board under his armpit, (Ra., p. 101, Act II).

Māgha while narrating the doings of the followers of Kṛṣṇa in their sojourn on the Raivataka mountain describes how some lovers walked with their wives, warding off the rays of the sun from them by holding their own upper garments spread out over the heads of their wives, ('*svaṁ rāgāduparivitanvatottarīyaṁ kāntena pratipadavāritātapāyāḥ*'),[h] (Śi., VIII, 5). Describing Balarāma he refers to his blue or dark upper garment, '*uttarāsaṅga*' (Śi., II, 19).

In the *Karpūramañjari* of Rājaśekhara the upper garment, '*uttarīya*' is twice mentioned as a piece of male apparel. When the queen asks a seat to be fetched for the heroine, just brought in magically in the presence of the king and herself, the Vidūṣaka rolls up his upper garment and offers it as a seat for her to sit on. The heroine accordingly sits on the rolled-up upper garment (Km., I, 34 (5)). At the wedding of the king and the heroine, the Vidūṣaka acting as the officiating priest says that he will tie the knot of the upper garment of the king with that of the heroine, tying a knot in the garments of the couple being considered an essential part of the marriage ritual (K., IV, 20(12). The Vidūṣaka uses the hem or the end of his garment to fan the heroine when he finds her perspiring and he puts out the light by flapping his upper garment, ('*sicayāñcala*', '*varillapavana*'), (Km., III, 22^{2-4}). '*Varilla*' in this passage is rendered either simply as garment, '*vastra*' or as the hem of a garment, ('*vastrāñcala*'). In another place when the same word occurs in connection with the dress of the heroine it is rendered as an upper garment, ('*uparivastra*') (Km. (b), II, 36^{a}).

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[e] शयनीये निपत्योत्तरीयवाससा सोत्तमाङ्गमात्मानमवगुण्ठ्यातिष्ठत् ।

[f] समन्तात्ससंभ्रमप्रधावितानामचेतितोत्तरीयस्खलनानाम् ।

[g] संजातकोपो बध्नन् सावेगमुत्तरीयवल्कलेन परिकरम् ।

[h] स्वं रागादुपरिवितन्वतोत्तरीयं कान्तेन प्रतिपदवारितातपायाः ।

XI

MANTLE

'*Prāvāra*'

In the *Cārudatta* of Bhāsa, the Vidūṣaka feeling cold desires to bring his mantle, '*prāvāraka*', to clothe himself with (Bh., p. 40 ; Sv., V, 6^{16}). Cārudatta mistaking Vasantasenā, who had entered his compound in the dark by the side-door, for his maid gives her his mantle, '*prāvāraka*', as the evening was getting windy. He presents it later on to some one who courageously blunted the rage of a mad elephant on the street. Thereafter Vasantasenā identifying him as the owner of that mantle with the help of the person who had received it from him as a present, describes Cārudatta as having only his sacred thread for his mantle, (Bh., pp. 209, 222, 223 : C., I, 26^{34}) ; (II, 233, 257). It is clear from this that the mantle did not bear the name of the owner ; otherwise Vasantasenā could have detected the owner by herself from the name. That ('*prāvāra*') mantle was the only upper garment worn by males may be inferred from the fact that Cārudatta after he presents away his mantle has the upper part of his body quite bare, exposing the sacred thread.

In the *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka the Vidūṣaka brings the mantle, '*prāvāra*', '*prāvāraka*', sent by a friend of Cārudatta's as a present for Cārudatta. It was scented with jasmine flowers. Evidently the same mantle was thrown by Cārudatta on Vasantasenā, whom he had mistaken for his maid, with instruction that with it his son should be clothed. Vasantasenā put it on herself. She looked particularly charming in it. So much so that Cārudatta had slipped off into a description of her before he realized that he was breaking one of the rules of good society. The same mantle, '*prāvāraka*', was later presented by Cārudatta to a person, who had courageously held up a mad elephant, for his valorous deed. The man happened to be a servant of Vasantasenā. He took the mantle with him and narrated the story of its acquisition to his mistress. She was eager to identify the owner of the mantle, if possible. The way she asks him to look for the name implies that mantles generally bore the names of their owners. She herself read the name of Cārudatta on it and clothed herself with the mantle, giving an ornament of hers to her servant in return for it. (Mr., I, 8 (95, 111–12); I, 52 (12–13, 18); I, 54; II, 20 (10–25)). Vasantasenā's brother moving about in her house is described as wearing a silken mantle, '*paṭṭaprāvāraka*'. Her mother on the other hand was wrapped in a mantle whereon flowers were embroidered, '*puṣpaprāvāraka*'; (Mr., IV, 28(53); 29(6)). Whether these mantles bore the names of their owners we cannot say. But the mantle of Śakāra bore his name and that person desisted from covering up Vasantasenā, whom he thought he had killed, with it for fear of being detected as her murderer (Mr., VIII, 45(4)).

After Cārudatta had presented away his mantle, '*prāvāra*', there is one reference to the upper garment he wore where it is called, '*uttarīya*', which also he gifts away to someone (Mr., V, 11(89)). Śaṁvāhaka, the shampooer and the gambler, possessed only a tattered upper garment, which, as it could not be used for covering the body, he carried rolled up under his armpit. It is called '*uttarīya*' (Mr., II, 9(233)). It would thus appear that '*prāvāra*' or mantle was a special and costly variety of the upper garment, which ordinarily was called '*uttarīya*'. It must be pointed out that the commentator Pṛthvīdhara explains the term '*prāvāra*' once by '*uttarīya*', 'upper garment', (Mr., I, 8(95))' and once by '*pracchada*', 'covering' (Mr., IV, 28(53)).

The '*prāvāra*' or the upper garment, rendered as '*uttarīya*' by Mallinātha, is described as having slipped off the shoulder of a king and clung to his armlet. It is then placed in its proper position by throwing it up there, ('*utkṣepaṇam*'), the act suggesting embrace (R. VI, 10).

XII

LONG COAT, JACKET (MALE)

'*Kañcuka*', '*colaka*'

The soldiers accompanying Dadhīca are described by Bāṇabhaṭṭa as being dressed in armour, '*kañcuka*'; (H., p. 33). Dadhīca's old escort, Vikukṣi, had worn a white armour, '*vārabāṇa*', (H., p. 39). Some of the servants in the camp of Harṣa put on jackets, *colaka*, over which they wore tattered garments presented to them by their masters, ('*prabhuprasādīkṛtapāṭitapaṭaccaracalaccolakadhāribhiḥ*'),[i] (H., p. 287).

In the *Ratnāvalī* of Harṣa a dwarf is said to have entered the garment or the coat of the chamberlain, being afraid of the monkey that had got loose, ('*antaḥkañcukikañcukasya viśati trāsādayaṁ vāmanaḥ*')[j] (Ra., I, v. 3). If the dwarf could enter the garment it is evident that it must be a long garment reaching almost to the feet of the wearer. It also follows that it was a loose garment not buttoned up in the lower part. '*Kañcuka*' of the chamberlain, thus, must signify a loose long coat, which must have fitted the upper part of the body rather closely but must not have been buttoned up in the lower part.

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[i] प्रभुप्रसादीकृतपाटितपटच्चरच्चलच्चोलकधारिभिः ।

[j] अन्तःकञ्चुकिकञ्चुकस्य विशति त्रासादयं वामनः ।

XIII

LOWER GARMENT (MALE)

' *Antarīyavāsas* ', ' *kaupīna* ', ' *kaupīnavāsas* ', ' *jātīpaṭṭikā* ', ' *nivasana* ', ' *niṣpravāṇi* ', ' *paṭa* ', ' *vasana* '

Hāla refers to the prestige of an old wrestler whose preparation for wrestling by fastening his waist could by itself strike terror, ('*kacchābandha*', skt. '*kakṣābandha*'), (Ga., VII, 84).

In the play *Cārudatta*, the Vidūṣaka is represented as having brought for his friend Cārudatta some flowers and a lower garment for the performance of some religious rite (Bh., p. 196 ; C., I, 1^{42}). The expression in the text which is rendered here as a 'lower garment' is '*antarīyavāsas*'. It is translated by Woolner and Sarup as 'a garment of air'. The meaning given above is the correct one. Devadhar rightly renders it by '*paridhānavastra*' (Bh., p. 580).

Daṇḍin describes the magician Vidyeśvara as wearing a thin variegated raiment, ('*sūkṣmacitranivasanaḥ*') (Ds., p. 52). Another person appears wearing silken garment, '*paṭṭanivasanaḥ*' (Ds., p. 72). A person describes himself as being denuded of all but his loin-cloth by a prostitute, '*malamallakaśeṣaḥ*' (Ds., p. 92). A man reduced to poverty is spoken of as one with only his loin-cloth left to him, '*kaupīnāvaśeṣaḥ*' (Ds., p. 136).

A woman in her feigned pleading states that she dressed her son, who had recovered from madness, with two new and uncut garments, '*niṣpravāṇiyugalam*' (Ds., p. 132). The two garments worn by a man might be fine and white ones (Ds., p. 202).

Among the many presents sent by the king of Prāgjyotiṣa, part of Assam, to Harṣa were high-class loin-cloths, which were very soft and delightful to touch, ('*bhūrjatvakkomalāḥ sparśavatīrjātīpaṭṭikāḥ*')[k] (H., p. 291).

Māgha describes how in the assembly of the kings where Siśupāla raised the question of precedence in excited anger, wishing to strike the opponents put forward his leg and hand and moved forward in wrathful gait. In doing this his lower garment slipped off partially. The end of the garment, evidently, having got in the way, the king in his hurried steps tumbled over, ('*vivṛtorubāhuparigheṇa sarabhasapadaṁ nidhitsatā, hantumakhilanṛpatīnvasunā vasane vilambini nije vicaskhale*')[l] (Si., XV, 57).

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[k] भूर्जत्वक्कोमलाः स्पर्शवतीर्जातीपट्टिकाः ।

[l] विवृतोरुबाहुपरिघेण सरभसपदं निधित्सता हन्तुमखिलनृपतीन्वसुना वसने विलंम्बिनि निजे विचस्खले ।

Bilhaṇa in the *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* informs us that the Gujarātis in Anhilvad of his time, i.e. fourth quarter of the 11th century A.D., did not tie up their lower garment in the manner of tying it up without the ends fluttering, (‘*kakṣābandham vidadhati na ye sarvadaivāviśuddhāḥ*’) (Vi., XVIII, 97). Bühler simply observes: “...my Gujarati friends plead guilty also to the second charge about the tying of the Kakshabandha”.

Kalhaṇa attributes the particular mode of wearing the lower garment prevalent among the Dākṣiṇātyas, by which are meant the people of the Deccan region with its centre at Bidar, to the exploits of Lalitāditya, king of Kashmir. It is remarked that Lalitāditya, after his great conquests in the 2nd half of the 8th century A.D., forced the people of the Deccan to wear their lower garment in such a manner that the ends dangled at the back and the feet, which, as the poet describes, was ‘the tail which sweeps the ground, to mark that they were like beasts’, (‘*kṣitibhṛddākṣiṇātyānāṁ tiryaktvajnāpanāya saḥ, puccham mahītalasparśi cakre kaupīnavāsasi*’)[m] (Raj., IV, 180). It is not clear what people are precisely meant in this passage, nor the particular feature of their dress which approximated it to the tail of animals. As the particular method of wearing the lower garment made it appear like a tail it must be that feature of it which was worn at the back. The description thus must refer to the gathers and pleats of the male lower garment which are tucked in behind. It cannot be made to apply to the frontal gathers. Stein seems to have found no difficulty as he remarks: “The dhotis or waistcloths worn by Dakhanis (and Bengalis), the ends of which are allowed to hang down behind to the ground, still excite the amusement and wonder of the Kashmiris”, (Vol., I, p. 138, f.n.). The fact of the matter is neither the Dakhanis nor the Bengalis, at least the upper castes among both peoples, allow the ends of the gathers at the back to flutter loosely. As a matter of fact they follow the Shastraic injunction to tuck up the ends quite scrupulously. Among the Gujaratis on the other hand it is much more common in ordinary life to allow the ends to flutter loosely, one of the charges, as we have seen, levelled against them by Bilhaṇa, the predecessor of Kalhaṇa. On the other hand, the description of southerners cannot apply to the people of Gujarat. Nor can we take the term ‘*kaupīnavāsas*’ literally and understand the loin-cloth proper and not the *dhoti*; for the loin-cloth proper could not have been the dress of the people in general at the time, nor has it a fluttering end behind. I think the difference must be considered to refer to the one between pleating and tight tucking of the hind gathers, as for example, depicted in the sculptures of Bharhut, and the loose tucking now in common practice. Such an arrangement with a broad *dhoti* makes that end of it which is drawn up at the back reach almost the ankle.

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[m] क्षितिभृद्दाक्षिणात्यानां तिर्यक्त्वज्ञापनाय सः पुच्छं महीतलस्पर्शि चक्रे कौपीनवाससि ।

The pleats at the back accordingly hang from the middle of the waist to a distance of only a few inches from the ground and may be fancifully likened to the tail of a beast.

Hemacandra tells us that the king of the Lāṭa country, south Gujarat, had put on a garment coloured with madder, ('*māñjiṣṭapaṭīkaḥ*'), (Dv., Vol. I, p. 470). The commentator, Abhayatilakagaṇi, who is believed to have flourished about the middle of the 13th century A.D., remarks that owing to certain natural advantages the colouring of garments with madder is superfine in the Lāṭa-country. Hemacandra finds the dress of the males of Surāṣṭra rather peculiar and manifestly different from that of those of Gurjararāṣṭra, of which Anahilapāṭaka was the capital where ruled his patron king Kumārapāla. The Surāṣṭra dress appears to him to resemble the dress of females of his country. The peculiarity of the male dress of Surāṣṭra according to him was the consequence of the defeat of its king Graha by Mūlarāja, the first great king of the dynasty that ruled at Anahilapāṭaka, ('*tataḥ prabhṛti saurāṣṭraiḥ strīveṣo jātajanmabhiḥ, ajanmajātaiścopāttaḥ prāha rājibhuvo yaśaḥ*')[n] (Dv., Vol. I, p. 432). The commentator explains that the dress consisted of a piece of cloth broad enough to reach and cover the ankles and worn without any pleats, [in front and behind ?], ('*āprapadīnaśāṭikāparidhānakacchādānābhāvalakṣaṇo nārīveṣaḥ*').[n1] It was taken up by, or was rather imposed upon, the males of Surāṣṭra in order to proclaim their being like women before Mūlarāja, the victorious king. In the description of the visit to the temple of Neminātha on the Raivataka mount paid by Jayasiṁha, an ancestor of the poet's patron, we are told that the king was wearing a clean washed garment. He was led by an attendant who was similarly clad. But the men of Surāṣṭra who showed them their way up the mount were clad in woollen garments. Reaching the top of the mountain he entered the temple after giving away silken garments to the people of Surāṣṭra who had accompanied him there and who, as pointed above, were wearing only woollen garments, (Dv., Vol. II, p. 232). The expression '*aumakaṁ vāsaḥ*' is explained by the commentator as '*dhautavastrikām*', 'a washed small garment', who also remarks that the Surāṣṭras wear a lower garment of wool. Those who prepared the offering inside the temple for the king to offer to the deity are described as wearing washed cotton garments, ('*dhautakārpāsavāsasaḥ*'), (Div., Vol, II, p. 234). King Kumārapāla, when on his nightly tour of inspection incognito in his city put on a cheap garment and covered himself over all with a cheap blue cloth, (Dv., Vol. II, p. 591).

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[n] ततः प्रभृति सौराष्ट्रैः स्त्रीवेषो जातजन्मभिः अजन्मजातैश्चोपात्तः प्राह राजिभुवो यशः ।

[n1] आप्रपदीनशाटिकापरिधानकच्छादानाभावलक्षणो नारीवेशः ।

XIV

KNOT OF THE LOWER GARMENT, TUCKED-UP GATHERS

'*Uccaya*', '*nīvi*'.

That '*nīvī*' or '*nīvi*' was the knot of the lower garment worn by women which held it in place is clear from the following among other statements about it. First, the tying of the '*nīvī*' is spoken of (K., VII, 60; VIII, 4). Second, '*nīvī*' and the waist-girdle ('*mekhalā*') are referred to as being close together (K., I, 38). Third, the attire worn by married ladies is described as having the '*nīvī*', that of the unmarried girl being, by implication in Kālidāsa's works (K. (b), VII, 7) and by explicit statement in Rājaśekhara's *Viddhaśālabhañjikā*, which is also quoted by the commentator, Aruṇagirinātha, (K. (b), VII, 7), one without any '*nīvī*' ('*kanyeti sūcayati veṣaviśeṣa eva yannīlacolakavatī likhitātra citre, pāṇigrahātprabhṛti tu pramadājanasya nīvīniveśasubhagaḥ paridhānamārgaḥ*').[o] That the '*nīvī*' was centrally placed or formed is clear from a number of references to it. Thus when a lady's '*nīvī*' is displaced, broken or loosened owing to excitement of hurried gait she is described as holding her falling garment with her hand in such a fashion that the brilliant jewels of her wristlets cast their rays on her navel; (K., VII, 60; R. VII, 9). While describing the first youth of a lady the fresh tiny hair at the navel are described as if they are the dark rays cast by the central jewel of the waist-girdle which have crossed the '*nīvī*' (K., I, 38). In the description of the activities of a husband before the sexual act, it is stated that he puts his hand at the region of the navel to undo the garment-tucking (K., VIII, 4). That the '*nīvī*' was not a fast knot is evident from the fact that it could get loose or broken, allowing the garment to slip off during hurried movement (K., VII, 60) and even on simple excitement of sexual love (K., VIII, 4).

Whereas generally in the description of the dalliance of a husband with his wife before sexual intercourse occurs the unloosening of the '*nīvī*', in one place the operation is mentioned as '*raśanāvighaṭṭana*' which is rendered by Mallinātha as 'loosening of the knot' (R., XIX, 27), ('*granthivisraṁsana*'). Agnivarṇa is described as being ardently fond of fastening and unfastening the knots of the lower garments of his wives fastened at one side of their hips (R., XIX, 41). Mallinātha has: '*ekato nitambaikadeśe āgrathanamokṣayornīvībandhavisraṁsanayorlolupamāsaktam*'.[p] The undoing of the '*nīvībandha*' is necessary in order to loosen the lower garment of a lady so that it can be taken off (Me., V. 69). The expression, '*nīvībandha*', is rendered by the commentator Sthiradeva, who lived in the beginning of the 10th century A.D., as 'a particular mode of wearing the garment to be wrapped round' (lower garment), (*paridhānavasananyāsaviśeṣaḥ*'). Ladies getting up from their beds are described as having their hair dangling on the '*nīvī*', having been thrown forward over the head and the face in the act of putting on the bodices or jackets (Rt., IV, 16).

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[o] कन्येति सूचयति वेषविशेष एव
यन्नीलचोलकवती लिखितात्र चित्रे ।
पाणिग्रहात्प्रभृति तु प्रमदाजनस्य
नीवीनिवेशसुभगः परिधानमार्गः ॥

[p] एकतो नितम्बैकदेशे आग्रथनमोक्षयोर्नीवीबन्धविस्रंसनयोर्लोलुपमासक्तम् ।

Describing the pranks of Gandharva ladies Bhāravi informs us that one of them fixing her intent gaze on her lover did not fasten her lower garment whose knot keeping it in position had got unfastened owing to excess of feeling ('*priyeparā yacchati vācamunmukhī nibaddhadṛṣṭiḥ śithilākuloccayā, samādadhe nāṁśukamāhitaṁ vṛthā*')[q] (Ki., VIII, 15). Another lady owing to her bending in the act of collecting flowers had her garment-knot, '*nīvi*', loosened in the activity (Ki., VIII, 17). Another lady playing water-sports with her lover took up water in her palms to throw it on her lover who seeing her ready for throwing the water held her hand. The lady on her part felt such an excess of the emotion of sexual love that her lower garment was slipping off from her body as its knot had automatically got loosened, ('*vītoccayabandhamaṁśukam*') (Ki., VIII, 51). When a lover kissed his lady-love hotly on her mouth the knot, '*nīvi*', of her lower garment got loosened by itself, making the lower garment slip off from its proper place, (Ki., IX, 47–48). One of the divine damsels trying to seduce Arjuna, putting on a blue lower garment undid the knot which held it in its position thus displacing the garment from its proper position and made a feint of departing quickly holding it in her hands, ('*sarabhasamavalambya nīlamanyā vigalitanīvivilolamantarīyam*')[r] (Ki., X, 54). The knot of the lower garment or rather the knotted gathers thereof were near or at the navel (Ki., VIII, 24).

Candrāpīḍa mentally picturing to himself the probable actions of Kādambarī on his projected second visit to her says that she will be placing both her hands very firmly over the knot of her lower garment which she would have already had tightened up (Ka., p. 513) ('*udgāḍhanīvīgranthidṛḍhatarārpitapāṇidvayā*'). The word '*nīvī*' is paraphrased by the commentator as '*uccaya*'.

Māgha describes how, when a lover embraced his ladylove, the knot of the silken lower garment of the lady gave way and the garment slipped off from its position owing to excess of feeling, in spite of the fact that the elation felt by the lady in her limbs had the effect of making it tighter than it was, ('*kauśeyaṁ vrajadapi gāḍhatāmajasraṁ*

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[q] प्रियेपरा यच्छति वाचमुन्मुखी निबद्धदृष्टिः शिथिलाकुलोच्चया समादधे वांशुकमाहितं वृथा।

[r] सरभसमवलम्ब्य नीलमन्या विगलितनीविविलोलमन्तरीयम् ।

sasraṁse vigalitanīvi nīrajākṣyāḥ')[s] (Śi., VIII, 6). A lady on seeing her lover approach her and getting up in excitement from her seat found that her garment was slipping off from its place. She is described as having held the knot or gathers of the garment in her hands and then to have proceeded to wear it again properly (Si., IX, 75). Another lady, on seeing her lover, found her garment-knot giving way and letting the garment drop off the body. In a mixture of feelings created by the situation she simply stood on with her face bent down, ('*ālokya priyatamamaṁśuke vinītau yattasthe namitamukhendumānavatyā*')[t] (Śi., IX, 84). That the lower garment of a lady automatically slips off when embraced by her husband is again referred to. Such a state sometimes creates a situation where the modesty, honour and self-respect of the lady may be at stake. In one such situation the garment is represented as held more or less in its place on the thighs by the perspiration produced by the excess of feeling (Śi., X, 45). When the situation is such as to lead to nothing but extreme satisfaction and great joy the garment is poetically described as having got released from its bondage (Śi., X, 51), ('*yatpriyavyatikarādvanitānāmaṅgajena pulakena babhūve, prāpitena bhṛśamucchvasitābhirnīvibhiḥ sapadi bandhanamokṣaḥ*').[u] The embrace of a lady by her beloved husband is represented here to have raised on her body joyous horripulation which led to the slipping off of her lower garment. The word, '*nīvi*', which occurs in this passage in the plural, is construed by Mallinātha to mean 'waist-garment', '*kaṭivastra*'. The '*nīvis*' of ladies are fancied to have obtained freedom from bondage. It appears to me that the usual meaning of the word '*nīvi*' 'gathers' is perhaps more appropriate. The gathers obtained release i.e. the knot slipped off. When ladies moved in excitement and curiosity to see Kṛṣṇa at Indraprastha they held with their hands the knots of their lower garments which were slipping off and thus prevented their falling off from their position, ('*kararuddhanīvivigaladaṁśukāḥ striyaḥ*') (Si., XVIII, 31). Husbands preparing for sexual intercourse are said to have stretched their hands towards the navels of their beloveds in order to take off their lower garments by undoing the knot, '*granthimudgrathayitum*', or by pulling off the gathers, '*nīvi*'. The '*nīvi*' which is thus both the knot as well as the gathers, is in the proximity of or rather over the navel (Si., X, 60-64).

In the *Mālatīmādhava* of Bhavabhūti, the Buddhist nun, in narrating her reasons for believing that her young friend, Mālatī, had enjoyed sex-gratification with her lover in her fanciful imagination, refers to the loosening of the tie of Mālatī's lower garment (MM., II, l. 128). The tie must have got loose as Mālatī felt the desire for sex-congress with her lover and imagined that he had approached her. Thus, the knot '*nīvībandha*' of the lady's lower garment could get loose by itself even at the thought of approaching sex-gratification. The commentator, Jagaddhara, renders the term '*nīvī*' by '*jaghanavastrabandhanam*', 'tie of the garment over the thighs', and '*bandha*' by '*granthi*', 'knot', which is manifestly tautologous. Remarking that the loosening of the garment is the result of strong feeling of love, he quotes from a work, presumably on erotics, a stanza supporting his observation, that a lady's lower garment gets loose on the rush of erotic feeling : '*...ślathatājaghanacchade*'. Lavaṅgikā in describing the love-lorn condition of Mālatī informs Mādhava and the Buddhist nun that during sleep sometimes Mālatī's thighs tremble and the tie of the lower garment gets loose, in consequence evidently of her imagining her lover approaching her for sexual embrace : ('*tharatharāyamānapīvarorumūlavisaṁvaditanīvībandhanā*'[v] (Mm., III, l. 155).

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[s] कौशेयं व्रजदपि गाढतामजस्रं सस्रंसे विगलितनीवि नीरजाक्ष्याः ।

[t] आलोक्य प्रियतममंशुके विनीतौ यत्तस्थे नमितमुखेन्दुमानवत्या ।

[u] यत्प्रियव्यतिकराद्वनितानामङ्गजेन पुलकेन बभूवे, प्रापितेन भृशमुच्छ्वसिताभिर्नीविभिः सपदि बन्धनमोक्षः ।

A lady asked by female friends about her experience of sexual embrace by her lover answers that when her darling came to bed with her the knot of her lower garment got unfastened by itself, ('*kānte talpamupāgate vigalitā nīvī svayaṁ bandhanāt*'), (Am., v. 101).[*] In another verse, commented upon by Vemabhūpāla, the poet Amaruka describes the doings of a lady who was ostensibly offended with her lover or husband. The husband or the lover slowly, cautiously and rather timidly touches the knot of the lower garment of the lady, who on her part renders the undoing of the knot quite easy by drawing in her abdomen : ('*śanairnīvībandhaṁ spṛśati sabhayavyākulakaram, vidhatte saṁkocaglapitamavalagnaṁ varatanuḥ*') (Am., v. 112). The commentator paraphrases the term '*nīvībandha*' by '*vastragranthi*'. Both the verses read together reveal pretty clearly the nature of the knot that held the lower garment. The gathers or pleats must have been tucked up into the garment rather than tucked in. The gathers and pleats are placed on the edge of the garment at the place where they are to stand and then holding them a little lower they are pressed in and the edge of the garment, where they are placed, is turned over them. Such a knot can easily slip off if there is very heavy heaving of the abdomen consequent on a strong emotion. The unfastening of such a knot is rendered very much easier by the contraction of the abdomen or the upturning of the edge of the garment is facilitated thereby.

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[v] थरथरायमानपीवरोरुमूलविसंवदितनीवीबन्धना ।

[*] This verse is quoted by Rājaśekhara (Km. p. 67). The commentary '***Rasikapriyā***' quotes it as from Bharata (Gg., II, 6, 3).

Rājaśekhara in his drama *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* informs us that wearing the garment with fastening of a knot '*nīvī*', which mode is described as charming, is the privilege of married ladies, unmarried ones wearing a piece of apparel, which evidently did not require the fastening of such a knot (Vs., I, 34). The king describing the action of the heroine in her love-sick condition points out how she does her garment-knot, '*nīvī*', thus indicating her desire to get married, when she will be entitled to wear her garment with the knot on (Vs., II, 5).

Śrīharṣa describing the extreme modesty of the newly married Damayantī informs us that she used to guard the knot of her lower garment even in sleep (Na., XVIII, 46). The expression used is '*nīvisīman*', 'the boundary of the pleats', which is paraphrased by the commentator as '*vasanapaṭṭikāparisara*', the neighbour-hood of the pleats of the garment. The word '*nīvi*' thus means here the pleats or gathers and not the knot of the garment. '*Paṭṭikā*' in the sense of 'pleats' is perhaps the predecessor of the Gujarati word '*pāṭalī*'. In describing the amorous actions of the newly married Nala, the poet speaks of his stretching his hand in the midst of the '*nīvi*' of Damayantī's garment, '*madhyenīvi*', (Na., XX, 143). The commentator rightly translates the expression by 'in the midst of pleats', using '*nīvi*' in the plural. Yet the usual sense of the word '*nīvi*' reappears in the poet's narration of Damayantī's concern over her vesture. She asks her friends to tie the knot of the garment rather firm and tight, ('*svanīvinibiḍakriyā*'), (Na., XVIII, 51).

Hemacandra informs us that, when the queen of king Karṇa of Gurjararāṣṭra was pregnant, the old authorized ladies instructed her to tie the knot of her lower garment rather loose, ('*ślathaṁ yamyā nīvi*'), (Dv., Vol. II, p. 7). The term '*nīvi*' is paraphrased by the commentator of the thirteenth century as the knot of the lower garment, ('*adhovastragranthiḥ*').

XV. *Miscellaneous*

(a) AUSPICIOUS DRESS (Male)

On auspicious occasions like that of marriage, coronation or even of starting on an expedition males used to wear a garment of silk with pictures of swans drawn or stamped on its ground or borders (K. VII, 32; R. XVII, 25; H. p. 274).

At marriage the groom used to put on two new silk garments (K. VII, 72) (R. VII, 18 '*dukūla*' = '*kṣauma*' according to *Mallinātha*).

For coronation two '*kṣauma*' garments were necessary and they were called '*maṅgala*' (R. XII, 8). Similarly Rāma put on two bark-garments ('*valkala*') when he started for the forest (R. XII, 8). Candrāpīḍa ascended the throne, after being crowned by his father, wearing only two white silk cloths with long and uncut fringes, (*'dīrghadaśamanupahatamindudhavalaṁ dukūlayugalaṁ vasānaḥ'*) (Ka., p. 210).

Bāṇa, starting to meet king Harṣa, is described as wearing a white washed silk garment. Only a single garment is meant. And we cannot say that he also wore another upper garment. His father's sister, too, who did all the customary rites of auspicious departure, was dressed in a white cloth (H., p. 91).

On auspicious occasions males and even females were presented with two red garments (N., p. 41, Act III; p. 58, Act IV; Ra., p. 153, Act IV). Victims too were dressed in two red garments (Mr., X, 44) (N., p. 64, Act IV).

When Śakuntalā was to be sent to her husband's place she was to be dressed up in the auspicious type of dress, the dress that was to be worn at the time of marriage, perhaps. We are told that the forest trees presented the auspicious dress. Rāghavabhaṭṭa tells us that we must understand by the expression a pair of white silk garments whose hanging ends were not cut and which had borders dyed with '*gorocana*' or on which pictures were drawn with it (S., IV, 4). In support of his interpretation he points out that the expression used further on (S., IV after v. 5) clearly contemplates two garments and not one.

In *Ṛtusaṁhāra* the dress of a newly wed bride is twice referred to. In the autumn season her dress is spoken of as white, while in spring it is described as red or orange (?) (*'raktāṁśuka'*) (Rt. III, 1; VI, 19).

(b) DRESS AT BATH

A separate garment used to be worn at the time of taking a bath (K. VII, 9; M., V, v. 20), *' snānīyavastrakriyayā patrorṇaṁ vopayujyate '*).[w]

It was in an old bath-towel, '*snānaśāṭī*' that the ornaments of Vasantasenā were tied up by Vidūṣaka when they were given in his charge (M., III, 18. 11-12).

(c) DRESS AT MARRIAGE

Cārudatta had put on a red garment when he was sentenced to be hanged. When he met Vasantasenā on the way he was all surprised and declared that his dress, though it was put on in preparation for his death, was fit enough for his marriage with her (Mr., X, 44). A male would thus appear to have to put on a red garment at his wedding.

In the *Pārvatīpariṇaya* we are told that Śiva had put on the nuptial-dress but are not given any details thereof (Pp., p. 39).

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[w] स्नानीयवस्त्रक्रियया पत्रोर्णं वोपयुज्यते ।

The silk garment to be worn by the bride at her marriage was to be such has had (in its border) pictures of flamingo drawn or stamped (K. V, 67) ('*vadhūdukūlam kalahaṁsalakṣaṇam*').

There were regional differences in the wedding attire of a lady. Mālavikā, being a Vidarbha princess, was instructed to be dressed in the marital attire prevalent in Vidarbha (Berar) (M. (b) V after v. 3). We do not get any details regarding these differences. The only information vouchsafed to us is that Mālavikā had put on a silk garment which did not hang very low.

A princess of the Aṅgas, who is a married lady and who has planned to marry privately by herself Apahāravarman leaving her husband, is described as wearing the wedding dress, '*vaivāhikanepathya*' (Ds., p.160).

For the oil-bath before marriage Pārvatī was dressed in a fine '*kauśeya*' garment. After her bath she put on a white silk cloth, '*karpūrakṣodapāṇḍuraṁkṣaumam*'. A jewelled belt was tied on her hips, '*maṇimayakāñcī*' (Pp., p. 37). We know no more details of her dress for the wedding. There is nothing about her upper garment.

In Bhavabhūti's *Mālatīmādhava* we are told that the bridal dress of Mālatī sent by her future husband's people was to be put on her person before the deity. It consisted of a white silk '*colaka*' and a red upper garment, and other ornaments and adornments (Mm., VI, ll. 83–85). Later on Makaranda, the friend of Mādhava, dresses himself in this bridal dress and passes off as Mālatī, clad for the wedding (Mm., VI, ll. 236–40). *Colaka* here must mean a long loose robe, the same as *kañcuka*.

(d) DRESS OF MOTHER

Tārāpīḍa assures his queen Vilāsavatī that he was quite anxious to see her wear a yellow garment, and take her infant son in her lap: ('*kadā hāridravasanadhāriṇī sutasanāthotsaṅgā...māmānandayiṣyati devī*')[x] (Ka., p. 125). It is clear from this reference that ladies were enjoined to put on a yellow garment after their first delivery and take the child in the lap. We may perhaps conclude with justice that the right to wear a yellow garment accrued to a lady only after she became a mother, (*haridrayā rajanyā raktam hāridram*', Commentator). The yellow garment was, it seems, dyed in turmeric.

(e) DRESS AT RITES

For religious rites ladies used to wear a special dress. The dress which the queen Dhāriṇī wore for this purpose consisted of a white silken garment and the accessories of Durvā and other things (V., v. 12 and before it). Probably two white silk garments are meant.

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[x] कदा हारिद्रवसनधारिणी सुतसनाथोत्सङ्गा......मामानन्दयिष्यति देवी ।

In the *Priyadarśikā* of Harṣa the queen is described as observing a vow and the hero anxious to see her in her observance finds her wearing only the auspicious items of a married lady's dress: ('*maṅgalamātra-maṇḍanabhṛt*') (Pri., I, v. 1).

(f) DRESS AT WORSHIP

Description of the king Prabhākaravardhana when worshipping the Sun runs :

'Covering his head with a white piece of cloth and wearing a white silken garment, he kneeled with his face to the east' etc. No other garment is referred to (H., p. 178).

Tārāpīḍa dressed himself for the worship of deities in three garments. Two of them were washed and white fine cloths, evidently serving as the lower and the upper garments. The third was a piece of the finest white silk which he folded over his head : ('*viṣadharanirmoka-parilaghunī dhavale paridhāya dhautavāsasī...atidhavalajaladharaccheda-śucinā dukūlapaṭapallavena...kṛtaśiroveṣṭanaḥ*')[y] (Ka., p. 33). Similarly, Candrāpīḍa covered his head with a piece of white silk when he prepared himself for the worship of deities ('*svacchadukūlapallavākalita-maulergṛhitavāsasaḥ*')[z] (Ka., p. 191).

Śrīharṣa describes Nala as he appeared prepared for the worship of his house-hold deities. His wearing of an upper garment, '*uttarīya*', which he adjusted so as properly to cover his bosom is the most prominent feature of his dress. The commentator observes regarding the reference to the upper garment : "As according to Smṛtis and similar works a person is not entitled to perform a religious act wearing only one garment, the wearing of the upper garment is referred to" (Na.).

Hemacandra informs us that the Brahmins, who sacrificed at the marriage of Kumārapāla with Anna's daughter, wore their upper garments (Dv., Vol. II, p. 527). The expression used is '*bṛhatikāvantaḥ*', which is rendered by the commentator as '*uttarāsaṅgavastrāvṛtāḥ*'.

(g) DRESS DURING SEPARATION OF LOVERS (Female)

In her separation a lady used to wear her hair in a single braid but put on two garments as usual. Only they were rather dirty-coloured and not bright (S., VII, v. 21 and before it). Rāghavabhaṭṭa specifies the two garments ('*vasana*') as the lower garment ('*antarīya*') and the upper garment ('*upasaṁvyāna*').

(h) DRESS OF A LOVESTRICKEN WOMAN

The '*abhisārikā*' attire of Ūrvaśī is described as having consisted in the putting on of a blue garment, (*nīlāṁśukaparigraha*') (V. III, after v. 9).

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[y] विषधरनिर्मोकपरिलघुनी धवले परिधाय 'धौतवाससी......अतिधवलजलधरच्छेदशुचिना दुकूलपटपल्लवेन......कृतशिरोवेष्टनः ।

[z] स्वच्छदुकूलपल्लवाकलितमौलेर्गृहितवाससः ।

Rādhā's friend advises her to put on the dress of an '*abhisārikā*' and then to proceed to meet Kṛṣṇa. It consists of a cloak, '*nicola*', of purple colour. This is the meaning of '*nīla*' given in the commentary *Rasikapriyā* (Gg., p. 81, v. 4).

(i) UTSAṄGA

In the *Pratimānāṭaka* of Bhāsa when Sītā's maid tells her that Rāma was to be consecrated on the throne Sītā asks her to spread out her cloth long and wide, ('*viśālataramutsaṅgaṁ kuru*'). The maid does so and the next stage-direction informs us that Sītā pours all her ornaments into this lap of her maid (Bh., p. 254; Pra. I, 4^{81-83}). '*Utsaṅga*' thus must be taken to be the equivalent of the Marāthī '*oṭī*', though Woolner and Sarup render the expression by 'give a long and close embrace' (Vol. I, p. 160).

Queen Yaśomatī when she had prepared herself for immolation is described as shedding tears which dropping on the portion of her garment below the navel are fancied by Bāṇa to be the flowers being collected in the lap of the garment, ('*citānalārcanakusumairiva dhavaladhavalairaśrubindubhiraṁśukotsaṅgamāpūryantīm*')[a] (H., p. 228).

(j) KAṬISŪTRA

Among the things which Harṣa sent as presents to Haṁsavega, the messenger of the friendly king of Assam, was a belt, '*kaṭisūtra*' inlaid with bright pearls, which was named 'Pariveśa' (H., p. 293).

(k) PAṬṬABANDHA

Mahādevī or the crowned queen was alone entitled to tie round her head the fillet or diadem of honour called '*paṭṭabandha*' (H., pp. 114, 231).

Kane observes: " '*Paṭṭa*' is the broad band which runs round the crown immediately above the forehead. The *Bṛhatsaṁhitā* (Chap. 49) gives some directions about *paṭṭa's* to be worn on the crowns of kings, queens etc." (H. (c), p. 100, notes).

Among the emblems accompanying the right to use the term '*mahādevī*' is that of fastening on the head a band of gold, ('*hemapaṭṭalāñchana*') (Ka., p. 324).

Murāri in his play, *Anargharāghava*, fancies the river Śarayū to be the beauty of the diadem or the fillet of the earth, the crowned queen of the Ikṣvākus (A. VII, v. 130).

(l) REGIONAL OR LOCAL PECULIARITIES OF DRESS

In the drama *Svapnavāsavadatta* of Bhāsa, Vāsavadattā, who is to be falsely proclaimed as being burnt down in a conflagration and is to be deposited with the lady whom Vāsavadattā's husband is to be led to marry, is described as wearing the dress of a lady from Avanti, ('*āvantikāveṣadhāriṇī*') (Bh., p. 1; Sv., 1^6). Vāsavadattā was a princess of Avanti country. It thus seems likely that there were even local peculiarities in female dress.

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[a] चितानलार्चनकुसुमैरिव धवलधवलैरश्रुबिन्दुभिरंशुकोत्सङ्गमापूर्यन्तीम् ।

ABBREVIATIONS

A : *Anargharāghava* of Murāri, ed. by DURGĀPRASĀD and W. L. PAṆŚĪKAR (N. S. P., 1929).

Am. : *Amaruśataka* of Amaruka, ed. by DURGĀPRASĀD, PARAB and PAṆŚĪKAR (N. S. P., 1929).

Bh. : *Bhāsanāṭakacakram* : "Plays ascribed to Bhāsa", ed. by C. R. DEVADHAR (1937).

De. : *Deśīnāmamālā* of Hemacandra, ed. by PISCHEL and RĀMĀNUJASWĀMI (B. S. S., 1938).

Ds. : *Daśakumāracarita* of Daṇḍin, ed. by N. B. GODBOLE and W. L. PAṆŚĪKAR (N. S. P., 1933).

Dv. : *Dvyāśrayakāvya* of Hemacandra, ed. by A. V. KĀTHAVATE (B. S. S.)

G. : *Gaüḍavaho* of Vākpatirāja, ed. by S. P. PANDIT and N. B. UTGIKAR (B. S. S., 1927).

Ga. : *Gāthāsaptaśatī* of Sātavāhana or Hāla, ed. by DURGĀPRASĀD and W. L. PAṆŚĪKAR (N. S. P., 1911).
  (*b*) ed. by JAGADISH LAL SHASTRI as *Gāthāsaptaśatīprakāśikā* (IV–VII) (1942).

Gg. : *Gītagovinda* of Jayadeva, ed. by M. R. TELANG and W. L. PAṆŚĪKAR (N. S. P., 1929).

H. : *Harṣacarita* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, ed. by A. A. FÜHRER (B. S. S., 1909).
  (*b*) ed. by P. V. KANE (I–IV) (1918).
  (*c*) ed. by P. V. KANE (IV–VIII) (1917).

K. : *Kumārasaṁbhava* of Kālidāsa, ed. by W. L. PAṆŚIKAR (N. S. P.).
  (*b*) ed. with the commentaries of Aruṇagirinātha and Nārāyaṇapaṇḍita by T. GAṆAPATI SĀSTRI (I–VIII) (T. S. S.).

Ka. : *Kādambarī* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, ed. by K. P. PARAB and W. L. PAṆAŚIKAR (N. S. P., 1932).
  (*b*) Haridāsa Skt. Series.

Kam. : *Kāvyamīmāṁsā* of Rājaśekhara, ed. by C. D. DALAL and others (G. O. S., 1934).

Ki. : *Kirātārjunīya* of Bhāravi, ed. by DURGĀPRASĀD and K. P. PARAB (N. S. P.).

Km. : *Karpūramañjarī* of Rajaśekhara, ed. by KONOW and LANMAN (1901).
  (*b*) ed. by DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB (N. S. P., 1900).

M. : *Mālavikāgnimitra* of Kālidāsa, ed. by K. P. PARAB (N. S. P.).
  (*b*) ed. with Translation and Notes by R. D. KARMARKAR.

Ma. : *Mahāvīracarita* of Bhavabhūti (N. S. P., 1926).

Me. : *Meghadūta* of Kālidāsa, ed. with the commentary of Sthiradeva by V. G. PARĀNJPE.

Mm. : *Mālatimādhava* of Bhavabhūti, ed. by R. G. BHĀNDĀRKAR (B. S. S., 1905).

Mr. : *Mṛcchakaṭika* of Śūdraka, ed. by R. D. KARMARKAR (1937).

Mu. : *Mudrārākṣasa* of Viśākhadatta, ed. by K. T. TELANG (B. S. S., 5th ed.).

N. : *Nāgānanda* of Harṣa, (B. I. S.).

Na. : *Naiṣadhīyacarita* of Śrīharṣa, ed. by PANDIT SIVADATTA and PAṆŚIKAR (N. S. P. 1919).

Pp. : *Pārvatīpariṇaya* of Bāṇabhaṭṭa, ed. by M. R. TELANG (N. S. P., 1923).

Pri. : *Priyadarśikā* of Harṣa, ed. by NARIMAN, JACKSON and OGDEN (Col. U. S.).

R. : *Raghuvaṁśa* of Kālidāsa, ed. by W. S. PAṆŚIKAR (N. S. P.).

Ra. : *Ratnāvalī* of Harṣa, (N. S. P., 1925).

Raj. : *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa, ed. and trans. by M. A. STEIN (1890).
(*b*) Trans. by R. S. PANDIT (1935).

Rt. : *Ṛtusaṁhāra* of Kālidāsa, ed. by S. D. & A. B. GAJENDRAGADKAR (1916).
(*b*) ed. by W. L. PAṆŚIKAR (N. S. P., 1931).

S. : *Śākuntala* of Kālidāsa, ed. by N. B. GODBOLE and W. L. PAṆŚIKAR (N. S. P.).

Si. : *Śiśupālavadha* of Māgha, ed. by DURGĀPRASĀD, SIVADATTA and PAṆŚIKAR (N. S. P., 1933).

Sr. : *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita* of Maṅkha, ed. by DURGĀPRASĀD and PARAB (N. S. P., 1900).

Sub. : *Subhāṣitatriśatī* of Bhartṛhari, ed. by W. L. PAṆŚIKAR (1925).

Ve. : *Veṇīsaṁhāra* of Bhaṭṭanārāyaṇa, ed. by PAṆŚIKAR and PARAB (N. S. P., 1935).

Vi. : *Vikramāṅkadevacarita* of Bilhaṇa, ed. by G. BÜHLER (1875).

Vs. : *Viddhaśālabhañjikā* of Rājaśekhara, ed. by JIVANAND VIDYASĀGAR.
(*b*) ed. by B. R. ARTE and K. R. GODBOLE (1886).

Woolner and Sarup : "Thirteen Trivandrum Plays" trans. by A. C. Woolner and Lakṣmaṇ SARUP.

THE SURAT EPISODE OF 1759

By

T. S. SHEJWALKAR

Surat was connected with Maratha history since the days of Shivaji. His two raids on this premier port of the Mughal empire supplied him with ample funds for founding a kingdom for himself in the face of the great emperor Aurangzib. In his second raid of October 1670, he had demanded an annual tribute of twelve lakhs from the officers and merchants of Surat, as the price of his protection. After many further visitations of the Marathas under various generals during a period of sixty years and more, Damaji Gaikawad finally established his claim to the Chauth[1] of the city in 1735. With the entry of the Peshwa as an equal partner in the province of Gujarat, the chauth of Surat also came to be divided equally between him and Damaji in 1752.

Just as the Marathas claimed and established their right to a share in the revenues of Surat, the Europeans and especially the English also claimed and tried to maintain to the best of their ability certain privileges granted to them by former Mughal emperors. The firman of Farukhsiyar[2] had exempted the English from paying the customs duties in the Mughal ports for a small fixed annual present, which the Rs. 10,000 in the case of Surat. This right deprived the Mughal government of a large income from this source.

Though the Europeans were ostensibly going on as merchants with no interest in the politics of the land, they were, as a matter of fact, taking a lively vigilant part in it, so far as their profits concerned. The Maratha statesmen trained under Shivaji had perfectly understood the real attitude and role of these foreigners. They noted that these newly-arrived people were not to be classed with other merchants, but were would-be rulers in the disguise of traders, backed as they were by their respective national governments. 'And how can a ruler go on without annexing new lands or who would believe that one has no such greed ?' pertinently asked Amatya,[3] and advised the Maratha officers never to allow these men near their naval forts nor to suffer them to build factories, which would soon be turned into castles. The Peshwas succeeded to the kingdom established by Shivaji but not this statesmanship, as will be seen in the following pages.

The royal port of Surat, the gate of Mecca during the Muslim regime, was endowed with a special administration by the Mughal emperors like a Cinque port in England. The Hakim, who was honorifically styled Nawab, had the charge of the city. The command of the castle was vested in a military man styled Killedar. The fleet to guard the port and escort pilgrims was placed in the hands of a Daroga, which office had been filled since the days of Aurangzib by the Sidi of Janjira, in hereditary succession. With the decadence of the Empire, the office of the city governor also tended to be hereditary, while the castle-command came to be held by one of his relations. The maintenance of this triple administration had not been kept dependent solely on the income of the port. The area around Surat had been given in jagir to the governor, who paid the Killedar and the Daroga out of the combined income which came into his hands. As the jagir lands had now for the most part been attached by the Marathas for the direct recovery of their chauth, the falling port-dues remained the main source of his income.

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[1] *Gaikwads of Baroda*, Vol. I (English documents edited by GENSE and BANAJI 1936), pages 17 and 21.

[2] *Ibid* p. 22.

[3] *Amātya's Rajnīti* (Marathi 1926), p. 21.

As the port of Surat was visited by the mercantile fleets of the European nations, it came to be naturally protected by them in their own interests. The fleets of the Marathas, whether serving under the Peshwa, Angria, Gaikawad or the Savant, were dubbed as pirates by these foreigners, because they would not allow these so-called traders to ply into their seas, without getting their passes by paying dues. But for these foreigners, the Sidi would have been completely swept off by the Marathas. By himself, the Sidi found it impossible to protect the port of Surat against the Maratha fleets. The Europeans and especially the English thought it anomalous that the Sidi should draw the Tankha or money for the maintenance of the fleet meant for the protection of the port, and still not be able to do his work properly, thus putting the burden of protection on the merchants themselves. So they interested themselves in the internal politics of Surat and soon found an opportunity to enter it as parties in the struggle for power between the three officials of the Surat port. In 1751 Miya Achhan,[4] who had made himself governor of the city and master of the castle with Maratha help in 1748,[5] came to loggerheads with Sidi Masud, who wished to take possession of the castle, so as to shake off his dependence on Janjira. He made common cause with the Dutch, who were in favour of recalling Safdar Khan, the exiled governor. The English were in favour of Miya Achhan, who was willing to hand over the castle to them instead of to the Sidi, a partisan of his rival Safdar Khan, if it came to that; and certainly ready to transfer[6] to them the Tankha for the maintenance of the protecting fleet. Just at the time a civil war was going on between the Peshwa Nana Sahib and Damaji Gaikawad,[7] as a result of which Damaji had been made and kept a prisoner at Poona. Damaji's officers in Gujarat sided with the Sidi, as against the Peshwa who sided with the English and

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[4] *G. B.* 1. p. 74. [5] *Ibid* p. 63. [6] *Ibid* p. 83. [7] *Ibid* p. 90.

Achhan. Ultimately the English party lost their cause and Achhan took refuse in Bombay with his family.

Thus from 1752 the Sidi became the Commandant[8] of the Castle, in addition to his office of the Daroga of the fleet, and his word became law even in the city affairs after Safdar Khan's return. The officers of both the Peshwa and Gaikawad resided in Surat, to share the Maratha Chauth. Safdar Khan intrigued with the English to get the castle back in his possession, while allowing the navy Tankha to them, but could not succeed. As Sidi Masud helped his brethren in Janjira against the Marathas, the Peshwa also approved[9] of these intrigues to oust the Sidi from Surat. But Masud was an able man, and till his death in 1756, nothing could be done. In that year the Peshwa finally destroyed the power of Tulaji Angria on the western coast through the English agency. This move disturbed the balance of power on the sea-board, as it freed the English as well as the Sidi from Maratha manace by sea.

During the next two years, the English were completely engrossed on the eastern sea-board of India, especially in Bengal. They emerged triumphant out of the ordeal by the genius of Clive and laid the foundation of British rule in India, though no Indian noted it as such, then. In this, they had the covert help of the Peshwa, who by keeping the Nagpur Bhonsalas and the Nizam engaged on this side, facilitated their conquests.

The Peshwa had sided with the English because he feared the French. But with the decline of the French power, the Peshwa was soon to experience the real character of his allies. Even in 1753 they had refused[10] to help Safdar Khan in ousting the Sidi from the castle, lest it fall into the hands of his allies the Marathas ! Now they had no need of keeping the Sidi as an ally, for the pressure of Angria had also gone. So they entered into a conspiracy with Pharas Khan, the deputy of Safdar Khan and a favourite with the Peshwa, for counteracting the machinations of Sidi Ahmed Khan, the Dutch and Ali Nawaz Khan, a near relation of the governor and an aspirant to that post. Ali Nawaz, however, proved himself more daring in the affair, for he administered poison to Safdar Khan the governor and after his unexpected death[11] (Jan. 1758), seized[12] the government of the city, sending Pharas Khan his rival into exile. The people and merchants of Surat, dissatisfied with the tyrannical young Ahmed Khan and the unscrupulous Ali Nawaz, opened talks for the proper governance of the port and the city with the English Chief, Mr. Ellis,[13] who lent his ears to the affair in real earnest. He judged the time to have arrived to carry into execution the long-cherished desire of the English to make themselves masters in this first port of the Empire, if not in name, at least in practice, by taking upon themselves the role of Nawab-makers. But the stars at this time were not in favour of Mr. Ellis, who began the action for driving Ahmed Khan and Ali Nawaz out of office and had to leave it unfinished, on account of the orders he received from his superiors at Bombay.

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[8] *G. B.* 1. p. 100. [9] *Ibid* p. 96. [10] *Ibid* p. 107. [11] *Ibid* p. 122.
[12] *Ibid* p. 124-6. [13] *Ibid* p. 122.

After Ali Nawab Khan's triumph, Pharas Khan had fled from Surat to Bassein, and was living under Maratha protection. Mr. Richard Bourchier, the President, induced him to come to Bombay and enter into an agreement[14] with the English on 12th March 1758. By the seven terms of the agreement, the English took upon themselves to put Faris (Pharas) Khan in possession of the government of the city of Surat and to maintain him in that post with the help of their troops and marine forces. The Castle and the fleet with their emoluments were to be the share of the English. Pharas was to pay the whole expense, for which he pledged the customs-duties of the port. Rs. two lakhs were to be paid to the English commanders and people as their prize,—they on their part undertaking not to plunder the city,—which sum was to be raised from the merchants etc. of Surat. The English were to have free access to the port and the city, and their former privileges were to be contiuued. Lastly the established claims, privileges and revenues of other European powers, as well as of the Marathas,[15] were to remain intact.

While the English were thus hatching their plot, Ali Nawaz had not remained idle. He got an appointment order[16] from the Delhi Court. He opened talks with the Peshwa by sending Appaji[17] Pandit, an agent of Shankaraji Keshav, the Peshwa's officer at Bassein, to that place. The English factors at Surat left the city with all their ships and moved to Dumas on the sea-shore under pretence of a pleasure-party[18] but really to be out of the reach of the Sidi or Ali Nawaz. The President at Bombay had made preparations for sending troops on board the ships to Surat in a day or two. But just then he "received such an alarming[19] letter from his agent at Poona in regard to the Nana's (Peshwa's) marching with his army" into the neighbourhood of Bombay, that he thought it necessary to drop the Surat project at once. This was on 17th March 1758.[20] On 29th March the Surat factors, waiting at the Bar of the river Tapti, received the orders from Bombay, to return to the town. This set-back placed the English in a false position, they becoming the laughing-stock of the Surat people. Mr. Brabazon Ellis, the English Chief at Surat, felt at the affair very much, and he asked his superiors at Bombay to relieve him from his post at Surat, as soon as possible.

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[13] *G. B.* 1. p. 140.
[15] *Ibid* p. 141.
[16] *Ibid* p. 126.
[17] *Selections from Peskwa Daftar*, 24. No. 214.
[18] *G. B.* 1. p. 124.
[19] *Ibid* p. 125.
[20] *Ibid* p. 125.

Grant Duff, the historian of the Marathas, has characterised this untoward occurrence as a remarkable instance of credulity on the part of the Bombay Council, which he attributes to their 'great want of experience'.[21] Duff thinks that the Peshwa played a trick in giving out the news of his march towards Nasik, en route to Bassein on the sea-coast. As a matter of fact, he moved west from the Nizam's dominions and was at Trimbak[22] fort in the Western Ghats on 4th April 1758. That the Council at Bombay acted out of fright is true; but the Peshwa also might have really descended down the ghats, and marched towards Surat, if not Bombay, seems also plausible. Because the English cancelled their project, the Peshwa also possibly stopped his movement. The biting conscience of the English factors, acting as busy-bodies in the political arena, (which was not their proper field of action), against the wishes and orders of their employers in England, was at the root of this sudden turn, which made them cowards.

Meanwhile, Ali Nawaz got a new lease of life, and tried to buttress his position by securing fresh orders from Ghazi-ud-din Khan, the Wazir of the Empire, making him the imperial nominee for the Hakim's post,[23] in preference to Pharas Khan, whose cause the English were expected to forsake. Miya Achhan, who with his family was living in Bombay, since 1753, as an idle spectator, now thought of reviving his fortunes. He had been kept as a political pawn by the English at Bombay from the very beginning, to be used as a tool in the Surat affairs, if an occasion arose. But now by entering into an agreement with Pharas Khan, they had let him down. So he went to Poona and saw the Peshwa, who, lending a kind ear to his proposal, undertook to escort him with troops to Surat, where he was to play the game of ousting Ali Nawaz and the Sidi. The Peshwa by an order[24] of 28th June 1758, appointed Krishnaji Anant, a Captain of cavalry, to accompany Achhan to Surat (via Nasik, Songad and Vyara). Krishnaji Baburao Barve,[25] a near relation of the Peshwa family, was to be the Diwan of Achhan in this affair. Keshavrao Melgiri[26] and Sadashiv Kānho were to act as advisers and vakils. Achhan reached the Surat vicinity and then seems to have gone over to the side of Sidi, who thought him to be a better person than Ali Nawaz, intriguing with the Marathas as the latter was. Leaving the Maratha protection, Achhan went towards Rander on the north bank of the Tapti, and there began to enlist followers for his enterprise, on his own authority. The Peshwa got angry at this change of face, and began a new intrigue with Ali Nawaz, through the agency of Shankaraji Keshav, the Subahdar of Bassein, and peremptorily ordered Miya Achhan to return to Songad,[27] forthwith. Achhan positively refused to comply with the Peshwa's orders and began to collect revenues in the Maratha districts. The Peshwa then notified him as a rebel and ordered the troops accompanying him to forsake him and obey Krishnaji Baburao, the Diwan. Krishnaji Anant, who had returned towards Kalyan after escorting Achhan, was again ordered to proceed to Surat, so as to compel him to return towards Songad. These events[28] took place in the first half of November 1758.

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[21] GRANT DUFF (1922), 1. 501.

[22] VAD—*Peshwa Diaries*, 2. 257.

[23] *G B*. 1. 126.

[24] *Aitihāsika Sańkirna Sahitya*, 3. No. 280.

[25] *Ibid* 281.

[26] *Ibid* No. 283.

[27] *Ibid* No. 282.

Achhan's affairs prospered, however, not-with-standing the Peshwa's resentment at his *volte-face*. His intrigues with the Sidi made Ali Navaz naturally draw towards the Peshwa, by the Law of Common Foes and Friends in politics. The Sidi's behaviour towards the English, after the miscarriage of their plot to oust him, was anything but civil, as a result. Insults, assaults, even bloody scuffles, became their lot in Surat, with no prospect of redress. As Ali Nawaz had now completely thrown himself on the side of the Peshwa, it was thought as certain that he would be the master in Surat in a short time.[29] Shankaraji sent Mahadaji Keshav Phadnis—a near relation of his—from Bassein, in the company of Apaji Marathe and Rudraji Dhulap, an erst-while Sardar of Tulaji Angria—to back up Ali Nawaz against the forces of Achhan and the Sidi.[30] They had with them two thousand men in all. The Peshwa also ordered the Revdanda squadron of his fleet under Naro Trimbak to proceed towards Surat, to support Ali Nawaz from the sea-side. But he proceeded leisurely, stopping for ten days at Bassein and another ten days at Umbarkhādi, not reaching[31] the Surat Bar till 7th December 1758. Meanwhile, Achhan took Rander from Ali Nawaz Khan's forces on or about 22nd November and began his preparations for a final assault on the City. Soldiers flocked to him from Broach and other places. His son had already been admitted into the castle by the Sidi, without anybody's knowledge. Ali Nawaz waited and waited for Peshwa's succour, (especially cavalry and artillery), to break with Sidi Ahmed Khan, but disappointed, he had to carry on with him as best as he could.[32] At the beginning of November, the relations between these two seemed to have improved for some time. The Dutch and other foreign merchants had fortified their factories so as to secure their effects and the English were thinking of evacuation at the end of October. But as they saw the Sidi paying a friendly visit to Ali Nawaz, they sent back their ships. Sidi Ahmed Khan had perhaps not decided finally whom to support. Had his suspicions not been aroused by the movement of Maratha troops, he would have probably patched up his differences with Ali Nawaz, and kept him in office in preference to Miya Achhan, who had been sent by the Peshwa, directly with a view to checkmate the Sidi. Achhan seems to have had an understanding with Muzaffar Khan Gardi,[33] the Peshwa's employee, and his covert support. Secretly both were thinking of counteracting the measures of the Peshwa.

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[28] *Aitihāsika Saṅkirna Sahitya*, 3. No. 283.

[29] *G. B.* 1. 127-8.

[30] *S. P. D.* 24. Nos. 214, 247.

[31] *Ibid* 14. 247.

[32] *Ibid* 14. 214.

The Gardi was at this juncture engaged against the Koli Chief of Jawar and keeping in touch with Achhan. The information received from this source kept Achhan on the guard and he decided to take the time by forelock. He secretly entered the city under the Sidi's protection on 3rd December and next day attacked Ali Nawaz's residence. For two days the fight went on, the Sidi firing from the Castle. The inner gates of the City were in the Sidi's possession, but the outer gates were guarded by the Maratha troops in the service of Ali Nawaz. All the principal people went over to the side of Achhan. Even the government officers viz. Sidi Jaffer Waliullah, Bhikaridas diwan, Rajaram diwan, the treasurer, all joined Achhan. Waliullah had the charge of the artillery department. He filled the cannon with sand, drove iron nails through them and did not distribute powder to the gunners. On the 6th of December Ali Nawaz capitulated and was safely allowed to go out with his property. Shankaraji Keshav had sent his few ships from Bassein to help Mahadaji Keshav, and these were waiting in the river. 175 persons from these ships entered the city. But Mahadaji Keshav could not join them, leaving the outer wall of the city which he was guarding. As he had no guns with him, he was helpless, and with great difficulty could extricate himself from the enemies, but not without losing some men, amongst whom was the valient Apajirao Khanvilkar. When Mahadaji knew for certain that Ali Nawaz surrendered on the condition of receiving three lakhs of rupees to pay his troops and retiring to Haidarabad, he withdrew from the city and fell[34] back on Kumbharia, five miles to the east of Surat, on the evening on 6th December 1758.

Thus in this first round for Surat the Peshwa was completely frustrated. The result was due to Nana Saheb Peshwa's wrong policy. Surat would have easily fallen into Maratha hands, had the Peshwa made a common cause with Damaji Gaikawad. The agents of the Peshwa and the Gaikawad resided in Surat, but both acted independently and also contrariwise on many points. Then again there was no consensus of opinion amongst the various officers of the Peshwa, whether at the Court in Poona, or amongst the various persons detailed for duty civil or military. Trimbak Sadashiv, alias Nana Purandare, had been sent down the ghats into Konkan, to act as the man on the spot in the affair. A troublesome rebellion had broken out amongst the Kolis of the Thana district, which the local officers found impossible to put down. Seeing that the Kolis were faring well, the surrounding chieftains of Ramnagar

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[33] *S.P.D.* 40. 109, 114, 144; 24. 185.

[34] *S. P. D.* 24. 247.

(now Dharampur), Bansda, Surgana, Pardi, Peth etc. upto the borders of Surat and Khandesh, had also risen against the Peshwa's rule. The Rajpipla Chief, south of the Narmada, was acting hand in glove with the rebels. The Kolis (or Bhils?) of Sultanpur, near Nandurbar, had come to the help of the Chief of Ramnagar. Durjan Sing of Pardi (later of Mandvi on the Tapti), was the brain behind this common and simultaneous rebellion.[35] The rebels were supported with modern weapons and powder by the Portuguese of Daman, chafing at the loss of their possessions in the district. The English were also acting benevolently towards them, though feigning a strict neutrality in the affair. But worst of all, the military commandant of the Peshwa acting in these regions—Muzaffar Khan Gardi—was also trying to shield[36] some of these rebels, while ostensibly leading a campaign against them. This pupil of Bussy had already acted treacherously against the Peshwa once and joined the enemy. He had sought employment with the Portuguese, the Nizam, the English. In 1759 the Portuguese Government sent its envoy to the Poona Court to treat with the Peshwa. He was instructed by the Goa authorities that 'Nabobo Mujafargang[37] was a person devoted to their government and will assist the envoy in Poona. He should be treated with the greatest urbanity'. It was also rumoured that the English and the Portuguese were going to make common cause in conquering[38] the coast-strip between Bombay and Surat. Under such circumstances the Peshwa should never have confided in a man of such precedents. But he did. And the result was the complete frustration of the Peshwa in the struggle for the mastery over Surat.

Krishnaji Anant had been ordered by the Peshwa to proceed to Surat, but he never seems to have left the north Thana region, where he was acting against the Kolis, though the Peshwa seems to have been under the impression that he had left. Perhaps he had been purposely detained by Muzaffar Khan to guard Kohaj[39] fort, so as to oblige Achhan in gaining his ends. The Peshwa had dispatched a letter to Muzaffer Khan about Achhan. But hearing that Achhan had succeeded with the help of the Sidi, he called it back, asking Nana Purandare not to deliver it to the Khan.[40] Naro Trimbak, commandant of the Peshwa's squadron at Revdanda, reached Surat after the fair. This man was not on good terms with Shankaraji Keshav Phadke, the Subahdar of Bassein, as a rival for office. As Sankaraji had taken the initiative in supporting Ali Nawaz against Achhan, Naro Trimbak was not very earnest and certainly not quick in proceeding to Surat in time for the appointed work. Nana Purandare, who was supposed to direct the whole affair from Bassein or Kalyan, was a faithful but weak man in every sense. He could not control a man of Muzaffar Khan's type. He had no knowledge of the intricacies of politics in these coastal regions. He had no sound judgment about men and their character. But above all, he possessed no initiative and was therefore unfit to hold charge at that critical moment. He referred every question back to Poona, for final decision, which delayed matters, when time was the chief factor in politics. He was timid to a degree, though a perfect gentleman. He feared to be embroiled in a war with the English and had ordered all concerned not to oppose them with force! Such was the man on the spot specially appointed by the Peshwa to deal with men of Clive's character, not to say dash, initiative and ambition in politics.

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[35] *S. P. D.* 40. 109, 144.

[36] *Ibid* 15. 114, 119.

[37] Sen—*Studies in Indian History*, 116.
Forrest—*Maratha Series*, Vol. *I*, 130-132.
S. P. D. 24. 22; 25. 134, 165.

[38] *S. P. D.* 40. 109; 24. 202, 203, 205.

[39] *Ibid* 24. 245; 40. 109.

[40] *Ibid* 40. 110; *Patren-Yadi*, No. 179.

And what was the boss styled the Padishah[41] by his ignorant sycophants doing? He was imitating the Padishahs of yore, in sending his generals to the four corners of India to conquer new provinces. He was dreaming of acting the Grand Mughal in practice if not in name. His generals had crossed the Indus in the north and the Kaveri in the south, and were trying to annex provinces to the Maratha empire. Only he had no time to devote to the affairs of the east and the west; and why should he bother about insignificant foreign merchants, who would be dealt with, (so he imagined), by his most lowly captains? And what was there to suspect or fear from these mere traders, who prided themselves as such[42] and proclaimed the fact from their Factory-tops? So he planned to go on a pilgrimage to his family deity in south Konkan, instead of directing his steps towards Surat, so as to be near the scene of proposed action in person. The Peshwa left his cousin Sadashivrao Bhau to direct the affair from Poona. He took his brother Raghoba, the conqueror of Lahore, with him to Ganpati-puḷé.[43] He returned to Poona on 19th March 1759,[44] to hear the gospel of the English occupation of Surat, first looted by Shivaji in 1664!

Leaving aside these after-thoughts and belated wisdom—but is not all History an after-thought and a post mortem?—let us now relate the narrative of events which led to the British occupation of Surat on 4th March 1759. When the Peshwa heard that Achhan had succeeded with the good-will of the Sidi, to the office of Hakim or civil governor of Surat, he ordered Krishnaji Baburao[45] to return to Surat. Krishnaji had left Achhan, when he refused to obey Peshwa's order to return to Songad. He was living at Navsari, chafing at the conduct of Achhan. The Peshwa now ordered him to see Achhan and serve under him, as previously ordered. Achhan was asked to carry out the terms of the agreement entered into with the Peshwa; especially he was to stop the Sidi from sending any succour to Janjira, then besieged by the Peshwa's forces by land and sea. But Achhan's position in Surat was entirely dependent on the power of the Sidi. He could have no will of his own. He tried to be on good terms with all, as a weak man must. He had got the post he wanted without the Peshwa's help, he was going to keep it in his hands in spite of the Peshwa's disfavour. He had, it seems, from Krishnaji's letter, corrupted the two men left with him at Surat. These were one Mirza Kasam and Mahadaji Ganesh, who had been sent by the Peshwa. Krishnaji's behaviour had on the one hand alienated Acchan, on the other had deceived and ruined Ali Nawaz. Still he was ready to come to terms with the Sidi, who had frustrated the Peshwa's designs all along. As Achhan would naturally not countenance him any more, Krishnaji thought of only earning his livelihood[46] by the good-will of the Sidi, for whose suppression he had been deputed by the Peshwa! Such were the men serving the Peshwa's cause in this crucial affair. It was an outcome of nepotism that prevailed at the court of the Peshwa.

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[41] *S. P. D.* 24. 191.

[42] *Ibid* 24. 204.

[43] PHALAKE—*Shinde Papers*, 3. No. 337.

[44] *Ibid* 3. No. 339.

[45] *Ait. Sank. Sahitya*, 3. No. 284.

After Ali Nawaz's defeat, the Peshwa ordered the troops sent to support him, to return south towards Jawar and Bassein.[47] This was an unpolitic step, for all military pressure was thus removed from Surat. Achhan, Ahmed Khan and the English could now freely go on with their own machinations. The Peshwa sent[48] a seerpao, horse, sword etc. to Achhan as a customary present on his accession to the Hakimship. It meant his recognition as the Nawab of Surat. Simultaneously, he was also countenancing Pharas Khan, then living under the protection of the English in Bombay, whose cause they had espoused by entering into an agreement with him. Even after Ali Nawaz Khan's defeat, Naro Trimbak, who was watching the Sidi's fleet at the Surat Bar,[49] wrote to the Peshwa that it was still possible to have their way in Surat, provided enough Maratha troops were near at hand to support the Maratha cause. But the Peshwa, whose hands had been scalded in the Achhan-Ali Nawaz affair, was now unwilling to take risk, fearing discomfiture again. Nana Purandare, the man on the spot, believed more in fate[50] than in valient action. The Peshwa had given a free hand to Sadashivrao Bhau at Poona, to direct the affair as he thought best. But he could not possibly act quickly, dependent as he was on conflicting reports from various interested parties in the affair. Nor does he seem to have assessed the power of the English merchants to do or undo a thing, in a proper manner. Even before the defeat of Ali Nawaz, Shankaraji Keshav--who was possibly the best-informed man in these coastal affairs, having worked there for three decades—had informed the Peshwa of a change in the attitude of the English at Bombay and their preparation for war, ostensibly for defending themselves from the possible French attack, but really meant for the invasion of Surat. The Peshwa was more interested in the destruction of the Sidi's power once for all, and with that view also concerned in the defeat of Sidi Ahmed Khan at Surat, as he helped his brethren in Janjira. The castle of Surat had been usurped by Sidi Masud against the imperial orders, and as such he had been declared a rebel.[51] He had never gone to Delhi and the Emperor had, it seems, bestowed his lands upon the Peshwa. Sambhaji Mangesh, the Peshwa's agent in Bombay, had told all this to Richard Bourchier, President at Bombay, but he would not undertake a joint expedition against the Sidi who was a friend of the English. At the same time the Sidi was free to buy his supplies at Bombay by sending ships from the besieged Janjira, and the English would not forbid it. While these talks were going on, an English armada consisting of nine ships of war, as well as six big ocean-going merchantmen, arrived in Bombay. Sambhaji[52] Mangesh thought this gathering as meant to help the Sidi! The English began to enlist new natives as soldiers for their defence. Some ten thousand troops, European and Indian, were thus collected in Bombay by the end of November 1758. The ships were being filled with supplies and loaded with gun-shots, bullets and powder. Still Bhau would not order troops to go and occupy Surat, as suggested by Naro Trimbak. Had the Peshwa given a free hand to Damaji Gaikawad in the Gujrat affairs, he would have carried out the work himself. Khanderao Gaikawad, acting for Damaji, was trying to have a hand in the Surat pie, by supporting the Sidi against the English. But the Peshwa had called and kept Damaji at Poona just at this time, and Bhau was out to dun him for the Peshwa's share in the Gujarat dues, by keeping him without food, as the creditors in those days were wont to do.[53] Instead of ordering Nana Purandare with his troops for the occupation of Surat, the Peshwa was for threatening Damaji by ordering Nana to Gujarat, to occupy Damaji's lands! Gujarat had by now completely fallen in Maratha hands, and it was extremely unpolitic on the part of the Peshwa to let Surat go out of their hands.

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[46] *Ait Sank. Sahitya*, 3. No. 285; *S. P. D.* 24. 240.

[47] *Patren-Yadi*, 179.

[48] *S. P. D.* 24. 228.

[49] KHARE, 1. No. 1.

[50] *S. P. D.* 24. 259.

While the Peshwa was still advising Bhau to wait for a month or a fortnight to know which way the things were shaping at Surat, the English had already begun to move. John Spencer, who had succeeded Ellis as the Chief of the English Factory at Surat, had followed the information assiduously gathered by Ellis about the affairs at Surat, and himself collected information and established contacts with the various parties in the contest for power. Even the contemporary Marathi letters speak of this Spencer as the wisest[54] among the Englishmen, (then living in Bombay). In fact, he seems a worthy follower of Clive, to judge from the contemporary English records. He was a consummate master of the art of dissimulation, as a conqueror in an unknown land must be. By his public manifestoes to all concerned, by his secret letters to the various individuals and parties, by his friendly hints, warnings and advices, he played the part of a complete statesman in all its fineness. He fooled the Peshwa, or rather his wiseacre servants, in the affair. He hypnotised the parties who could have thwarted the English cause effectually, by acting on the moment. He browbeat certain individuals into silence or inactivity. Others he put on the wrong scent, leaving them free to be wise after the event. And he accomplished all this without creating an enemy, without displeasing anybody, or allowing anyone to have any just cause for complaint in future !

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[51] *S. P D.* 24. 204. [52] *Ibid* 24. 205. [53] *Ibid.* 40. 121. [54] *Ibid* 24. 193.

The Peshwa had showed his willingness to allow the Tankha for the fleet to be transferred[55] to the English, ever since 1751. Now they wanted the possession of the Castle, together with the Jagir for its protection. The Peshwa wished to cripple the Sidi once for all; the English had still use of him as a pawn in the political game on the western coast of India. All the puppet governors and officers of the decayed Mughal Empire were useful to the foreigners that way, for under their cover the nefarious designs of the foreigners could be safely carried out. But the different foreign nations supported rival claimants for power. At Surat the Dutch were supporting the Sidi, while the English wished to succeed to his office. Naturally they supported his rivals. In this cause, the Peshwa also happened to be on their side and they took full advantage of this accident. They proclaimed that the established rights of no parties in Surat would be impaired, as a result of their intentions against the Sidi; so there remained no valid ground for the Gaikawad or the Peshwa to interfere ! The English wished to establish Pharas Khan as the governor, because Achhan was too weak to protect the people and the merchants of Surat, including foreigners, against the oppression of the Sidi, whose servants had assaulted and killed English Company's employees, or otherwise ill-treated them. These merchants and people had already, in 1758, applied to Mr. Ellis for assistance and guaranteed against any deficit in the city revenues for five years to come. But the greatest benefit the English were going to confer on Surat by occupying it was the protection of its people from those "dread ravagers", the Marathas. The people of Surat had such "confidence in the humanity and justice" of the English even in 1759, that they sincerely desired the coming revolution in the government. If all these causes were not found sufficient as an excuse for the English rebellion, a new cause (just in the nick of time) arose in the shape of a complaint, by two of the Company's employees Nasserwan and Edul Dada, of an insult (?) to them by some sepoys of the Sidi's in the public service, who had attempted to wound them and their attendants.[56]

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[55] 55. *G. B.* 1. 96.

All the above mentioned causes were, however, for public consumption. The real cause was to forestall the Marathas or any European rival. "But what determined the presidency of Bombay to a decisive resolution, and at last caused the expedition to take place, was the weight and influence of the squadron which was at Bombay, in the year 1759"[57] (written in 1760). With that squadron present, no Indian power could threaten Bombay (as the Peshwa had done in the previous year) nor any fleet oppose the invasion by sea at Surat. Admiral Pocock allowed two ships of the line, the Sunderland and Newcastle, to escort the Company's armed ships to Surat and support them from the Bar, where the Peshwa's fleet under Naro Trimbak was anchoring to protect his interests.

While the English were acting on the basis of their agreement with Pharas Khan in the previous year, Miya Achhan was kept completely in the dark about its chief term—to establish Pharas in place of Achhan. This they had done to ensure against eventualities. If it was found impossible to oust Achhan, then the English would make Pharas Khan the deputy, instead of the chief. The Peshwa seems to have allowed them a free hand in this matter, if we are to believe in the 'proposals'[58] made by him (or his agents ?) to the English; only he wanted a Third share in the Tankha for the fleet ! But it is more than doubtful whether such proposals had been made by the Peshwa or finally accepted by him, to judge from the Maratha correspondence. The Governor at Bombay had not only not notified the Peshwa of the present expedition beforehand, but he seems to have taken as much care as was humanly possible to keep him in the dark. Even the exact time seems to have been chosen after coming to know of the Peshwa's departure for the pilgrimage. Though the merchants and the authorities in Surat had known for some time that great preparations were being made in Bombay, and Spencer knew that within a week the fleet would arrive for the business intended, he still charges Sidi Ahmed Khan for "spreading daily reports[59] to our prejudice on account of the preparations *said to be making* at Bombay".

Finally, on 2nd February 1759, Spencer broached the topic to his Board in Surat "of the intentions of the Hon'ble President and Council of Bombay to endeavour to fix Faris Khan in the Darbar, in consequence of the solicitations of Sidi Jafar and Wali-ullah, with others of Faris Khan's party represented to them by the Chief" (Spencer).[60] He called their meeting "to consult on proper measures for leaving the town, lest the Government (Achhan and Sidi) might be prompted to seize our persons, in order thereby to frustrate their designs at Bombay, as the news of the preparations there has given no small umbrage to the Government here" (Surat). It was decided, therefore, "to repair severally to the garden house first (as if for a party there) and from thence to withdraw themselves to the vessels at the Bar in the manner that shall be found most convenient". The Factory was left in the charge of Mr. Erskine with the usual guards, "to preserve it from insults of a mob; *for we do not apprehend that either Achind or the Sidi will attempt to plunder the Factory, or maltreat those we leave in it*".[61] Can it be doubted now, that it was this certainty about the civil and humane behaviour on the part of the Indians playing the political game in those days, that emboldened the Gentlemen of the Honourable Company to hatch their plots, for seizing what lawfully belonged to others?

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[56] *G. B.* 1. 129.
[57] R. O. CAMBRIDGE—*War in India* 1761, p. 218.
[58] *Ibid* p. 224.
[59] *G. B.* 1. 133.
[60] *Ibid* 1. 129.

It now remains for the historian to copy the various documents and letters written by Spencer to the various persons, but it would tire out readers. So we give extracts only from them to show the general trend. While keeping Miya Achhan completely in the dark that the English were out to deprive him of the Nawabship of Surat, Spencer still informs him that the Bombay Council had decided to seek redress by force of arms, assisted by His Majesty's forces. As Achhan had put the blame for Surat affairs at the door of the Sidi, Spencer now wants Achhan to so regulate his conduct towards the English and their designs "as may not destroy the regard the Hon'ble Company have long had for your House, which will not be the case, unless you choose to draw it on yourself" and to send a trusty man for further instructions.[62] To Appajirao and Madhavrao, the agents of the Peshwa and the Gaikawad, Spencer writes that the English "having been obliged to take the measures *to re-establish* the Company's affairs *on a lasting footing* here, I take the opportunity to apprise you of it and let you know that by these means the *just pretentions of the Marathas* to a part of the revenues of this city *are not intended* to be prejudiced. What need I add more but that I shall be glad to confer with you on this occasion".[63] To the principal officers and people of Surat he writes in the same strain about their just war and says that their lives and property will not be secure unless the divided Government of the City is brought under one control. "An authority so abusive (as that of the Sidi), God, who is just, will not permit to be lasting. The English will not only seek redress for themselves but *lasting tranquillity to you all*, which we are determined to procure *by the assistance of His Majesty's fleet and troops now with us*". But the English rely also and expect hearty concurrence of the citizens in the just cause, "as they do not propose injuring any of you in person,

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61. *G.B.* 1. 130. 62. *Ibid* 1. 130. 63. *Ibid* 1. 131.

privilege or property......unless an individual draws his misfortune on his own head by adhering to the party of our opponents''. The English want to preserve the Moghul authority and government in the city as heretofore. Spencer wants the citizens "to pursue such wise measures as will tend to the lasting tranquillity of the city and the good of the citizens, which are so closely connected with the success of our endeavours, that one must be the consequence of the other''. The citizens are to know more closely of the English intentions[64] from one Said Abdullah Solroos, specially instructed by Spencer.

The Chief and the Gentlemen of the Company repaired to the garden as decided on 2nd February 1759. But before leaving the Factory Spencer did not forget to "make a proper representation of the insult (to the two Parsi employees) to the Darbar" i.e. Miya Achhan and "*we made use of this affair as the thing that carried us to thc Bar*" (and not the previously decided move).[65] Before sunset, they got on board and sailed to the Bar near Dumas, which they reached late at night. Spencer again wrote to Achhan from that place that their departure "*was not intended*, but to prevent the ill consequences that might result to us from the foolish stories raised up in the place to our prejudice, and fomented by ill-disposed people, tending to make a misunderstanding[66] between us, *as if we were preparing to ruin you and the place. This I know to be the furthest from the intentions of the* English"' ! ! !

Once out of the reach of Achhan and Ahmed Khan, Spencer tried to secure the lives of Mr. Erskine and other servants of the Company left to guard the Factory, by reminding[67] Achhan that his own family was still at Bombay in English hands, as hostages. If any harm was done to Erskine & Co., then the consequences would follow! Spencer was thinking of meeting Achhan and the Sidi, but news about the hostile preparations and intentions made the English flee for their lives! If Achhan can still give satisfactory security, the English might still return! "And let me advise you to act in such manner as may tend to preserve the friendship with you (not-with standing our undisclosed determination to deprive you of your office); if you expect to have your Bar kept open, you will permit of entire liberty to Mr. Erskine to send us our necessaries[68] (and also the secret news of further moves on the part of the various parties in the scramble for power)".

To Sidi Ahmed Khan Spencer wrote on the same lines. He harps on the rumours circulated against the English and 'the repeated information that Chaukis were intended to be put on our factories'. The proposed 'meeting might possibly have put these affairs on a proper footing', but for the sudden insult to the English dependents!

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[64] *G. B.* 1. 131.
[65] *Ibid* 1. 132.
[66] *Ibid* 1. 132.
[67] *Ibid* 1. 131.
[68] *Ibid* 1. 133.

"You will act in such a manner as shall not increase the difference between us, by giving entire currency to our business and affairs in general".[69]

From 3rd February the English affairs in Surat were conducted from the Bombay Grab in the Surat Road, where all the Factors were waiting. On 4th February, Achhan's family arrived on board the Hibernia from Bombay and Achhan was informed[70] of it. He complained that the English had not taken him in confidence in the new move. But how could they do it, when they had planned to establish Pharas Khan in place of Achhan? Erskine waved discussing the points and Spencer was waiting for the orders from Bombay! On 9th February, the agents from Achhan and the Sidi met Spencer on board the Bombay Grab. They assured him that there would not be the least room for complaint in future. For past murders, they were ready to cut off any two people pointed out as murderers by the English. They would also dismiss the people who had insulted the English employees, like Edul Dada. Spencer asked them to stop military preparations and other impediments to the free movement of English ships and boats and wait for the Bombay orders. The agents seemed satisfied and it gave the necessary time to the English till the arrival of the fleet from Bombay. Achhan's family members on board the Hibernia were many of them suffering from fever and small-pox. Spencer feared[71] that the loss of any of them might exasperate Achhan and throw him entirely into the hands of the Sidi. So making a virtue of necessity, he allowed them to go with the agent, telling him that out of the great English regard for Achhan, this step had been taken. In return, the English of course expected him to dissociate himself completely from the Sidi.

We have said nothing about the Maratha movements in the developing crisis. On 9th February Mr. Erskine wrote to Spencer that the Gaikawad's agent in Surat was entering into a league with the Sidi through the means of Muncher, the Parsi[72] broker of the Dutch company, so as to exclude Achhan and oppose the English measures, for dividing the revenues amongst themselves. In this tangle, the agent of the Peshwa, Apajipant, was not acting in concert with Khanderao the Gaikawad's agent, and acted as an informant[73] to Spencer. Being confirmed in the news by Apaji's letter, Spencer wrote to Khanderao, asking about his intentions. He threatened him with the displeasure of his master Damaji as well as of the Peshwa, if he helped the Sidi, the enemy of the English. He writes[74] that there was not the least difference between the Peshwa, Damaji and the English, in this move. So Khanderao is expected to act as a good friend and help the English.

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[69] *G. B.* 1. 134.

[70] *Ibid* 1. 134.

[71] *Ibid* 1. 135.

[72] *Ibid* 1. 135.

[73] *Ibid* 1. 136.

[74] *Ibid* 1. 136.

Spencer is advising Khanderao as a friend, so that no ill may fall on him. To Apajipant, Spencer writes[75] in a patronizing tone to 'act as a friend in all things, that I may notice to Nana (Peshwa) who will show you favour accordingly'. One Nathuram seems to be the messenger of Apajipant going to the English and one Jagannath is the agent-interpreter residing with Spencer at the Bar. It looks as if all these persons were in the pay of the English, who seem to have engaged even the Dutch Director, Mr. Taillefort[76] to remain perfectly inactive, by paying his fees for the obligation! While these tactics were being pursued by the English, Miya Achhan and Sidi Ahmed Khan still hoped to conciliate the English. They sent letters to Spencer beseeching him to return to the City and assuring him that every thing will be satisfactory to him. They also sent boats loaded with cattle (for slaughter)[77] and sundry other refreshments for the use of the English gentlemen at the Bar. Achhan's eldest son was personally coming to invite Spencer back to Surat and in the meanwhile no hostile preparations or actions were taking place against the English Factory. But as Spencer did not wish[78] to disclose his plans till the Bombay fleet arrived, he asked Mr. Erskine to dissuade Mir Kutab-ud-din (the son) from coming so soon, 'as it may bring on an explanation sooner than we intend'. Spencer wrote complaisant letters to Achhan and Sidi, 'chiefly calculated to keep them both in suspense and indeed at present they seem to be lulled[79] into an entire security'. On the evening of 12th February the Tiger Schooner returned from Bombay,[80] giving intimation that the fleet was sailing on the evening of 8th from that port. Spencer apprised Mr. Erskine of the advices from Bombay the same night, asking him to engage local sepoys,[81] as the number coming from Bombay was less than expected. The English partisans in Surat were asked to hold themselves in readiness. On the 13th, the English vessels sailed from the Bar and entered into Dumas, showing incidently that the Bar was some miles south of that town even in those days, and was thus south of the Mindhola Creek mouth.[82]

Upto the 13th February, 1759, the Sidi and Miya Achhan were still hoping against hope that the English expedition may not, after all, come to pass, just as had happened the previous year. But when they received news on that date that it had already started from Bombay and in anticipation of its coming soon, Spencer had entered the river for coming up to Surat, both of them took alarm. The Sidi charged Achhan with being a party to the English conspiracy and so to allay[83] his suspicions, Achhan stopped his son's visit to Spencer. Still he sent a

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75 *G. B.* 1. 137.

76. Stavorinus J. S.—*Voyages to the East Indies* (1798 translation) 3. 57, 121-126.

77. *G. B.* 1. 137.

78. *Ibid* 1. 137.

79. *Ibid* 1. 137.

80. *Ibid* 1. 137.

81. *Ibid* 1. 137.

82. *Ibid* 1. 138.

83. *Ibid* 1. 138.

message to Erskine, complaining against the English attitude towards him. If the English would assure him of his office, he would join the English. But as he understood that Pharas Khan was being brought by the English, it was impossible for him to remain an idle spectator when his government was being wrested from him and to bear the world's criticism of acting a coward.[84] The Sidi collected some two thousand men to fight for him and mounted some guns at the Bunder and the Athwa Gates but still refrained for seizing the English gardens or attacking their Factory. Spencer had entered the river to take advantage of the full-moon spring-tides to carry him up, but both the wind and the springs failed him. The fleet from Bombay also arrived later than expected, on the 15th. This Nature's non-co-operation[85] had the result of delaying the English adventure by a fortnight. The Surat Government had now an ample warning and a pre-intimation of coming invasion, notwithstanding Mr. Spencer's precautions and persistent lying. But no Indian Power of those days was organised for meeting the foreigner on their own ground, the dazzling Maratha Power not excepted.

Trimbak Sadashiv alias Nana Purandare, who had been kept at Bassein to carry on the coastal affairs, woke to his responsibilities only when he heard that the British fleet was sailing for Surat, on 8th February. Then he despatched Shrinivas Narsinh as an emissary to Miya Achhan, congratulating him on his seizure of the government at Surat and recognizing him as such. He reached Surat on the 19th and delivered to Achhan the dress of honour on behalf of the Peshwa.[86] This belated recognition came handy to Miya Achhan in his perplexity, and fortified him in his resolve of not relinquishing his office by British brow-beating. The Sidi also was thinking of going over to the Maratha side in his distress and sent an elephant[87] to the Peshwa as a present, with some proposals which unfortunately are not known to the historian. He called[88] on Achhan and asked him to join forces with him in the face of the common danger. Achhan had no love lost for the Sidi, but the English also were still not disclosing their hand. So he had at least to make a show that he also would defend the city when the Sidi defended his castle. Nana Purandare had ordered troops under Yeshvantrao Pawar and Krishnaji Anant to Surat, to back up the side most favourable to the Marathas. But in this affair the agents of the Peshwa and the Gaikawad were not acting in unison as they ought to have done. Not only that, even the clerks-cum-emissaries of the Peshwa in this affair were themselves not one-minded, each suggesting a different mode of approach and each having a soft corner for some one party or person. Naro Trimbak Rajmachikar, in command of the

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[84] *G. B.* 1. 138.

[85] *Ibid* 1. 138.

[86] *S. P. D.* 24. 228.

[87] *G. B.* 1. 141.

[88] *Ibid* 1. 144.

Peshwa's fleet stationed at the Surat Bar, to obstruct the Sidi from sending succour to his brethren at Janjira and Underi then besieged by the Peshwa, together with his Diwan Damodar Raghunath, seem to have become thick friends with the English. They were now near Surat for more than two months and seem to have fallen victims to the hypnotizing art of Spencer. They[89] are found giving information to the English Chief, of Khanderao Gaikawad's intention of helping the Sidi with four thousand troops, made up of cavalry and foot in equal proportion. As the British troops from Bombay consisted of 800 Englishmen with 1500 sepoys, on whom the English could not put much reliance, the prospect of meeting the Sidi with his auxiliaries was anything but rosy, unless the party of Pharas Khan in the city could muster strong with arms. Still Spencer assumed an assured air, and replied to Naro Trimbak, that the English had sufficient[90] forces, to go through their enterprise against all opposers, the Marathas included. At the same time, he did not forget to thank Naro, for this proof of his friendship viz. his giving timely information and tendering his services to the English.

"As Nana's (Peshwa's) interest, you know, will be kept in a good manner at Surat *by our means*, *you may signify the same in such a manner to Khanderao*, as may make *him cautious* how he acts" writes Spencer further on.[91] This seems to have had the desired effect, for the very next day Khanderao, in order to protect his master's rights at Surat in a competition with the Peshwa, assured Spencer of his neutrality in the coming struggle as 'the most effectual way to preserve his (Gaikawad's), rights' suggested by Spencer.[92]

While these tactics were being followed on 18th–19th February, news came on 20th that the Maratha troops under Pawar had come upto Gandevi. Damodar Raghunath saw Spencer, and intimated to him that these troops were coming to help the English 'at the desire of the President' at Bombay,[93] Spencer's official superior, and he desired to know where these troops should join the English. But the English had decided to have no partner in this affair, as they wanted the whole prize for themselves. They may play off the Peshwa against the Gaikawad and the Sidi, but had no desire to make common cause with him under any circumstances. So 'the Chief waved the offer in as easy terms as he could, telling him (Damodar), till he had proper orders from the President, he could not accept[94] assistance' !

The President at Bombay had, however, already sent his instructions regarding the Marathas along with the Fleet. He had written to the Peshwa promising to respect his rights and therefore hoped that no impediment would arise from that side. "But should it prove otherwise, we leave it to you[95] to conduct yourselves towards them in the best manner you can", avoiding giving them any just cause of complaint. To Sadashivrao's enquiry and instructions from Poona for a joint enterprise, the President had avoided a direct no. He would not send a Vakil to Poona or to Bassein, because no suitable[96] person was available. If and when the Surat enterprise is brought to a successful termination, the Governor would send a Vakil to the Peshwa to report about the affair. With Peshwa at Vijaydurg, Bhau at Poona and Nana Purandare at Bassein, the real burden of guarding the Maratha interests fell on Krishnaji Anant, the diplomat who accompanied Yeshvantrao Pawar to Surat. But his hands were completely tied by rigid instructions from Nana Purandare or perhaps the masters at Poona. All the Marathi letters voice this handicap. The strict injunction seems to be "Not to break with the English". Miya Achhan was ready to hand over the city to the Marathas, as the best means of preserving his interest there. But Krishnaji would break with the English only if and when the Castle also was delivered to them by the Sidi. And the Sidi was so suspicious about the Peshwa, that to the last he refused to hand over the castle to them, the impending sure English occupation notwithstanding. It was this stalemate that led to a draw on the part of the Marathas.

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[89] *G. B.* 1. 142.
[90] *Ibid* 1. 142.
[91] *Ibid* 1. 142.
[92] *Ibid* 1. 142.
[93] *Ibid* 1. 144.
[94] *Ibid* 1. 144.

The Peshwa's troops expressly sent from Jawar under the command of Yeshvantrao Pawar arrived at Navasari on 22nd February, though the whole contingent could not collect there till 24th instant.[97] They halted there for five days to get the correct news of English move and decide the line to be followed. Shrinivas Narsinh wished to back Achhan and occupy the city, before the English came. He was supported in this line by Apaji Keshav Marathe, the Peshwa's revenue-collector in Surat. But their opinions were overruled by Krishnaji Anant and his associates. Naro Trimbak and his Diwan Damodar were priding themselves as the fast[98] friends of the English. Without their consent, no move was possible for the Maratha army approaching Surat and they advised caution and a halt. Pawar moved to Palsana however on 27th February, to Kumbharia the next day, and on 1st March 1759 encamped on the Tapi near Warachha, three miles to the north-east of Surat.[99]

The Fleet from Bombay arrived at the Surat Bar on 15th February and anchored there. On 18th they landed all the troops at Dentilauri,[100] which seems to be the present Danti hamlet to the east of the Bar, and not Dumas town higher up the river, as guessed in the Gazetteer, for Dumas is separately mentioned in the Records. This hamlet is south of the Mindhola creek at its mouth. As there were still some days for the new-moon springs, it was decided that the army should march by land towards Surat. At first they wished to proceed to Umra, three miles to the south-west of the city, but Captain Maitland in charge of these troops chose Athwa village,[101] to the south of the wall, as the proper place. While the British troops were reconnoitring the walls near the Majura Gate, they were fired upon by soldiers from the city, and retreated towards the Dutch gardens at Athwa. When things came to this point, without any open declaration of war, the Sidi had to assume an offensive, and surround[102] the English Factory in the City. He created batteries at vantage-points, to meet the coming danger. Achhan also was reported to be on the point of joining hands with the Sidi in defence of his office. He closed the city-doors and blocked them with earthworks from inside, so that the doors may not be forced open. It was only on 22nd February that circular letters serving the purpose of an ultimatum were delivered by the English to the various parties, asking them to behave themselves. Madhavrao and Apaji Keshav, collectors on the part of the Gaikawad and the Peshwa, avowed their intention not to prejudice the English cause by any move. Achhan wanted a clear reply regarding English intentions regarding himself. But Spencer would not[103] disclose his plans still and sent back Achhan's messenger 'with a message couched in general terms, but without coming to particulars'.

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[95] *G. B.* 1. 139. [96] *S. P. D.* 24. 225. [97] *Ibid* 24. 226.
[98] *S. P. D.* 40. 120. [99] *Ibid* 24. 232. [100] *G. B.* 1. 142.

It is not our aim here to give a military narrative of the English occupation of the Surat Castle and City. We only want to paint the diplomatic side of it. The English army moved systematically step by step, leaving nothing to chance and confiding in no one else. They occupied the French gardens on 26th February, driving out the Sidi's people. Erecting batteries there, they began the bombardment[104] of the castle and the port under its cover the next day. Spencer's method was not to secure the end by military coup, but to get possession of the Castle by treachery. He wrote a letter to Sidi Hilal, the Commandant of the Castle on behalf of Ahmed Khan. We are tempted to give the whole piece here which is as follows :—

"As you bear the character in the world of a wise man, it is the reason that without reserve I address myself to you. You must be sensible that it is the inattention of the sons of Sidi Masud that has compelled us to act in the manner we are preparing to do; and unless people of your prudence interpose, the Sidi's name may entirely go away, as nothing supports it at Underi or Rajapur but our good offices. Our batteries and bombs being now ready to operate with effect, I give you this warning, that you may take your option of these two alternatives; if you do not choose to deliver the Castle up to us directly, you will shortly by our bombs be buried under its ruins with your garrison and effects, or be blown up in the air and fall a sacrifice; but, if you deliver up the Castle and stores in it to us, you shall have your property and effects secured to you, and your garrison their arrears of pay made good to them, and employment in our troops, and you yourself shall have my firm promise to be employed in such manner as shall be most agreeable to you at Bombay or this place, and as a mark of the whole Company's friendship and esteem you shall be paid the sum of ten thousand (10,000) Rupees, which sum may perhaps be augmented, if you show yourself ready to serve us; you are sensible and have often expressed it that the indiscretion of Sidi Masud's family would ruin the Sidi's name. It is true the whole place is ready to act against them, and you and the Sidi's name will go away in this city, unless you by your prudent and instantaneous resolves in our favour preserve our friendship, which is the only way to preserve the Sidi's name. You know the Castle the Sidi has no right to; it is a usurpation, and was productive of terrible consequence to the place. If we have not your answer to this in two hours, operations will be commenced; and then the friendly sums I now offer will not be in our power." [105]

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[101] *G. B.* 1. 144. [102] *Ibid* 1. 145. [103] *Ibid* 1. 145. [104] *Ibid* 1. 146.

We have quoted this letter as a sample of Spencer's art. It shows how the English were playing upon the feelings, the personal interests and the fears of the Indians of those times. Incidently, Spencer is disclosing in this private confidential letter certain facts. He openly tells here that the power of the Sidi on the Konkan coast is supported only through 'our good offices', an admission which would never come forth from English lips in their dealings with the Peshwa. Spencer also charges the Sidi with the usurpation of the Castle. The cat is out of the bag here, for once at least. The English were telling the Peshwa that they were acting the part of the neutral in his war against the Sidi. But in this letter, Spencer openly avows that nothing keeps the Sidi in power, but the English 'good offices'. As a matter of fact, the Sidi has survived the Maratha invasions from the times of Shivaji and Sambhaji down to 1818, due to covert English support. It was the greatest single misfortune of the Marathas that the English received Bombay from the Portuguese. It acted as a constant thorn in their side throughout their historical career. For preserving the Sidi's name on the west coast, the commandant is asked to resign the power, and his future career is guaranteed and present rewards assured. This was the methodology evolved by the English traders for gaining their ends. Every officer of the broken Mughal Empire swallowed these baits and bowed before the policy, for the only alternative was to hand over their offices to the Marathas. At the same time, the English take their stand on strict constitutional letter. The Sidi is made aware of the fact that he has no

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105. *G. B.* 1. 145-6,

legal right to the Castle, that Masud had usurped it. But how the English became heirs to the prize, we are not left to guess upon, for they knew how to legalize their usurpation. The royal path of getting letters patent from the shadow of the Mughal Emperor, after first getting possession of the object in view, was open to all in the eighteenth century India.

The English erected batteries on 27th February and began a bombardment of the Castle as well as the town. The Sidi on his part tried to defend the town and the castle to the best of his ability. The cotton bales used at the English battery to cover their people, caught fire[106] as a result of Sidi's reply. On the morning of 28th February, the English thought that a practicable breach was made in the walls of the town, and sent Capt. Funge through the French gardens to see and try an entry through the breach. But the English party were warmly received by the Sidi, who galled them so much from the loop-holes, that they were obliged to retreat. The English ladders set to the city-wall were thrown away by the Sidi, as a result of which some 50 men from the English side lost their lives. On 1st March, Spencer wrote to Erskine in the town, desiring him 'to spirit up the partisans of Faris-khan to exert themselves'. The English vessels in the river weighed before day, and moored close to the chain, in their proper stations, and began firing on the enemy with great resolution and bravery. Between 7 and 8, the signal was made for the troops to put off, which was done with great alertness and resolution under the conduct of Capt. William Lane. They landed, and drove the enemy from their bunder-batteries, and Chellabi's and English gardens, and took possession of the outward wall, to the Athwa gate, which was set open, the whole of the Sidi's troops having retired to the inner town. The Sidi's battery on the citadel of Almadan was completely silenced, after this occupation of the Jangi bunder. The Nagarkhana bungalow, where the Sidi's band played, was blown away by the English bombardment.[107]

To return to the situation in the city, none of the partisans of Faris-khan exerted themselves from the inside as was expected by the English. On the other hand, Mia Achhan sent out a person of his to congratulate the English on the success and to assure them of his attachment to the Company in all respects, and offering to open a gate if the English would assure him of the Nawabship, but Spencer still tried to postpone the decision on this point because, Erskine wrote that the Sidi's people had suffered greatly and were deserting him. The Sidi endeavoured to keep up the spirits of his people by paying them their arrears of pay. Simultaneously he and Achhan sent their Diwans to the Marathas offering them half the revenues to assist them in driving out the English.[108] At the same time they had sent a person to the Portuguese Director at Surat, requesting him to act the part of a mediator, but he declined[109] to move in the matter, unless the Castle was first delivered up to the English!

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[106] *G. B.* 1. 146.

[107] *Ibid* 1. 147; *S. P. D.* 24. 229.

The 1st of March 1759 was the critical day in the Surat affair. Mia Achhan, as well as the Sidi, were both of them unwilling to part with their power at Surat, but while the Sidi was fighting for his rights, Mia Achhan, who was more cunning than brave, was depending upon diplomacy to guard his interests. He sent Madhavrao, the Gaikawad's representative, to Yeshwantrao Pawar and Krishnaji Anant at Warachha, proposing to occupy the city amongst themselves and allowing the castle to the Sidi, till a final order from Poona about the settlement was received from the Peshwa. Yashwantrao Pawar with his Maratha temperament was ready for this move of occupying the city, and opposing the English from inside as well as outside, but in this matter all the brahmins concerned with the affair proved themselves cowards. Nana Purandare, who was directing the affairs from Bassein, had issued instructions 'never to break with the English'. Naro Trimbak Rajamachikar, the commandant of the Peshwa's fleet anchoring at the mouth of the Tapti river, had been completely secured by browbeating, by Spencer. He was in great dread of losing his ships by a break with the English, and never for a moment entertained an idea of fighting with them. Krishnaji Anant, who had been appointed the diplomatic chief in this affair, seems a completely incompetent man to deal with the English. He was incapable of taking a decision, as a man on the spot ought to have done. The presence of the Maratha fleet, under such an ununderstanding man as Naro Trimbak, was not only not useful to the Maratha cause at this juncture, but proved a burden and an impediment to a decision by the big army under Yashwantrao Pawar. Had Naropant gone away, in time, when he found the English fleet too strong for him, his absence would have freed the Maratha army and its diplomacy from the halter of its fleet, the fear of losing which stayed the hands of the overwhelming army under Yashwantrao. Krishnaji Anant had offered the Maratha services[110] to the English chief, with a view and on the understanding, of getting a share in the English conquest and spoils. Spencer fooled him and Naro Trimbak with spacious talks, having come to know from the English informants from Poona, that the Peshwa had issued orders not to obstruct the English in any shape. He thought, however, "that there is no trusting to such fellows, but that at best they are arrant[111] paltroons, so that no harm can happen from them; however they are played off". As the Sidi would never trust the

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[108] *G. B.* 1. 147; *S. P. D.* 24. 229.

[109] *Ibid* 1. 147; *S. P. D.* 24. 229.

[110] *S. P. D.* 24. 229, 230, 231, 232.

[111] *G. B.* 1. 147.

Marathas and agree to hand over the castle to them, the Maratha army had to wait without any work during these critical days.

The English steadily went on with their plan. On the night of 1st March, Waliullah came out of the city privately to meet Spencer on the part of Sidi Jafar. He told Spencer that "as all the women of the family of the late Teg Bakht and Safdar-khan had of late so attached themselves to Achhan and his sons, that both he and Jafar were now desirous only of Faris-khan's coming in as Naib to Achhan, but not as Nawab ; but that in that they would join heart and hand". The English were not prepared for such a change in their original move. They thought "their honour was engaged to Faris-khan as also that the force they had was sufficient to answer the purposes they had decided upon". Spencer sent Wali-ullah back to Jafar to acquaint with him his surprise and asking him to reconsider the matter, so as to carry out their original plan of making Faris-khan the Nawab of Surat and to return an answer on the night of 2nd March.[112]

Damodar Raghunath, the Diwan of Naropant, as well as Yashvantrao and Krishnajipant came out at noon on the 1st March to see the progress of English aggression. They had a talk with Spencer on the point of the English making a common cause with the Maratha forces and admitting them as equal partners through their emissary Gopal Sambhaji.[113] Spencer waved the point in an easy manner and wrote complaisant letters, cautioning them not to think of advancing with their army towards the castle. In case they approached, they would certainly be fired upon by the English. On the morning of 2nd March, the English were alarmed by a rumour that the Marathas were approaching the English battery, but it proved to be a few horsemen, with an officer, to make fresh tender of their services, which was repeatedly urged by them and as repeatedly declined by the English, for the English feared that once admitted, the Marathas would certainly plunder the city after entering it !

Wali-ullah came back at night and informed the chief, that the partisans of 'Faris-khan' wished him to be a Naib. and the Nawabship to be continued in Achhan's family. This point was further confirmed by Erskine, on the morning of 3rd March, with the result that Spencer had to resolve to act in the best manner under the circumstances. The party of Pharas-khan in the city was willing to open a gate at midnight, but the English could not be sure that the promise could be carried out without hitch and hence decided at their Council of War, that it would be imprudent to accept of the gate offered, unless they could be assured of a stronger party in favour of Pharas Khan. The expense of stores and ammunition was well nigh beyond the capacity of the English. Added to this, the loss of men by casualties of war, and much more so by desertion, caused the English to fear a reverse in their enterprise, if they still persisted in their endeavour to have nothing to do with Achhan and the Sidi. So they accepted the inevitable,[114] and decided to be satisfied with Pharas-khan becoming a Naib, assuring the Nawabship to Achhan. They decided to send their man to Achhan and offered to keep him a Nawab, if he would accept all the articles of the agreement, executed by Pharas-khan with the English, about the government of Surat. Before a man could be sent, however, the Athwa gate was set open by the people of Maulji, (Mullaji?), the sepoy officer[115] in the Company's pay within the town, very early on the morning of 4th March. Spencer ordered Capt. Watson to occupy the gate, but before they could reach it, the gate was shut up, Maulji only having got out with some three hundred office sepoys. This last hope of entering the town, without offering to make Achhan the Nawab having been foiled, Spencer sent his emissary to Achhan, and asked him to sign the treaty, sending it back with Erskine. At ten O'clock, Wali-ullah and other officers of Achhan came out, with the treaty executed, and advised the English that the gate was ready, and the Nawab was prepared to join with his troops. The English troops accordingly marched in by the Makai gate, and took possession of the inner gate, so as to guard against treachery. The army then proceeded towards the Durbar and surrounded the Sidi's house and quarters. When the Sidi saw that all was lost, he sent a letter to Spencer, throwing himself in a good degree on the mercy of the English. The English ordered the Sidi to immediately deliver up the castle, with all the stores and everything else in it, together with the fleet and the Bunder, as well as to resign his right to the Tankha. He was to discharge his soldiers, after paying them their arrears of pay out of his pocket. The English guaranteed him only his house, gardens and personal effects. These negotiations[116] went on till sunset. About seven o'clock at night, Sidi Hilal marched out with his garrison of about 600 men and delivered up the castle to the English. Both Sidi Ahmad and Hilal put themselves under the protection of the English, to escape the insults of their enemies in Surat. By ten o'clock, the whole business was finished without any mishap, the English becoming the rulers of Surat in fact if not in name.

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[112] *G. B.* 1. 148.

[113] *S. P. D.* 24. 191.

On the morning of 5th March, His Brittanic Majesty's colours were hoisted on all vessels in the river belonging to the Sidi, and Spencer made his state entry[117] into the town. He then went to the English Factory from the gardens, accompanied by Achhan's sons and the principal officers and other inhabitants of Surat. The Maratha envoys now began to understand, after the event, the real situation! Had the Marathas, acceding to Achhan's request, sent their cavalry into the city before the entry of the English, at least that person, who never wished to go under the protection of the English, would have remained in their obligation. The Peshwa had opened talks with the English at Bombay of making Pharas-khan the Nawab, provided the English would help the Marathas in taking Janjira from the Sidi.[118] Underi fort was at this time being besieged by Ramaji Mahadev, and the Maratha fleet had gone to Surat, to prevent Sidi Ahmad from sending his fleet for the relief of that place. As the English coveted Surat, they were at one with the Peshwa on checkmating Sidi Ahmad; but beyond that they would never go and help the Marathas in rooting out the Sidi from the Western seaboard. As soon as the occupation of Surat was complete, Spencer showed his claws. He would not even inform the Marathas of his proceedings in the city or at the Castle or on the Bunder; much less would he allow the Marathas any share in the spoils or the government of the town. In order to make the English understand that the Marathas could still have their say in the Surat affair, they now blocaded[119] it, stopping all provisions and goods coming into the city, 'on pretence (according to the English) of extraordinary promises made them by Achhan and the Sidi, at the time they were tampering to act in consult with us'. As Spencer did not wish the English to be committed in the affair of any Maratha claim, he thought it more prudent to leave Achhan free to settle the affair with the Marathas as best as he could. Simultaneously, he sent an express to Bombay to procure the removal of Maratha blocade by an order from their superiors. The Governor of Bombay sent a protest to Nana Purandare at Bassein on 13th March, and by his orders the blocade was called off[120] by Krishnaji Anant and Yashvantrao Pawar on 22nd March. In the interval, the Maratha Kamavisdar at Surat, Apaji Keshav, had a tussle with Krishnaji Anant on this point, from which it is clear :that the English were saying one thing to the one and another thing to the other, so as to inflame the enmity between the various officers. Ultimately, weary of waiting without any profit near Surat, Yashvantrao, Gopal Sambhaji, Krishnaji Anant and others prepared to march away[121] inland, on 27th March. Spencer had several meetings jointly and severally with these people in order to keep them in good humour[122] towards the English. When they visited the English Factory, shawls and pieces of kincob (silk-cloth) were presented to all the Maratha officers, of the total value of Rs. 1440. This was the amount of spoils (!)[123] which fell to the lot of the Marathas, for all their exertions of coming post haste near Surat, and waiting there without any work for more than a month !

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[114] *G. B.* 1. 149. [115] *Ibid* 1. 149. [116] *Ibid* 1. 150-1. [117] *Ibid* 1. 151.

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[118] *S. P. D.* 24. 233.
[119] *Ibid* 24. 234.
[120] *Ibid* 24. 236, 237, 238; *G. B.* 1. 151.
[121] *Ibid* 24. 238.
[122] *G. B.* 1. 151.
[123] *Ibid* 1. 152.

The Peshwa had begun this Surat episode two years earlier, by first favouring Pharas-khan, who was living under Maratha protection at Bassein. Then he took up the cause of Miya Achhan, who left Bombay where he was living for seven years, and sent him to Surat with a strong escort of troops. In the meanwhile, Ali Nawaz Khan, the man in charge of the city, opened negotiations with the Peshwa. This made the Sidi leave the side of Ali Nawaz and favour Miya Achhan, provided he broke off from the Peshwa. As a realist and an opportunist, Achhan left the Maratha side, and entered Surat by his own exertions, with the support of the Sidi. The Peshwa's troops specially detailed for the purpose had to return empty-handed, after spending unnecessarily some three months in the affair. In the meanwhile, the English took up the side of Pharas Khan and promised to make him the Nawab of Surat, provided they got the possession of the castle with all its immunities and emoluments, the whole expenditure being borne by Pharas Khan, and free access to the city permanently guaranteed, by the possession of two gates of the city. The Peshwa also was ready to support Pharas Khan, now that Achhan had proved a traitor, but the English who knew the consequences of the Maratha support in Pharas Khan's cause, kept aloof from any Maratha contact in the whole affair, as they wanted the whole power at Surat, represented by its castle and the fleet, to be solely in their hands. How they managed the whole affair has been described in these pages. They kept the whole final aim to themselves, never disclosing their intentions. The Peshwa and his ministers were all along living in a fool's paradise, not understanding the ordinary precautions which ought to have been taken. They had not still understood that they were following a wrong path in Indian politics. They had no idea of the map of India and so could not gauge the forces moving round it or devise proper means to combat these. The fundamental mistake of giving a twist to Shivaji's theory of the Maratha state, by following an opportunity's policy of the line of least resistance, was then bearing its fruit and coming to a crisis. Panipat and Buxar finally disclosed the catastrophe that had fallen on India.

A wrong notion about the Maratha state as run under the Peshwas, has infiltrated Maratha History. The aims, the policy, the means, the tactics, followed under the most renowned amongst the Peshwas, are all incorrectly understood, with the result that no logical sequence can be kept in Indian history. The absence of unity, confusion of ends to be secured, looseness in tactics to be followed, want of co-relation of the means to an end, all these defects which are to be seen in this Surat episode, had not cropped up suddently in this affair only. They were inherent and ingrained in the Maratha policy of those days. These defects were still more evident and better illustrated in the Vijaydurg affair of 1755–56, when the only effective Maratha Navy under Tulaji

Angre was sacrificed to the cupidity and jealousy of the Peshwa! But when accountants and clerks begin to direct and dictate politics, what other result can be expected? Well can a blunt loyal soldier of the type of Yashwantrao Pawar express his soldier's chagrin by writing to Nana Purandare, the officer in charge of the coastal affairs for the moment,[124] that, "if it was the aim never to break with the English, there was no point in sending us to Surat" with a large army! The mortification felt by the patriotic soldier was realised by the Peshwa and his assistants well after the event, when the property had been stolen by the thieves! When in August 1759, William Price, the English agent, went to Poona at the Peshwa's call, he found the atmosphere there (as represented by the courtly people he came across) dead against[125] the English, for their audacity in occupying Surat in the face of Maratha troops, and when the Peshwa was supposed to be ruling over the whole Indian continent! Even a panegyrist of the Peshwas, like Dr. H. N. Sinha[126] of Nagpur, felt the unreality of their bloated glory, when he sat down to write about this Surat affair.

It now remains for the historian to describe how finally the wily English merchants of the East India Company put the final seal of complete legality to this act of covert aggrandisement. Richard Bourchier, the president at Bombay, and John Spencer, the Clive on the spot, sent application to the Delhi Emperor with the news of having defeated and dispossessed the Sidi rebel, who had usurped the fleet and the castle at Surat together with its Tankha (emoluments). Ghazi-uddin, the Vazir of the Great Mogul, who was supposed to be a creature and a protege of the Peshwa, suitably replied to their applications and favourably considered their entreaties! He made the puppet emperor Alamgir II, (whom he caused to be murdered and unceremoniously flung in the sands of the river Jamuna before the end of this very same year 1759), graciously accede to the request of the English merchants, and bestow on them the commandantship of the Surat castle, together with the admiralship of the Mughal fleet stationed there, after receiving as a customary Nazar, perhaps a few thousand rupees. The English had taken the wise precaution of sending a simultaneous application of all the citizens of Surat, including its rich merchants as well as Mughal officials, beseeching the Emperor to bestow the offices connected with Surat on the valient and just officers of the English company! [127] The Peshwa, after the event, is found instructing his consul at Delhi to inform the Vazir and the Emperor of the real situation of affairs, and to see that no office at Surat is bestowed on the English, telling them that this authority should rest with the Pant Pradhan (the Peshwa) who will, as an agent of the Emperor, bestow the offices on whom he likes.[128] Only an imperial order bestowing this right of interfering in the affairs of Surat is sought by the Peshwa ! The Peshwa also wrote to his general Dattaji Shinde, who was buttressing the rule of the tottering Mughal Empire with Maratha troops at Delhi, to bring pressure on the Vazir and the Emperor, so as to secure the end. Dattaji personally instructed Antaji Manakeshwar, the commandant of the guards stationed for the protection of Delhi. He consented to do the needful in the affair, and carry the Sanad, bestowing the full authority on the Peshwa, with himself to Poona, as he had been recalled by the Peshwa. But none of these precautions and efforts availed the Peshwa, as the Sanads acceding to the English wishes had already been despatched to Surat by the crafty and treacherous Vazir ! Thus was the Peshwa repaid for supporting a born criminal in the office of the Chancellor of the Mughal Empire! It was the friendship of the Peshwas with this infamous character in Indian history, that foiled the Maratha aims throughout the 18th century. When Price went to Poona, he found the Peshwa's ministers and secretaries commenting on the reprehensible conduct of the English in surreptitiously securing the Mughal sanads from the puppet Emperor and the Vazir, who lived under the protection of Maratha arms, and pooh-poohing in the same breath the value of those sanads ! But the English merchants had already thought of the problem and instructed[129] their agent, before he left Bombay for Poona in the affair. The President had told Price to reply to such a possible inquiry by telling the Peshwa, that the sanads by which they had been appointed commandant of the Surat fort and admiral of the Mughal fleet, were as valid and as legal as the sanads by which the Peshwa presumed to interfere in the Surat affair ! Very many times, the Peshwa had told the English, that he was ruling on many occasions by the authority of the Delhi Emperor's sanads. Now he cannot go back on his words, and say that the Sanads received by the English were invalid, being issued by a puppet emperor, and in any case, the English were determined to defend their just rights by the force of arms, against any one who would presume to question their rights. They were willing to continue the Maratha share (chauth) in the income of the Surat port and city, and would not interfere with the Peshwa's entering into an agreement for the same with Miya Achhan, who had succeeded in keeping the Nawabship to himself, as against Pharas-khan, on account of the support of the Marathas. This Maratha chauth continued to be paid for forty years more, till it was finally stopped by the English in Lord Wellesley's time.

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[124] *S. P. D.* 24. 234. [125] FORREST—125-132.

[126] *Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission*, 17. 110-112.

[127] CAMBRIDGE—226-223.

The English received[130] the Mughal Firmans bestowing Surat on them with great ceremony, punctiliously observing the formalities followed in India when receiving the Imperial grants. They invited the other European merchants to the ceremony, who refused on the first occasion, but accepted the invitation on the next. In Bombay, the ceremony was repeated, when the President received confirmatory letters from Delhi. The Peshwa ultimately had to come down and seek sundry concessions about property, ships and rates of calculation in the revenues of Surat! If the Peshwa was hoping for English help in rooting out the Sidi on the western coast by occupying Janjira, that hope also was completely foiled by the English behaviour in the next two years, and ever afterwards. The Peshwa has disappeared long since, but the tiny Sidi continues even today.

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[128] *S. P. D.* 24. 260. [129] FORREST—125-132.

[130] *JBBRAS*. 24. J. J. MODI's article on Anquetil Du-Perron—India as seen by him. *Bombay (Island) Gazetteer*, Vol. I. *Surat District Gazetteer*.

And all this was happening in the heyday of the Peshwa's power before Panipat, to which event, most historians are prone to attribute all the subsequent misfortunes of the Marathas. The English gained this signal success when all the three members of the Peshwa's family were living in Maharashtra, and were not absent on distant expeditions; and when their valient general Dattaji Shinde was sojourning in the Delhi province. The astute Bhausaheb was directing the affairs from Poona, and the shrewd Peshwa and his impetuous brother Raghoba, of Lahore fame, were free enough to go on a leisurely pilgrimage on the Konkan coast. The result must thus be attributed to the incorrect policy, the loose tactics, want of vigilance, quick decision and instant effective action. The Peshwa and men at his court seem patently deficient in understanding men and affairs. They backed wrong horses, put trust in treacherous men, and appointed incompetent persons in charge of their affairs. This is clearly illustrated in the Surat Episode and on many similar occasions, as a result of which historians will have to revise their opinion about Maratha Power in the 18th Century.

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131. *S.P.D.* 251.

COINS FROM INDIAN MEGALITHS

By

G. N. DAS

Coins are among the most striking historic records that exist. When they bear a date or are otherwise referrable to a certain period, coins constitute the sheet-anchor of chronology. Fortunately a few Indian megaliths have yielded coins. An attempt is made here to note the various finds. The information available on types, symbols and legends of the coins in question is extremely meagre, but the value of these coins for throwing light on the knotty problem of the age of Indian megaliths cannot be over-estimated.

The coins discovered from Indian megaliths fall into two classes: Punch-marked and Roman.

PUNCH-MARKED COINS

The first discovery of coins from Indian megaliths was in September, 1807. In that year a large hoard of silver punch-marked coins was found on digging up a "Pandukuli" near the village of Savadipalaiyam, 5½ miles south of Palladam, Palladam taluk, Coimbatore district.[1] In 1804 similar coins had been dug up at Pennar, also in the same district. They were contained in a pot.[2]

Then, in 1817, Mr. William GARROW, Collector of Coimbatore, in a letter to Colonel Colin MACKENZIE, Surveyor-General of Madras, reported the find of a number of punch-marked coins of silver from a "Pandukal" in his district.[3] Unfortunately the findspot of these coins has not been accurately indicated.[4]

A word about the date of punch-marked coins in India: According to John ALLAN, "the period of circulation of punch-marked coins may be put at the third and second centuries B.C.; that they continued in circulation later is most probable, and that they may go back to the fourth century B.C. is possible".[5] It appears that these coins were in use for a much greater length of time in the South than in the North.[6] From Coimbatore has been reported a find of punch-marked coins associated with a denarius of Augustus, "so that the coins were probably buried in the first century A.D."[7]

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[1] Walter ELLIOT, "Numismatic Gleanings", *MJLS*, 1857–58, XIX (OS.), 227.

[2] *Ibid.*, 228.

[3] James BIRD, "Observations on the Bactrian and Mithraic Coins in the Cabinet of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society", *JBBRAS*, 1841–44, I, 294; W. ELLIOT, "Discovery of Roman Coins in the Coimbatore District", *MJLS*, 1844, XIII (Pt. I), 214; Walter ELLIOT, *Report of the Thirty-Eighth Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science; held at Norwich in August 1868*, (London 1869), *Notices and Abstracts of Miscellaneous Communications to the Sections*, p. 135; Edward THOMAS, *Ancient Indian Weights* (MARSDEN'S *Numismata Orientalia*, Part I), (London, 1874), p. 53; Walter ELLIOT, *Coins of Southern India* (*The International Numismata Orientalia*), (London, 1885), p. 45; Edgar THURSTON, *Coins. Catalogue No. 2. Roman, Indo-Portugese, and Ceylon.* (Madras Government Museum), (Madras, 1894), p. 8; R. P. JACKSON, *The Dominions, Emblems, and Coins of the South Indian Dynasties*, (London, 1913), p. 3.

[4] Was it Pollachi? See THURSTON, *op. cit.*, p. 8, and Robert SEWELL, *Lists of the Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras*, Vol. I, (Madras, 1882), p. 222.

On digging up a dolmen at Sulur, Palladam taluk, Coimbatore district, Colonel W. H. TUCKER found, among other things, a much-worn-out bronze coin. John ALLAN has identified it as a coin of Eran, Sagar district, C. P., from where many ancient coins were picked up by Alexander Cunningham.[8] They belong to the third or second century B.C. to which the Sulur coin has been ascribed.[9]

ROMAN COINS

In the letter of 1817 referred to above, addressed to Colonel Mackenzie, Mr. GARROW wrote that a denarius of Augustus (B.C. 29–A.D. 14) had been dug up from "one of the ancient sepulchres called Pandaculis".[10]

In a letter dated Coimbatore, November 3, 1826, addressed to the editor of the *Bengal Hurkaru*, Calcutta, Mr. James HOUGH, under the *nom de plume* of Philanthropos, refers to "a gold coin about the size of a sovereign" being dug up from a "barrow" in the Nilgiris.[11] The aureus had two perforations on the top and was obviously used as an ornament.[12] The following description of the aureus was given to Mr. Hough by a missionary friend in Madras.[13] On the obverse is a head wearing a crown. To the right of the head is inscribed $\frac{X}{XI}$. This is considered a mark of value of the coin.[14] On the reverse is the representation of a warrior. To the left is the inscription $\frac{L}{C}$. On Roman coins it is always S. C., *Senatus Consulto*, signifying "that the coins were struck by the public authority of the Senate".[15] From the warrior on the reverse it is inferred that the coin belongs to the Roman Byzantine series of "the later period of the empire, when Constantinople became the capital of the east and independent of the west".[16] As the coin has not been illustrated and the details given are scanty, it is not possible to comment on this opinion. The aureus must obviously belong to a date subsequent to the introduction of a permanent gold coinage by Julius Caesar (d. B.C. 44).[17] The earliest Roman aurei found in India are those of Augustus.[18]

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[5] *Catalogue of the Coins of Ancient India*, (London, 1936), p. lviii.

[6] E. J. RAPSON, *Indian Coins*, (Strassburg, 1897), p. 35.

[7] ALLAN, *op. cit.*, p. lviii.

[8] See his *Coins of Ancient India*, (London, 1891), pp. 99 ff. and Pl. XI.

[9] Horace C. BECK, "Notes on Sundry Asiatic Beads", *Man*, 1930, XXX, 172.

[10] (Anonymous), "Roman Coins found in Southern India", *The Numismatic Chronicle aud Journal of the Numismatic Society*, 1843-44, VI, 162. Also see BIRD, *op. cit.*, *JBBRAS*, 1841-44, I, 294; ELLIOT, "Discovery of Roman Coins in the Coimbatore District", *MJLS*, 1844, XIII, (Pt. I), 214; G. BIDIE, *Catalogue of Coins in the Collection of the Government Central Museum, Madras*, (Madras, 1874), p. 1; THURSTON. *op. cit.*, p 8; Robert SEWELL, "Roman Coins found in India", *JRAS*, 1904, 623.

[11] *Letters on the Climate, Inhabitants, Productions, &c., &c, of the Neilgherries, or Blue Mountains of Coimbatoor, South India*, (London, 1829), p. 82. Cf. H. CONGREVE, "The Antiquities of the Neilgherry Hills, including an Inquiry into the Descent of the Thautawars or Todars", *MJLS*, 1847, XIV, 145; and Richard F. BURTON, *Goa and the Blue Mountains*, (London, 1851), p. 314, fn. Captain J. OUCHTERLONY was obviously not aware of this find when he wrote that no coins have been reported from the megaliths of the Nilgiris. "Geographical and Statistical Memoir of a Survey of the Neilgherry Mountains", *MJLS*, 1848, XV, 50, 81.

[12] HOUGH, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[13] *Ibid.*, pp. 83-4.

Mr. HOUGH[19] says that "many coins, unquestionably Roman" have been found from "cairns" of the southern Ghats. Captain CONGREVE says that "in the low country where cairns have been opened Roman coins in a high state of preservation were found".[20] According to BURTON these coins are "of the Lower Empire especially".[21] The Rev. Father H. HOSTEN, S. J. was informed by local people during his tour in the Palnis "that coins had been found on various occasions" from the dolmens near Kodaikanal.[22]

The latest discovery of a Roman coin from an Indian megalith was in 1929 from a "cist" at Chandravalli, Chitaldurg district, Mysore. It is a denarius placed outside the side slabs of the cist.[23] It belongs to the reign of Tiberius (A.D. 14–37).[24]

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[14] G. F. HILL, *Historical Roman Coins*, (London, 1909), p. 49.

[15] Seth William STEVENSON, C. Roach SMITH and Frederic W. MADDEN, *A Dictionary of Roman Coins*, (London, 1889), p. 719.

[16] HOUGH, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[17] *The Encyclopædia Britannica*, 14th Edn., Vol. 16, p. 622.

[18] G. F. HILL, "Roman Aurei from Pudukota, South India", *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society*, 3rd series, XVIII, 304–20.

[19] HOUGH, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[20] CONGREVE, *op. cit.*, 145.

[21] BURTON, *op. cit.*, p. 314, fn.

[22] "Prehistoric remains near Kodaikanal, Palnis", *Anthropos*, 1907, II, 737–8.

[23] *Excavation at Chandravalli*, (*Archæological Survey of Mysore*), (Bangalore, 1931), p. 16.

[24] R. E. M. WHEELER, "Arikamedu: an Indo-Roman Trading Station on the East Coast of India", Appendix I, *Ancient India: Bulletin of the Archæological Survey of India*", No 2, (Delhi, 1946), p. 120.

APPENDIX

The Anuual Report on the Administration of the Bengal Presidency for 1868-69[25] states that two "iron" coins were obtained from a "tumulus" in the Bettiah subdivision of Bihar. Alexander Cunningham[26] refers to s small punch-marked silver coin which was found by Major Pearse of the Madras Artillery on digging up one of the "barrows", at Lauriya-Nandangarh (not Navandgarh) in the Bettiah sub-division. But recent excavations carried out by the Archæological Survey of India at Lauriya-Nandangarh have proved that many of the mounds at Lauriya are Buddhist in character, enclosing *stupas*.[27]

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[25] p. 273.

[26] *Four Report made during the years 1862-63-64-65*, (*Archæological Survey of India*), I, (Simla, 1871), 70.

[27] N. G. Majumdar, "Explorations at Lauriya-Nandangarh", *ASI, AR*, 1935-36, p. 62.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EXPLORATIONS IN BELLARY

The first (interim) Report on the explorations carried out in and around the town of Bellary.*

By

B. SUBBARAO

The Bellary District occupies the western extensions of the ancient Andhra Deśa and it might have been co-extensive with what is described in an inscription of the 4th century A.D. as the "Sātāhaniraṭṭha".[1] It now forms the westernmost district of the Ceded Districts of the Madras Presidency. The District is separated from the Deccan-Karnatak by the Tungabhadrā River and serves as a corridor between the cultural belts of Karnatak and Northern Deccan and those of southern and south-eastern coasts of India.

Since the last quarter of the 19th century the district has been sporadically explored by a number of scholars, geologists and civilians, the most important among whom is Robert Bruce FOOTE. The explorations have brought to light a rich material evidence for the existence of prehistoric man; his settlements : rock shelters, cinder camps ; his tools : microliths, neoliths ; and his burials—megalithic monuments.

The importance, richness and antiquity of the District have been recognised long ago. For students of Indian archaeology its importance has been enhanced by the existence of Aśokan Inscriptions to the north of it in the Raichur District of Hyderabad (Deccan) and the Chitaldrug District of Mysore and to the east of it in the Kurnool District of Madras Presidency.[2] Thus the Mauryan association should help us to date the sequence of cultures at the site. But due to lack of systematic work some of the following problems await a solution.[3]

1. What is the antiquity of the various finds ?
2. Do they belong to one cultural phase ?

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* I am very much indebted to my teacher, Dr. H. D. SANKALIA for having given me the subject and guiding me; to Dr. R. E. M. WHEELER, Director-General of Archaeology in India for granting me the necessary facilities and permission to make reference to his excavations at Brahmagiri, where I was also present. All the drawings have been made by Sheikh Zainuddin ANSARI.

[1] Hirahaḍgalli copper plate of SivaSkandavarman—4th plate (b). *Ep. Ind.* I, p. 6.

[2] The importance of this region has been very well stressed by the late Rao Bahadur K. N. DIKSHIT in his Presidential Address at the 6th Session of the Indian History Congress in 1943.

[3] The recent excavations conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India at Brahmagiri in the Chitaldrug District of Mysore should serve as a starting point for a systematic exploration in the region.

3. What is their place in the sequence of prehistoric, protohistoric and historic cultures?
4. To what people can these finds be attributed?
5. What is the place occupied by Bellary District as a corridor for the migration of cultures?[4]

A systematic exploration followed by scientific excavation and study of finds alone, can solve all or some of the problems.[5]

The following is the first Interim Report on the surface explorations carried out by the writer on behalf of the Deccan College Post-graduate and Research Institute in the area round about the town of Bellary.

The District was explored mainly by FOOTE and this work deals with further explorations carried out on the clues left by him so that it should serve as a spade work for regular excavation at the site.

The principal prehistoric settlements in the town of Bellary are the two hills and the area to its north. On one of them there is a fort of the 16th century. To the north of it stands the "North Hill", also called the "Face Hill".[6]

The other principal settlements are three and half miles to the north-east of Bellary in the villages of Sanganakal[7] and Sirivaram. The prehistoric settlements are located on and around the three hills to the north of the village—Sannarasamma, Sandamma and Sadāsiva.

To the north of this group of hills lies another bigger hill, the famous "Kupgal hill".[8] (Sirivaram hill locally called "Viṭṭhalappa Guṭṭa"). Separating this large hill and the group of hills referred to is a large valley called "the Valley of Sanganakal" for convenience. Toward the eastern end both the hills join together giving the whole settlement an appearance of a large horse-shoe shaped valley surrounded by hills on three sides.

The geology of the area is very simple.[9] The whole area falls into the archaean system and all the hills in the region described consist of Felspatho-quartzose granatoids. "The granatoids in Bellary District and the adjacent districts of Anantpur, Karnul and Kadapa are also traversed by very numerous trap dykes of great size and length''.[10]

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[4] F. J. RICHARDS, "Geographical Factors in Indian Archaeology", *IA.* LXII.

[5] Recent excavations at Brahmagiri provide answers to some of the problems.

[6] So called on account of the curious arrangement of the boulders on top of the hill which gives the appearance of a face in profile. (*Gazetteer of the Bellary District.*)

[7] Saṅgana = Siva's, *kal* = stone. So called on account of the village deity worshipped as 'Saṅgameśvara'.

[8] The hill properly should be called the Viṭṭhalappa Guṭṭa and is properly within the limits of Sirivaram village. Because it is opposite the village of Kupgal this has been called so. This is also called the "Peacock hill".

[9] The following account is taken from FOOTE's *Geology of the Bellary District, Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India,* Vol. XXV.

The most important feature of the Sanganakal region, is the existence of a trap dyke of diorite about 40 yards wide which traverses axially in a north-west by western direction. The dyke weathers into convenient nodules, which should have been easily chipped into his favourite shapes by the neolithic man. It is this dyke that has enabled him to have factory at the site, as the large quantities of flakes lying in the area show and also implements in various stages of manufacture.

About six to eight miles to the west of Bellary we meet the Sandur-Copper Mountain[11] Band of the Dharwar system. This system abounds in Haematite Quartzites which represents the main source of raw material for the palaeoliths found by FOOTE in the Bellary District. FOOTE found one 'palaeolith' at the foot of the North Hill.

A number of haematite quartzite scrapers were collected by the writer near this hill. The talus shingle fans at the foot of the great range of the Dharwar band have been ascribed to the pleistocene by FOOTE.

As already noticed it is to FOOTE, that we owe a lot of knowledge of this tract.[12] He found stone implements and flakes, and pottery in the rock crevices on the "Fort Hill" as well as the "North Hill". He also noticed haematite and iron slag at the foot of the North Hill.

He mentions "made grounds at Sanganakal".[13]

He has described at length the settlements at Kupgal, which he thought to be the largest neolithic settlement in India on account of the large collection, which he made, of neolithic axes and other implements and microliths.[14]

The most interesting objects from Kupgal are the crude rock bruising or graffiti on the northern side of the Kupgal hill, facing the mango-grove behind the village of Sirivaram. They were noticed by Fred FAWCET and Hubert T. KNOX in the eighties of the last century. A paper was read on them at the International Congress of Orientalists in 1892 by Fred FAWCET and published with hand sketches made by SEWEL.[15] Unfortunately a mystery surrounds the photographs of the graffiti taken by Fred FAWCET and presented to FOOTE.

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[10] *Ibid.*, p. 29.

[11] So called on account of the current tradition that Tippu Sultan mined copper from this hill. FOOTE, *Geology of the Bellary District*, p. 91.

[12] *Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities in the Madras Museum*, 1916 (*IPPA*).

[13] Catalogue Raitonne of *IPPA*. *JRAS*, Bengal, LVI, Pt. II, No. 3, 1887. "Notes on some recent Neolithic and Palaeolithic finds in South India".

[14] Foote Collection in the Madras Museum contains 83 microliths of chert and quartz.

But in 1913, A. H. LONGHURST[16] reported that all the traces of the graffiti had been lost.

In the course of the present exploration the writer could recover some of them.

The other objects which attracted the attention of so many writers are the two cinder mounds at Kupgal and the cinder camp at Sanganakal noticed by Capt. NEWBOLD in 1836.[18] These heaps of scoriaceous cinder and vitrious slag have been the object of a controversy for over hundred years, the opinion ranging from heaps of cowdung to traces of iron ore smelting.

FOOTE was not interested in megalithic monuments and he did not mention any in the area surveyed by the writer. Stone circles were noticed by Fred FAWCET.[18]

As already referred to, the clues left by FOOTE were fully taken advantage of and the material, in addition to the new findings, have been presented more systematically, so that it should help future regular excavation at the sites.

On the "Fort Hill" the traces of prehistoric settlement noticed by FOOTE consists mainly of old pottery and flakes of trap and quartz, lying in the crevices of the boulders in the N. E. corner of the Fort enclosure. One neolithic pounder was noticed by the writer ! There is no trace of habitation of the prehistoric man on the top.

But in a rock shelter at the foot of the hill on the northern side opening into the ditch, a large collection of black polished ware, characteristic of the megalithic pottery of the region was made. All along the foot of the hill large quantities of ashes were noticed. The plain ground between the Fort Hill yielded a few potsherds with criss-cross patterns painted on red or brown slip.[19]

The "North Hill" is more interesting on account of the large plain grounds on the top of the hill which bear full evidence of habitation of the prehistoric man.

Along the northern foot of the hill, there is a small nullah or stream which yielded a few trap flakes and also a number of haematite quartzite discoid scrapers.

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[15] *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, New Series III (1892). "Prehistoric Rock Pictures near Bellary", (*AQR*).

[16] *ARASI*, 1912-13, Southern Circle.

[17] *JRAS*, Vol. VIII, 1843, "On Some Ancient Scorious Ashes in Southern India".

[18] *AOR* (NS) III, 1892, p. 148.

[19] These are generally assigned to the beginnings of the Christian era. *Vide* detailed discussion at the end.

As one sees the summit of the hill from the "Fort Hill" one can see three made grounds or plateaus running from left to right. There is an easy way leading to them from the northern side of the hill by the side of a small temple and a spring, locally called the Kumbara Kunta. This way leads to the third made ground. One gets there crude potsherds.

The evidence of prehistoric human habitation is well preserved in the middle one. There is a small artificial pond. In the bed of the pond was found a fine chert core, agate flake and two quartz flakes.

Just above the pond to the east of it is a raised ground full of ashes. There is a small rock shelter which is full of coarse gritty ware. Just behind the shelter is an ash-bed which yielded pottery and one neolithic celt. A piece of slag (?) was also found.

In the plain between the two hills as well as around we get large thick and gritty potsherds with flared necks and sometimes finger marks either on the rim or on the shoulder.[20]

Besides these we get megalithic pottery as already referred to. At the northern foot of the hill we get oblong cairns or stones arranged in a rectangular fashion.[21]

Turning to the neolithic factory site at Sanganakal all round the huge horseshoe-shaped valley surrounded by hills on three sides, as well as in the valley, we get extensive traces of habitation of the prehistoric man. The main areas of the site are described one by one.

The evidence is best preserved on the plateau on the top of the Sannarasamma hill. There is very good deposit of earth on the top of the plain. The whole area is strewn with ashes, neolithic axes and flakes, microliths of chert and quartz and ancient pottery including the red and black ware, criss-cross ware and sherds painted with purple and black lines on dull red background.[22]

The most interesting feature of this hill as well as the Sandamma hill is the existence of rock shelters full of ashes and potsherds. One of them at the foot of the Sannarasamma hill yielded a neolithic axe. On the top of the hill there are good rock shelters facing the central plateau. At least one of them has a good deposit of earth inside.

About the plain ground itself there is a five to eight feet of good earth deposit which is capable of yielding interesting results when excavated.[23]

Besides the pottery already mentioned a bi-conical carnelian bead was found on the top of the hill. (Pl. III, No. 3, iii).

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[20] 20. Many of them go with the urn-burial phase at Brahmagiri which has been termed the "polished axe culture".

[21] 21. They will be explained in detail in the later part of the paper.

[22] 22. Pottery will be dealt with separately at the end.

[23] 23. Some years back it is said that cultivation was attempted on the top of the hill, but given up owing to the problem of conveying water there.

On the top of this hill were found lumps of slag (?) which are similar to the cinder mounds in the neighbourhood.

The next is the Sandamma hill. It has not got much evidence except for a small heap of cinder and potsherds. This hill yielded a fine stone chisel.

The "Kupgal Hill" has received the attention of many famous civilians of Bellary and geologists, and vast collections of implements have been made. FOOTE's Collection in the Madras Museum alone includes 280 celts in all stages of manufacture and 84 microliths.

This hill has been practically denuded of its surface evidence and the vandalism of the quarry man has contributed to its present plight. As far back as 1913, A. H. LONGHURST wrote that "the revetted terraces, made grounds full of ashes, broken pottery, bones—all these interesting signs have been swept away, including the rock pictures......".[24]

Of course, the whole area is very much disturbed and lot of clearing is necessary.

The valley of Sanganakal bears extensive traces of old habitation. A special mention may be made of the area behind the Sandamma hill, called "Siddhuni matti" which has yielded the largest quantity of red and black ware with criss-cross patterns. Among the finds may be mentioned, part of a bowl (Pl. III, No. 5) and a cup and many potsherds.

At the foot of the Sannarasamma hill outside the valley was found a spherical carnelian bead. (Pl. III, No. 3, ii)

The valley itself was inhabited by the prehistoric man, who left his traces in the valley including megalithic monuments. At the foot of the Sannarasamma hill inside the valley was found an etched carnelian bead. (Pl. III, No. 3, i).

The area surveyed seems to have contained megalithic monuments which have been disturbed. For example, north of the village of Sanganakal, there were said to be stone circles which were removed,—according to my guide,—only five years ago for cultivation. Such is the sad tale of the valley of Sanganakal also, which has been cleared for cultivation. But a few menhirs and stone circles remain to show that they existed. Fred FAWCET noticed stone circles "in the plain around Kupgal and the Bellary Hills".[25]

Besides this we get typical megalithic pottery in the whole area.

In the Sanganakal area altogether three menhirs and about six perfectly preserved stone circles were found. To the north of the villages and at the southern side of the hills were two menhirs and one stone circle.

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[24] *ARASI*, S. Cl. (1912-13).

[25] *AQR* (NS), III, 1892, " Tumuli of the Circular Kind ".

Menhir	*Description*
I[26]	Crude stone tapering towards the top, 5′-8″ in height.
II	Crude undressed stone, 5′ high. On all the four sides in a line with the central menhir were noticed 4 stones. Their significance, if any, remains to be seen.
III	Semi-dressed stone, roughly 2′ square in section at the top and 2′-6″ square at the bottom. (Plate I, 4)

In this area no cists were noticed but only stone circles. The existence of megalithic pottery at the site is beyond doubt and it corroborates indirectly the local information of the existence of stone circles, which the villagers look with awe and only disturb them in cases of extreme necessity like a famine. This has been confirmed by Fred FAWCET.

At Sanganakal, to the north of the village is a well preserved stone circle.[27] (Plate I, 3).

In the centre of the valley and at the foot of Sandamma hill are about eight well preserved stone circles. Their original stones are intact and some rubble is thrown over it.

As already mentioned the "Fort Hill" area gave the best and undoubted specimens of megalithic pottery.[28]

The whole area is disturbed on account of the later construction of the fort and the perilous times through which it passed.

But at the northern foot of the "North Hill" were noticed curious megalithic (?) monuments. Instead of the circle, we get stones arranged in a rectangular fashion and there is no outward trace of cist.[29] (Plate I, 1).

The "Cinder Camps" or mounds of the Bellary District have received the attention of experts for nearly a century. Much has been written but the final word has not been said.

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[26] All these megalithic monuments have been put on the plan based on the village cadastral map.

I—It is in the field of one Madiga Sivappa under a tamarind tree at the northern outskirts of the village.

II—It is in the field of one Dasari Devappa.

III—This is in the valley of Sanganakal astride the footpath between Sannarasamma and Sadashiva hills in the field of Hanumantappa.

[27] It is in the field of one Baramappa. At Brahmagiri we find circles without cists.

[28] Some of the types resemble those of the black megalithic ware found at Brahmagiri.

[29] Col. Meadows TAYLOR, *JBBRAS*, 1851, published by the Hyderabad Archaeological Survey. Taylor has recorded the existence of oblong cairns at Shahapur hills in Hyderabad State—" Parallel or diagonal lines having squares of 18 to 20 feet "—sides consisting of large granite blocks. Actually three of them have double rows of stones (Papers of Meadows TAYLOR, p. 52). Also at *IJJERI*, p. 42.

The cinder is nothing but vitreous slag and ash. We know of nearly 15 places in Bellary District where we have these low mounds of slag and ash. The two mounds at Kupgal and the one at Sanganakal were noticed a little later.[30]

Let us confine ourselves to Kupgal cinder camps.

They are situated at the eastern foot of "Kupgal Hill" and are located in the plan accompanying this paper.

They have been described as being in the shape of a "depressed truncated cone" rising to a height of fifteen feet. The summit is "tabular", girt in by a low wall of semi-vitrified blocks of scorious ashes.[31] The longest diameter of the mound I (nearer the hill) is 31 yards.

He made two excavations in the mound nearer the hill (No. 1 of FOOTE), one "commencing near the summit, exterior to the wall of ashes" and the other from the centre down to the base".

These showed the section as under (from the top).[32]

Layer No.	*Description*	*Thickness*
1.	"Earth of an ashy grey and whitish brown colour...stretched with horizontal bands of brown hue and of a soft chalky texture, portions of which are unctuous to the touch".	4′–6″
2.	"Scorious masses in a state of more or less vitrification mingled with whitish pulverulent ashes".	5′
3.	"Dark earth which before the blow pipe first reddened and finally fused into a greyish enamel".	2′–3″
4.	"Thick gravel resting on green stone".[33]	3′

Below is a summary of the various views expressed on the origin of cinder.

J. PRINSEP :[34] Volcanic.

Capt. T. J. NEWBOLD : Calcined and semi-vitrified and hence great sacrificial holocausts performed by the Rishis of old.

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[30] Capt. NEWBOLD, a geologist engaged in his geological traverses stumbled upon the famous mound at Kudatani in 1836 and the Kupgal mounds were dug in 1843.

[31] "On some Ancient Mounds of Scorious Ashes in Southern India" by T. J. NEWBOLD, *JRAS*, 1843, p. 131.

[32] *JRAS*, 1843, p. 131.

[33] This is significant, as A. H. LONGHURST's excavations at the Kudatani cinder Mound has revealed a regular platform on which the cinder mounds rest. *ARA SI.*, S. E., 1912-13.

[34] *JRAS*, VII (1843), p. 129.

Davies of Manchester:[35] Animal origin on account of the content of lime and phosphoric acid.

Hubert T. Knox: Associated with prehistoric settlements.

E. T. Newton:[36] "One specimen is undoubtedly human, two are certainly not human and the rest are undeterminable".

Sewel:[37] "Remains of extensive incinerations of bodies of men slain in battle". Some of them are probably of the neolithic age. Aie they all so?

Foote:[38] Zariba or mounds of Cowdung inside a fence or funeral pyre, or feasting places.

A. H. Longhurst:[39] He conducted excavations at the Kudatani cinder mound, and ascribed it to the Vijayanagar period.

Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Modi:[40] Remnants of double process burials similar to cinder camps which have a wide distribution from Germany in the West to Japan in the East.

Turning to the present state of the mounds, these mounds at Kupgal have been tampered with by people for ashes and very little is left of those impressive mounds described by Newbold and Foote.

Sewel and Longhurst are certainly away from the truth when they associated the cinder mounds with the battles of the Vijayanagar period on account of their location on the supposed routes leading to Hampi, as they are inevitably associated with the prehistoric sites in the District. The writer noticed cinder and slag on the tops of the hills at Sanganakal as well as the Fort Hill and the North Hill in the town of Bellary.

So we have to reserve our judgment, but their antiquity for at the least two millenniums is undoubted.

The crude bruisings on the flat surfaces of the trap boulders at the eastern foot of the Kupgal hill were noticed in the eighties of the last century by Knox and Fawcet.

Fawcet read a paper at the International Congress of Orientalists in 1891 and subsequently he published a paper on the "Prehistoric rock pictures near Bellary".[41] He discussed at length about their date and thought them to be at least what he called "pre-Hindu" if not "prehistoric".

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[35] *Ibid*, Newbold accepted the local tradition., *Ibid*, 134.

[36] *JRAS*, 1899, p. 7 "Cinder Mounds of Bellary", p. 1-16.

[37] *JRAS*, 1899, p. 15.

[38] *Ibid.*, p. 14. IPPA. p. 94.

[39] *Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey*, Southern Circle, 1912-13.
It is interesting to note that this area is a rich neolithic site. At Gadigannur there is a cinder mound at the foot of a big hill which has yielded neoliths.

[40] *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XIV, No. 7.

[41] *AQR*, III, 1892, p. 147-57.

The technique of the drawing is bruising i.e. formed by striking with stone. This is quite a common thing even these days and the problem of these drawings has been complicated by the existence of modern ones by the side, a fact which has been acknowledged by FAWCET[42] as well.

In 1913,[43] LONGHURST visited the site and recorded that the traces of the neolithic settlement at Kupgal as well as the graffiti had been lost and he declared in that connection that the site need not be a protected monument.

Unfortunately, even the photographs of FAWCET with FOOTE, have been lost and so nothing remains of them, but for the description of a few of them by FOOTE[44] and FAWCET with hand sketches of some of them by SEWEL.[45]

So when the writer went there in 1946, the whole area was thoroughly searched and some of them have been recovered and detailed investigation is proposed to be made in the next season. The present location tallies with what is described by FRANCIS[46] as well as that by FAWCET.[47] So there seems to be no doubt, that certain graffiti noticed by the writer are identical with those described by FOOTE.

Some of the boulders are upside down and hence the drawings on them. These confused piles of boulders stretching over more than a furlong need a detailed investigation.

Some of the animals drawn by those artists include the dog, ox, bull with long horns, deer, leopard, antelope and elephant. Some composite scenes are there.

All the human figures are drawn very crudely and represented as naked. One which the writer could identify is that of deer and leopard and a man standing before it with a bow and an arrow. Another is that of a man riding an elephant. According to FOOTE some of the figures are "strangely obscene".[48]

The chronology of the various Stone Age periods in India is as yet unsettled for want of systematic explorations.

About the palaeoliths of Bellary, for example, some were collected by FOOTE in the talus shingle fans at the foot of the copper hill in the district and one in the gravel beds of Tungabhadra at Nittur and Hirakuruvatti. He ascribed the talus formations to the pleistocene. But it is difficult to see how a palaeolith (?) could be found at the North Hill in the town of Bellary, nearly eight miles away from the nearest talus formation, unless it is a stray surface find.

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[42] *Ibid.*, p. 150, *IPPA*, p. 88.

[43] *ARASI*, Soc. 1912–13.

[44] *IPPA*, p. 88.

[45] *AQR*, III, 1892, p. 147.

[46] *Gazetteer of the Bellary District.*

[47] *Ibid.*

[48] *IPPA*, 89.

One has also to be careful likewise in interpreting the so-called microlithic and neolithic implements in South India.[49] Probably it is safer for sometimes to confine these two terms "neolithic" and "microlithic" to particular types of industry without any chronological significance.

In the Bellary District, almost all the sites visited by FOOTE have yielded large number of microliths, though there are a few notable exceptions like Nagaldinne and other sites on the bank of the river Tungabhadra which have yielded only microliths, while sites in the interior have given only neoliths. But the relation of microliths and neoliths in this part of the country, as already noticed, is yet to be settled. For, at Brahmagiri they were found in the same layers right to the virgin soil. FOOTE collected 84 microliths made of crypto crystaline varieties of quartz. The writer found one chert core trimming (Pl. VI, 14) and a chert blade and several flakes at Sanganakal and one core and blade of chert near the Bellary town sites (Pl. VI, 15 & 16).

For a study of the neolithic industry of South India, the importance of Sanganakal has been enhanced by the fact that it is a huge factory site with a trap dyke of basalt running amidst it. And hence there is no wonder at the number and variety of neolithic tools made of the local basalt : axes, discoid scrapers, round and slightly oblong pounders, chisels, picks, fabricators, a hoe, a shoe-last celt and a disc.[50]

By far the most important tool seems to be the celt or the axe. Besides the vast collections made at the site by previous explorers, the writer has collected nearly 60 celts in all the stages of manufacture described by FOOTE.[51] The main stages may be summarised below : the shape is secured in the first stage by removing large flakes leaving very high and prominent ridges (Pl. IV, 1, 2), the ridges are removed in the next stage by pressure flaking (Pl. IV, 3); or the axes are sometimes used without the polishing and so we get chipped axes with polished cutting edge (Pl. IV, 3). The polishing seems to have been done in two stages. First the excessive roughness is removed by pecking (Pl. III, 1, ii & Pl. IV, 4). The final stage gives the axe its fine polish (Pl. IV, 5 & 6 & III, 1, i).

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49. For in the first systematic excavation conducted by Dr. R. E. M. WHEELER at Brahmagiri, we are confronted with an interesting evidence. Microliths, polished axes and a copper celt are found in the same levels and appear to be contemporary. At Brahmagiri, microliths begin to appear in large numbers from the layers of the megalithic culture and go down to the natural soil.

50. Whether all the types of implements, especially the axes belong to the same phase and period or represent an evolutionary series, only an excavation at the site can show.

51. *IPPA*, p. 85.

The important problem is whether all the axes belong to the same phase. As they are only surface finds their typology and chronology are uncertain. But there are unmistakable traces of various types and as a matter of conjecture the following facts may be cited. There are the basal features, viz. a sharp convex cutting edge with butt-end more or less pointed.[52] But the section at the butt-end varies. Some have pointed flat oval section which is considered an early feature in England[53] Some have more or less circular sections (B (c) 52), which is considered an early feature in the western area.[54] Some have thin flat butts, generally only chipped. The other types are those with extreme convexity of faces, those with flat sides (Pl. V, 3 & 4) and those with more or less flat and square sides (Pl. V, 2a & 4). Finally must be mentioned those with almost straight sides (Pl. V, 1) and those with blunt butts (Pl. V. 2).

Another important feature of the neolithic industry at this site is the abundance of discoid scrapers, next only to axes. Generally they are worked on both the sides giving a sharp edge all round. Some are extremely thick and almost bi-conical. But some are worked only on one side with prominent bulbs of percussion on the other side (Pl. II, 1). The flake industry with technique resembling the 'Levallois' seems to be the earliest, on account of the heavy yellowish patina.

The hammer stone or pounder is generally round and flat with traces of use along the edge (Pl. II, ii, iii, v). But some are almost oblong. FAWCET[55] found two perforated hammerstones, one broken and the other complete. One spherical stone, probably a sling stone, (Pl. II, 2, i) was found. FOOTE found a belted hammerstone with a groove or constriction in the middle.

The chisels are generally thin and long and are worked on both the sides. The chisel (B (c) 57) has a finely polished sharp cutting edge (Pl. VI, 3). Probably it was held in hand and used as it is bruised on the butt-end. The other (B (d) 58) has a straight cutting edge with a pointed butt probably for some hafting arrangement. There are two broken chisels with cutting edges left (Pl. VI, 5 & 6). In the same group may be stated for convenience, the long pointed tools which may be called picks. The pick (B (c) 55) has a very long and sharp point secured by chipping all over with almost a rhomboidal section slightly above the point (Pl. VI, 1). Another with a short point has a depression in the middle along its length giving a fine position for holding (Pl. VI, 4).

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[52] BURKITT, *Our Early Ancestors*, p. 103.

[53] T. D. KENDRICK and C. F. C. HAWKES, *Archaeology in England and Wales*, p. 72. also *Archaeologia*, LXXI, p. 113.

[54] BURKITT. *Ibid.*

[55] *AQR*. Ns. p. 148.

A number of long flat implements blunted at both the ends, occasionally leaving a portion of the cortex in the middle were found. Some are worked only on one side (Pl. II, 3). These may be described as fabricators for making flakes or any other purpose.[56]

Generally it is believed that the neolithic people were agriculturists. We can in no other way account for the long thick and broad crudely chipped implements with a point on one side, which may be hoes used in ploughing. At Sanganakal was found a broken pointed end of a hoe (Pl. III, 2). Another implement, a feature of early agriculture in the Danubian region, is the shoe-last celt with flat one side and the other with a convex face.[57] Such a tool was found in the shelter at the foot of the Fort Hill (Pl. V, 5).

Finally an almost circular flat disc of chrome mica gneiss about half an inch thick was found at Sanganakal (Pl. II, 2, iv).

The object of this paper is only to bring out the importance of the site and for purposes of comparison the results of the excavation conducted by the Archaeological Survey of India at Brahmagiri in northern Mysore were utilised and the surface pottery has been studied and grouped into periods based on those excavations.[58]

Both the Bellary and the Sanganakal areas have yielded the criss-cross painted ware, which is really the starting point for the chronology of the site. Besides the criss-cross ware there are a few sherds with lines and dots painted over burnished red surface. So it seems the latest occupation of the site is about the beginning of the Christian era.

As already noticed, megaliths have been noticed at both the areas, and we get the black polished potsherds and some other megalithic types. Definite types are illustrated. (1) Funnel-shaped vessel, with a pointed base, incurved rim and carination at the shoulder (Pl. VII, 2). (2) Small bowl with a groove at the rim (Pl. VII, 4). (3) Toulip bowl with a ledge (Pl. VII, 3); we get large number of rim pieces with one groove, two grooves with incised strokes along the middle band giving a rope impression (Pl. VII, 6).

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[56] Shetelic FALK and GORDON, '*Scandinavian Archaeology*', p. 38. BURKITT, *Ibid.* p. 110.

[57] Gordon V. CHILDE, *Dawn of European Civilization*, p. 172.

[58] The excavations at Brahmagiri, at which the writer was also present, have shown that the area passed through three main periods from the top :

(1) Andhra period with characteristic criss-cross designs painted on a red background which is burnished. This pottery has been found in association with Rouletted ware at Brahmagiri—with Andhra coins and a coin of AGUSTUS at Chandravalli. This has been found also at Madhavpur, Maski and Amaravati.

(2) The second is the Megalithic period, with characteristic megalithic pottery found in the contemporary habitations. (This culture is now dated by Dr. WHEELER, *Ill. Lond. News*, Nov. 15, 1947, p. 554, to 300 B.C. And the preceding chalcolithic "stone axe" culture is supposed to have endured prior to its end in 300 B.C. for several centuries). H. D. S.

(3) The third is the Pre-megalithic "polished axe culture" with rough pottery, generally hand-made. At the lower levels were found pottery with purple or black paintings on rough background with a slip in some cases and not burnished.

Finally the pottery of the pre-megalithic period, which is rough and generally hand-made. We get potsherds with purple or black paintings on rough background with slip (Pl. VII, 8–13).

No. 1, with a horizontal band with vertical bands drawn from it. (Pl. VI, 8).

No. 2, 'stretched hide' pattern (?), what looks like close cross hatching in lozenges enclosed by lines,[59] (Pl. VI, 9). Others are generally single or multiple horizontal bands.

Finally, at both the sites we get, rough, gritty and crude ware with flared necks which generally resemble the urn pottery at Brahmagiri (Pl. VII, 7–10). The other pottery of this period found includes the perforated ware and crude unburnished hand-made bowls.

INDEX TO PLATES

PLATE I

(*a*)

1. The oblong Cairns at the north foot of the 'North Hill' of Bellary (indicated by the arrow).
2. Stone circles in the valley of Sanganakal (indicated by arrows).
3. Stone circles north of the village in the field of Baramappa at Sanganakal.
4. A Menhir in the valley of Sanganakal.

(*b*)

1. Potsherds with criss-cross patterns.
2. Cinder camp I of Kupgal.
3. A view of Sannarasamma hill.
4. A photograph showing the graffiti at Kupgal.

PLATE II

1. Discoid Scrapers.
2. (i) Sling stone almost spherical (?). (ii), (iii) and (v) Hammer-stones. (iv) Disc.
3. Fabricators and slugs.
4. Unfinished and rejected axes.

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[59] *IPPA*, FOOTE Pl. 36. 386 from the North Hill.

PLATE III

1. (i) Finely polished shoe-last celt. (ii) Semi-polished axe. (III stage).
2. Pointed end of a hoe.
3. (i) Etched carnelian barrel-shape bead. (ii) Spherical carnelian bead. (iii) Bi-conical carnelian bead.
4. (i) Chisel with a polished cutting edge shown by an arrow. (ii) Pick. (iii), (vi) Butt-end portions of chisels. (iv), (v) Broken chisels.
5. Part of a bowl with criss-cross design.

PLATE IV

The celts in all the stages of manufacture have been illustrated in this plate :

1. B(c) 15. This represents the first stage, where large flakes are removed leaving prominent ridges.
2. B(d) 26. The high ridges are removed by pressure flaking leaving small shallow scars.
3. B(c) 3. A chipped and polished axe. The polished surface is shown by straight lines.
4. B(b) 40. The excessive roughness is removed by first grinding.
5. B(c) 1. The final polish gives a smooth surface. Cutting edge is shown by straight lines.
6. B(c) 2. Plano-convex shoe-last celt.

PLATE V

1. B (f) 68. An axe with straight sides.
2. B (c) 33. An axe with a blunt butt.

2a. B (c) 51. A broken axe with a square section.

3. B (c) 57. An axe after the III stage of manufacture with convex faces and pointed butt.
4. B (c) 28. An axe with plane faces and thick butt.
5. B (c) 10. A chipped axe-head having a curved cutting edge with traces of polish along it and a thick butt.

PLATE VI

1. B (c). Pick chipped all round with a very sharp point secured by chipping all over with a square section.
2. B (e) 29. Chipped and pecked axe head of basalt, with a thick butt and an almost circular section at the butt.

3. B (c) 57. Chisel with a finely polished cutting edge chipped all over.
4. B (c) 56. Pick chipped all over.
5. B (c) 60. Chisel of Basalt (chipped) with a polished cutting edge probably due to use.
6. B (b) 111. Broken chisel with traces of use at the cutting edge.
7. B (f) 112. Fabricator of basalt chipped along one edge from both the sides.

8–13. Potsherds with a purple or black rectilinear paintings.

14. Chert core trimming.

15. Chert core.

16. Chert blade.

Plate VII

1. 1–4. Black polished pottery, definite megalithic types.
2. 5. Rim piece with groove (red).
   6. Rim piece with incised ornamentation.
   7–9. Flared necked pottery.
   10. Crude thick ware with finger marks incised along the rim.

FIG. I

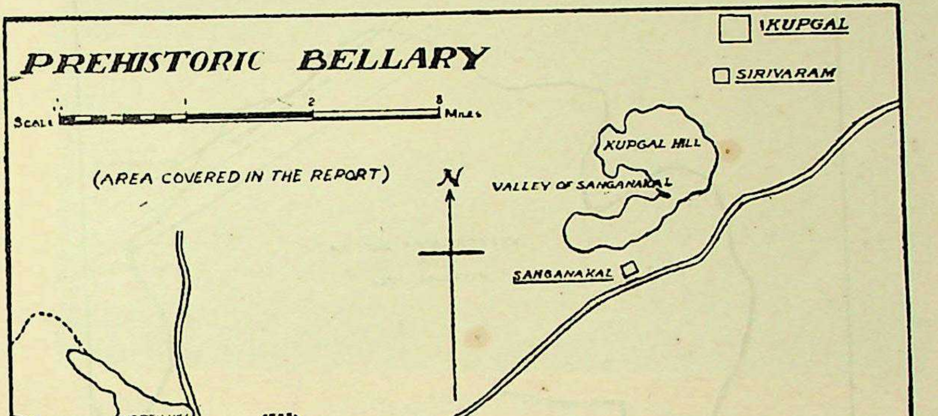
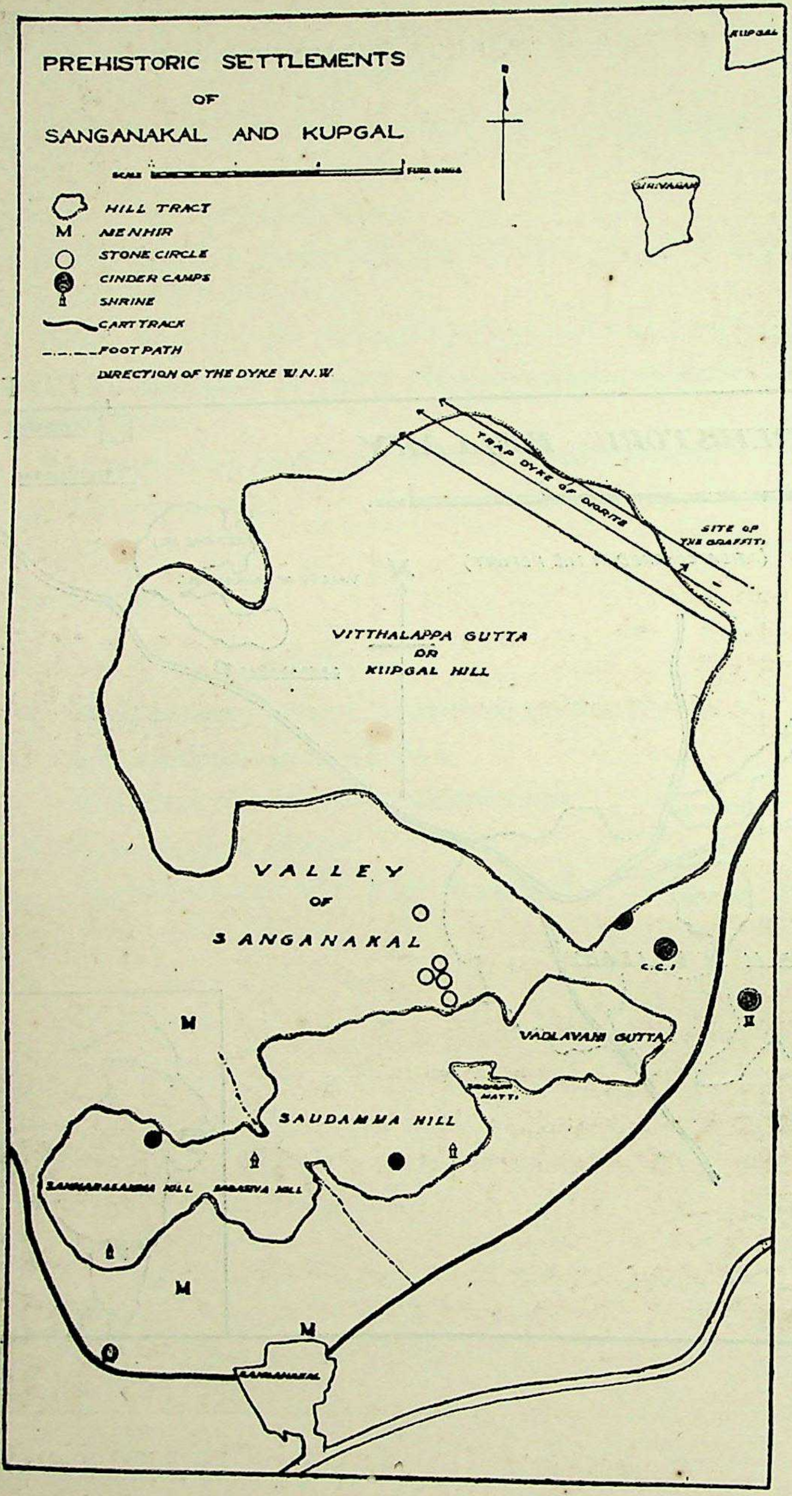

PREHISTORIC BELLARY
SCALE
1
2
3
MILES
(AREA COVERED IN THE REPORT)
N
KUPGAL
SIRIVARAM
KUPGAL HILL
VALLEY OF SANGANAKAL
SANGANAKAL
NORTH HILL
FORT HILL
TOWN OF BELLARY
BELLARY

FIG. II


PREHISTORIC SETTLEMENTS
OF
SANGANAKAL AND KUPGAL
SCALE
HILL TRACT
M NENHIR
○ STONE CIRCLE
● CINDER CAMPS
SHRINE
CART TRACK
FOOT PATH
DIRECTION OF THE DYKE W.N.W.
KUPGAL
TRAP DYKE OF DIORITE
SITE OF THE GRAFFITI
VITTHALAPPA GUTTA OR KUPGAL HILL
VALLEY OF SANGANAKAL
C.C. I
II
M
VADLAVANI GUTTA
HATTI
SAUDAMMA HILL
SADASIVA HILL
M
M

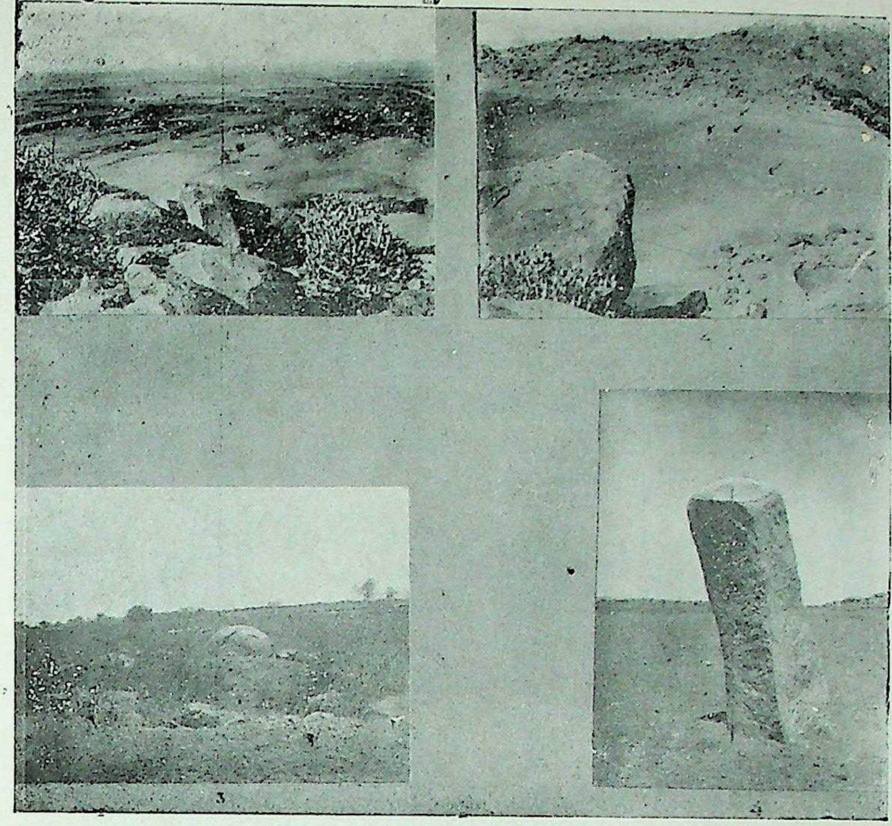
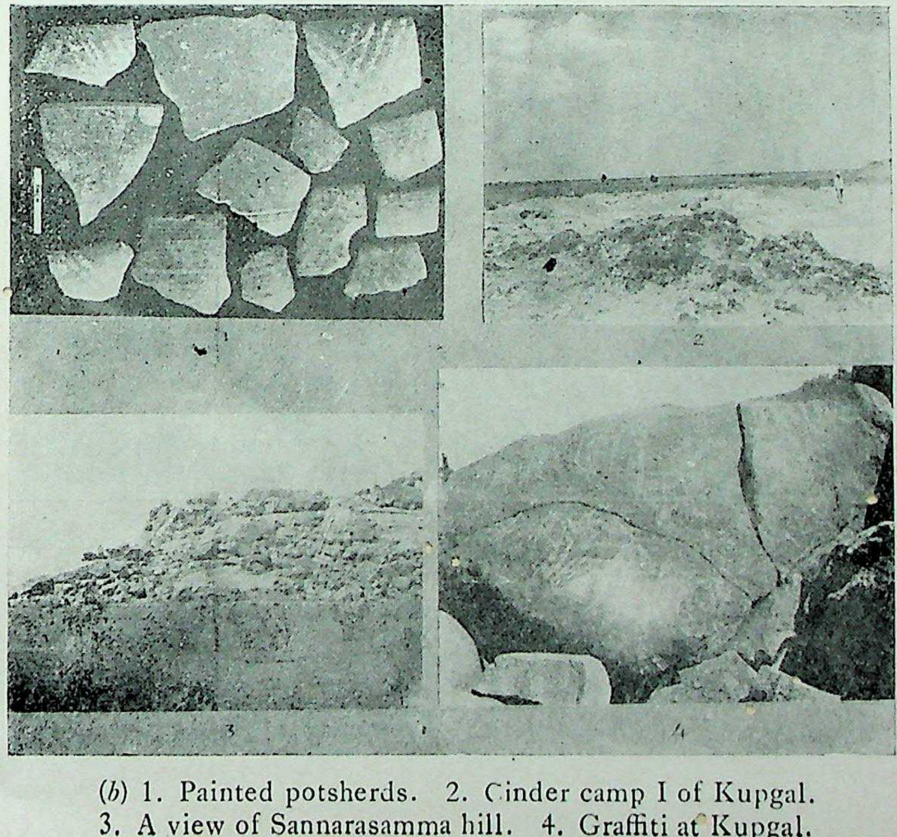
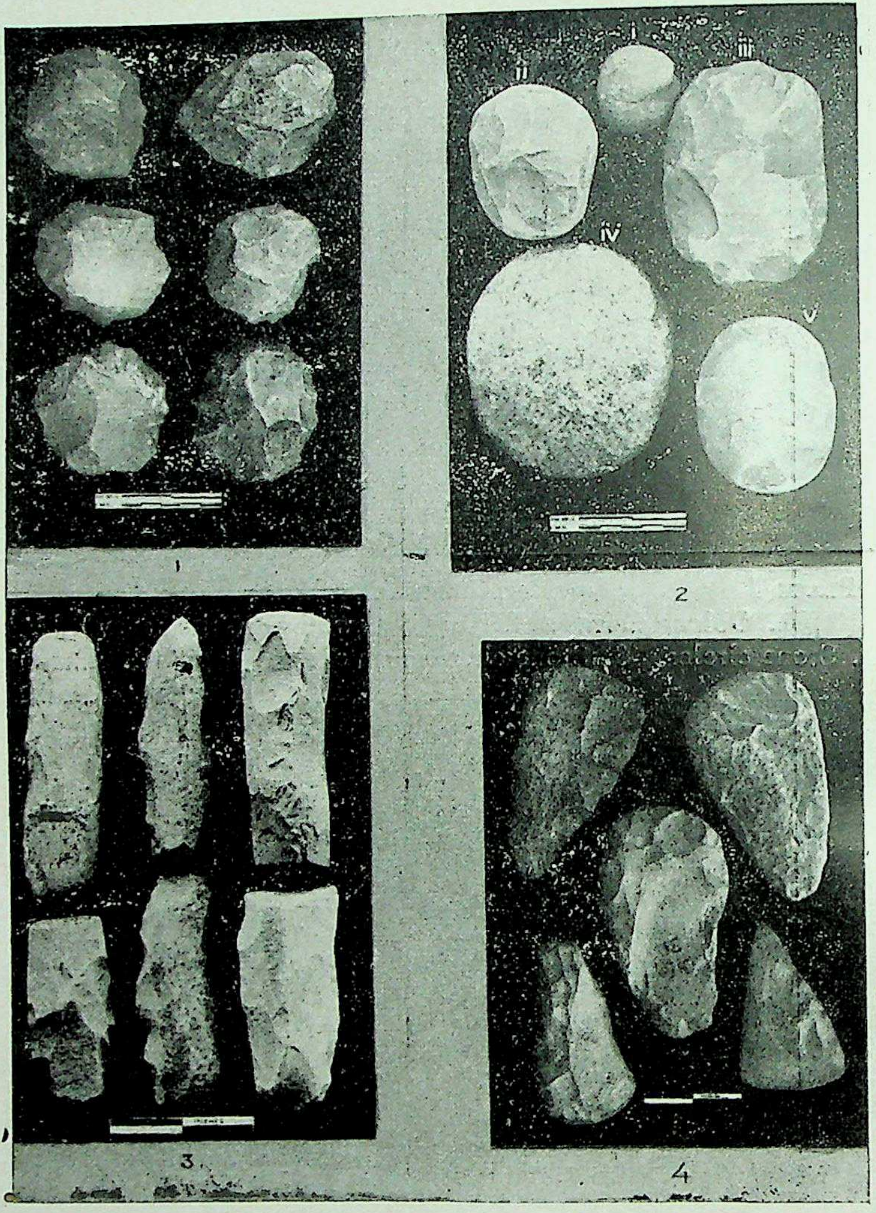


PLATE I (*a*) Megalithic Monuments:
[1. Oblong Cairns at Bellary (shown by a white arrow).]
2. Stone circles. 3. Stone circle north of the village. 4. Amenhir.



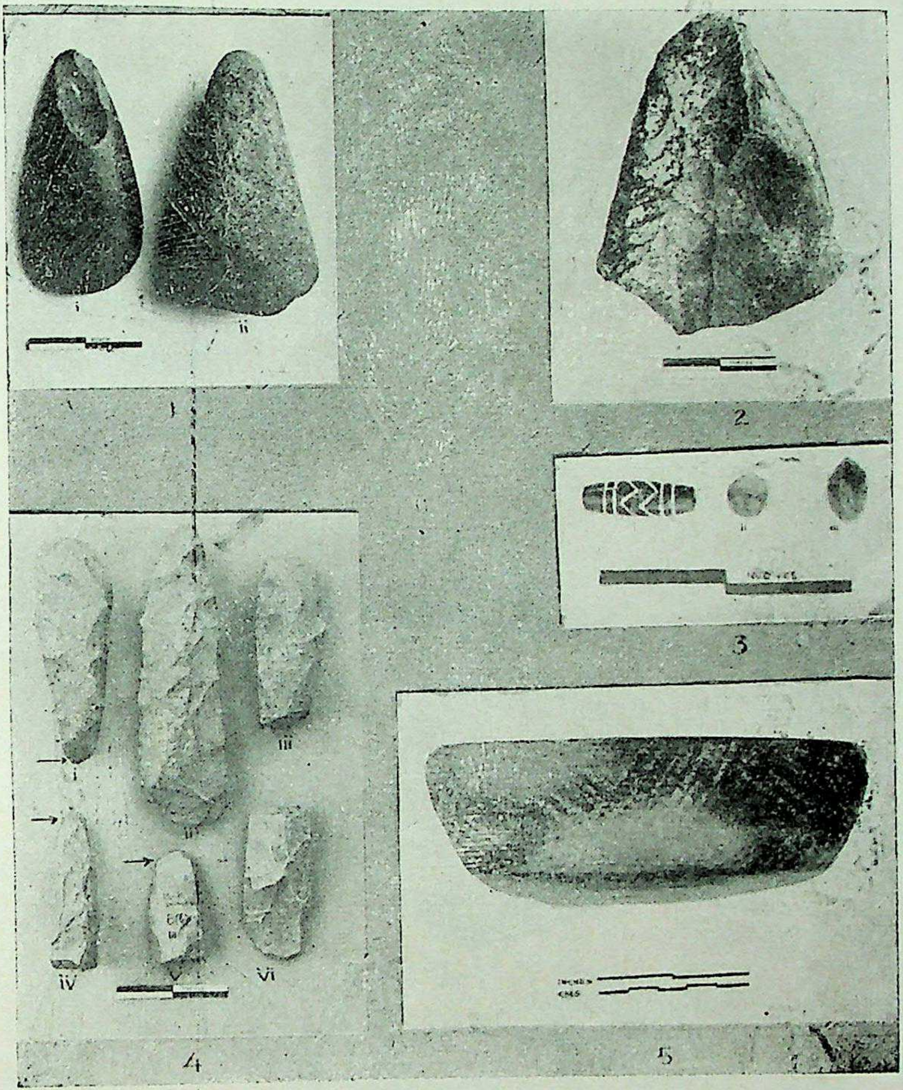
(*b*) 1. Painted potsherds. 2. Cinder camp I of Kupgal.
3. A view of Sannarasamma hill. 4. Graffiti at Kupgal.

PLATE II


i
ii
iii
iv
v
1
2
3
4

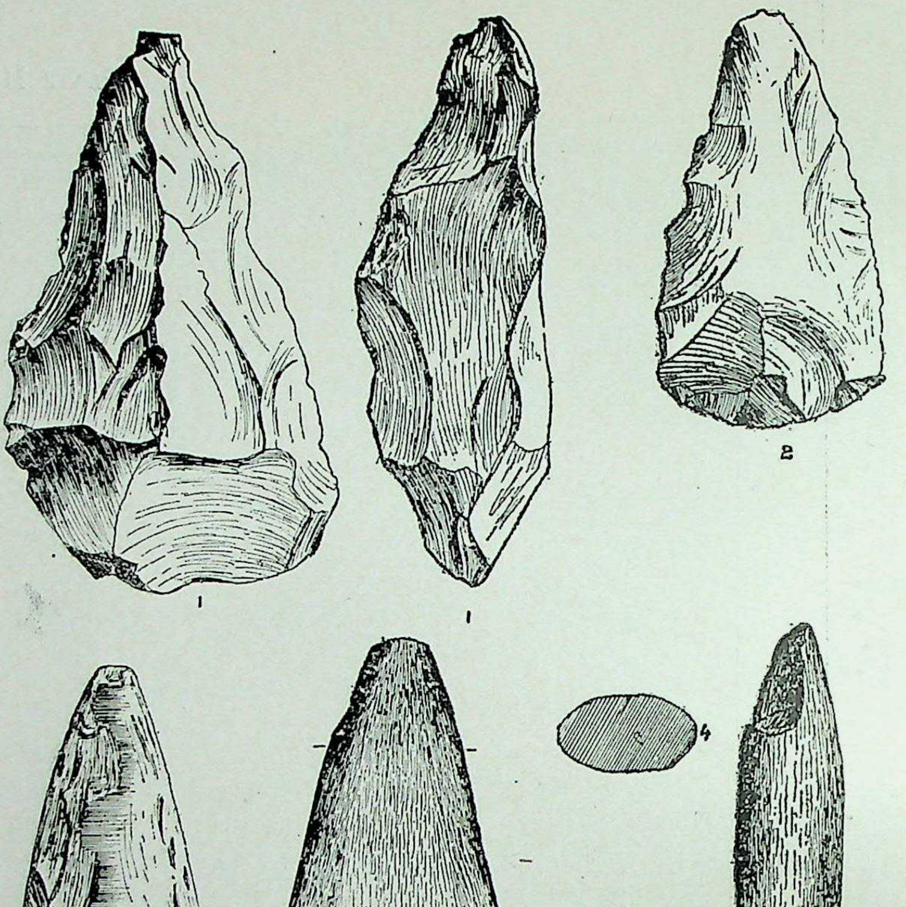
1. Discoid scrapers. 2. i, Sling stone, ii, iii, v, pounders, iv Disc.
3. Fabricators. 4. Chipped and rejected axes.

PLATE III


i
ii
1
2
ii
iii
3
i
ii
iii
iv
v
vi
4
5

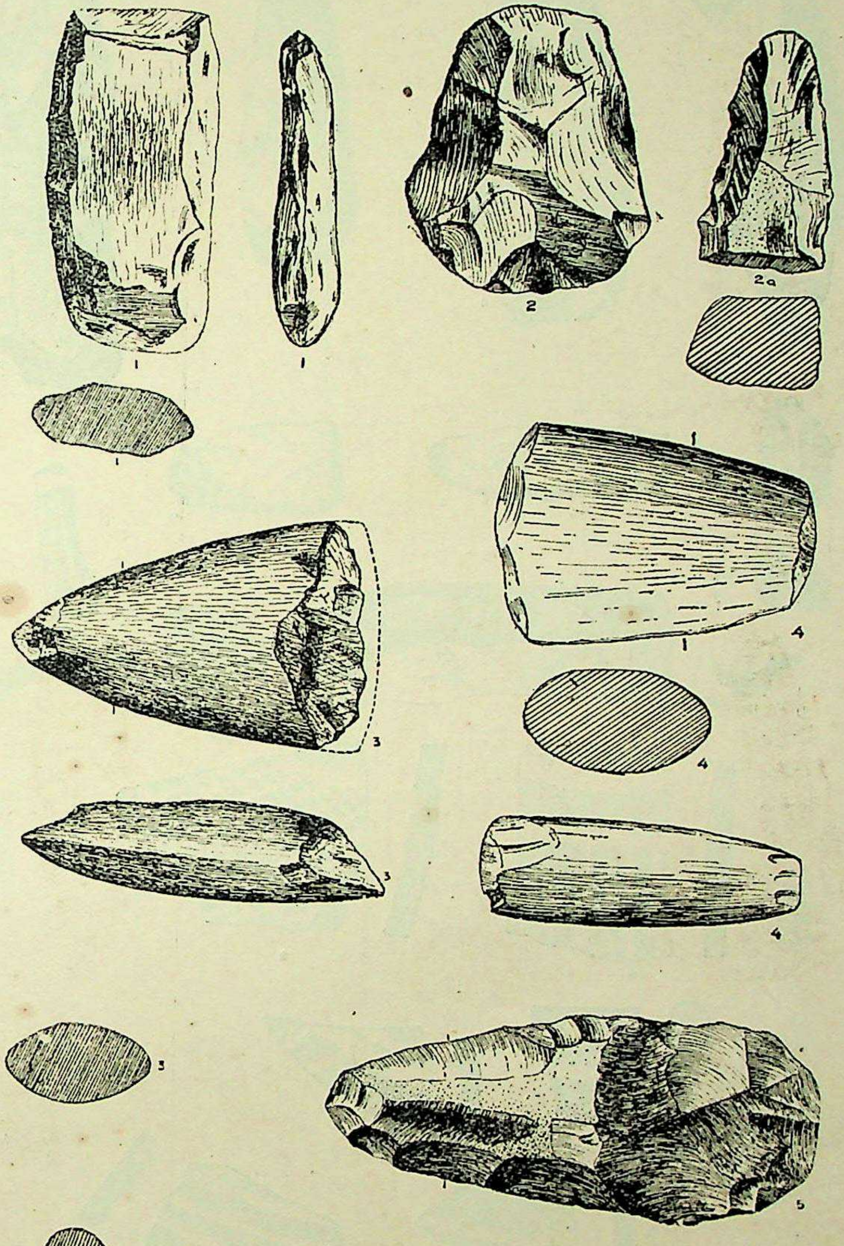
1. (i) Shoe-last celt (ii) Semi-polished axe.
2. Painted end of a hoe.
3. (i) etched carnelian barrel bead,
   (ii) spherical carnelian bead,
   (iii) biconical carnelian bead.
4. i, iii, vi, chisels, ii, pick.
5. Part of a painted bowl.

PLATE IV


1
1
2
3
4
4
4
5
5
5
6
6
6

Neolithic axes in all stages of manufacture
1. B (*c*) 15; 2. B (*d*) 26; 3. B (*c*) 3; 4. B (*b*) 40; 5. B (*c*) 10.
Scale ½.

PLATE V


1
1
2
2a
1
1
4
1
3
4
3
4
3
5
5
5

Neolithic axes

1. B (*f*) 68, 2. B (*c*) 33, 2a B (*c*) 51, 4. B (*c*) 57, 5. B (*c*) 10.

BṚHASPATI IN THE VEDIC AND EPIC LITERATURE

By

N. J. SHENDE

I. Introduction

The scholars are not unanimous about the nature and the origin of the Vedic god, Bṛhaspati. He is found in the RV as the lord of the *brahman* (the holy hymns or spells), as the household priest (*purohita*), as associated with Agni and Indra and as a warrior of heroic qualities, fighting on the battle-field with the enemies. On account of the complexity of his functions, different views prevail among the Vedic scholars regarding his true nature.

One of the oldest views is that held by ROTH.[1] He considers that Bṛhaspati is a priestly god and is the direct personification of the power of devotion. But this view fails to explain his heroic attributes and military aspect. MAX-MÜLLER,[2] WILSON[3] and LANGLOIS[4] consider him to be a form of Agni. This view also has the same drawback as that of Roth ; in addition, it does not explain his association with Indra. OLDENBERG[5] and KAEGI[6] think him to be the abstraction of priestly action. WEBER[7] and HOPKINS[8] consider him to be the priestly abstraction of Indra. HILLEBRANDT[9] thinks him to be the lord of the planets and a personification of the moon, on account of his association with Soma. RAGOZIN[10] thinks that in Bṛhaspati there is a connecting link between pure Vedism and rising Brahmanism. According to him it is primarily the epithet of Agni and later on formed into a separate person. BLOOMFIELD[11] thinks that in Bṛhaspati there is a personification of prayer and religious performance both in one. MACDONELL[12] considers that he is only an indirect deification of the sacrificial activity of Agni. In his *Vedic Mythology*[13] he points out that he is connected with *brahman* in the sense of the divine *brahman* priest and the *brahman* (in neuter), which developed into the Absolute of the Vedānta philosophy. P. S. DESHMUKH[14] being aware of the double functions of Bṛhaspati as the priestly god and as a god of warlike strength like Indra, considers that Bṛhaspati is an Indra-ized sacrificial deity, or a sacrificial deity made warlike on account of the looseness with which the Vedic gods are generally praised. He thus attempts to explain the two apparently distinct features of Bṛhaspati. His explanation is based on the general 'looseness' of the Vedic seers in attributing functions to the deities at random. But this explanation is vague and requires further coroborating evidence.

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[1] ZDMG 1,72-80.
[2] *Vedic Hymns*. SBE 32, p. 94.
[3] & [4] MACDONELL, *Vedic Mythology*, p. 104.
[5] *Die Religion des Veda*, pp. 66-68. 381-382.
[6] *Ṛgveda*. Eng. Translation, p. 32.
[7] MACDONELL *op. cit.*, p. 104.
[8] *Religions of India*, pp. 54, 135-136.
[9] *Vedische Mythologie*, pp. 404-425.
[10] *Vedic India*, pp. 262-263.
[11] *The Religion of India*, p. 243.
[12] *Sanskrit Literature*, p. 102.
[13] P. 104.
[14] *Religion in Vedic Literature*, pp. 289-293.

I have attempted in the following pages a complete survey of the position occupied by Bṛhaspati in the whole range of the Vedic literature[15] and also in the Mahābhārata. The study of Mahābhārata is highly essential for the proper evaluation of the Vedic myth; for, it is a reservoir of many ancient legends, related to the Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas.

In the RV, Bṛhaspati is already deified like Aṅgiras. He is the son of Aṅgiras. Like Aṅgiras and Atharvan he is identified with Agni. This feature of Bṛhaspati throws light on his description as the luminous lord of golden, reddish complexion. Aṅgiras and Atharvan are the seers of the prehistoric times, connected with the founding of the worship of Agni and sacrifice. In the next generation after Aṅgiras, Bṛhaspati, his son consolidated and systematised the office of a priest. He composed hymns and put them to singing. He was accompanied by his relations, the Āṅgirasas, in this activity. He thus started and gave impetus to the musical recitations of the hymns, called *Sāmans*. He becomes so much connected with them, that he is described as being born of the *Sāmans*. As the priest, he had twofold duties. He is the holy lord of houses (*pastyānāṁ yajatam*), also called a *purohita*, a household priest, and sacrificer, offering Soma to Agni. The Brāhmaṇa literature amply shows how Bṛhaspati revived and made powerful the religion of sacrifice.[16] The Tāṇḍyamāhābrāhamaṇa, on account of his connection with the *Sāmans*, makes him the Udgātṛ priest.[17]

In the RV Bṛhaspati figures about 170 times and in the AV about 140 times. In the RV eleven hymns are entirely devoted to praise him and two more hymns to praise him along with Indra. Still in some more stray hymns, he is praised.[18] In two more hymns 10. 71–72, Bṛhaspati is the seer. Herein he describes the origin of speech, the style of the poetic compositions, the necessity of understanding the sense of the hymns and the origin of the gods. Gṛtsamada, Vāmadeva, Bharadvāja and Vasiṣṭha Maṇḍalas contain the major bulk of these hymns. Of the hymns in the 10th Maṇḍala Ayāsya Āṅgirasa and the son of Bṛhaspati are the seers.

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[15] Also see for general description, Otto STRAUSS: *Bṛhaspati im Veda*: Leipzig, 1905.
[16] P. 243.
[17] P. 242.
[18] In the following hymns or parts of the hymn Bṛhaspati or Brahmaṇaspati with or without Indra, is praised. 1.18, 1.40, 1.139, 1.190, 2.23–26, 3.62, 4.49, 4.50, 6.47, 6.73, 7.97, 7.93, 8.96, 10.67–68, 10.182.

The point to be noted in this connection is that Bṛhaspati is praised most prominently by the Āṅgirasa seers of the RV, who belong to the generation, posterior to Bṛhaspati. There Āṅgirasa seers[19] deified the prototype of the priesthood and composer of the hymns and revered him as the highest lord, staying in the heaven and inspiring the seers on this world. Even Aṅgiras and Atharvan, the illustrious priests of Agni are similarly deified. But Bṛhaspati attained prominence because he first composed and sang the hymns. At the time of the RV, the office of the domestic priest, *purohita*, had attained prominence, and was claimed to be indispensible for the king. Bṛhaspati is the *purohita* of the gods. In the battles against the opponents, the invading Aryans sought the help of Indra. The *purohitas* by means of their *brahman* (prayer or charm) claimed victory to their side. The fighting of warriors assisted by the *brahman* of the priests won the victory on the battlefield.[20] In fact the fight against Vala, waged by Indra with Bṛhaspati, was on the same level with the fight against the original residents of India, waged by the Kṣatra assisted by their *purohitas*. Thus the AV declares that Bṛhaspati stands for the Brāhmaṇas and Indra for the Kṣatriyas (AV. 15. 10. 4-5). These *purohitas* were equipped with their *brahman*. Among the priests the members of the family of Aṅgiras play a peculiar role. They, as the *purohitas* of the kings, helped the king actually on the battlefield, equipped as they were with the magical missiles, knowledge of archery and the use of sword. Bṛhaspati seems to have started this practice. He is thus described in the RV as the warrior and *purohita*, possessed of the missiles and weapons and in the AV, as possessed of the *brahman* for the use against the enemies (AV 11. 10–12). His career as a warrior is vividly described in both the RV and AV. His success in the AV is due to the missiles sharpened by the *brahman*. In Bṛhaspati we thus see a peculiar mixture of both the traits viz. as a warrior and priest. It will be very interesting to observe that no member of any other priestly family, except that of Aṅgiras and Bhṛgu, resorted to the warriorlike activities, in addition to their sacrificial priesthood. They seem to have developed this peculiarity on account of their being the domestic priests of the kings? We find this peculiarity of the members of these priestly families in the Mbh. too. The evidence of the Mbh. in this respect is striking. Bṛhaspati was expert in the military formations of the army (*vyūha*). He taught the knowledge of missiles to his son Bharadvāja. The latter handed over this knowledge to his son Droṇa. Droṇa taught it to the Kuru princes. Thus the missiles and weapons described of Bṛhaspati in the RV were systematically handed over to the posterity. It seems that at the time of the Mbh. war, their priestly function related to sacrifice had come to stay and they emphasised military knowledge, and the knowledge of archery, and missiles. Droṇa rises to the status of the commander-in-chief of the army of the Kauravas. The point is that the Brāhmaṇas (Droṇa, Kṛpācārya, etc.) attained so much excellence in the military pursuits, that they became the teachers of that science even to the Kṣatriyas, to whom that pursuit properly belonged. The explana tion of their activity can be seen in the dual functions of Bṛhaspati, who though *purohita*, possessed the missiles and weapons and associated with Indra in his fight against Vala. The exclusive credit to Bṛhaspati for their joint success seems to be due to the hero worship on the part of the seers of the RV, the prominent among whom are the Āṅgirasas. This explains his warlike activities and also priesthood in the RV.

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[19] Gṛtsamadas, Vāmadevas and Bharadvājas are the Āṅgirasas.

[20] RV 3.53.12.

II. Bṛhaspati in the RV.

Bṛhaspati is the son of the pre-historic sage Aṅgiras, hence he is described as Āṅgirasa. Bharadvāja Āṅgirasa, the seer of the sixth Maṇḍala of the RV, which forms one of the oldest Maṇḍalas of the RV, pays tribute to him by referring him as 'Our Father' (6.73.1). He is born first (ibid). He is also described to have been born of the *sāmans*, the *ṛcs* adapted for singing (10.14.3). The wise Tvaṣṭṛ fashioned him out of the *sāmans*. People do not consider him other than the *sāmans* (2.23.16–17). Thus Bṛhaspati is primarily a seer in the family of Aṅgiras. His birth from the *sāmans*, refers probably to the fact that he first adapted the *ṛcs* to the practice of singing. This assumption gains ground when we find that he is always accompanied by the band of the singers. These *ṛcs* with or without the accompaniment of music formed his *brahman*. His birth from Aṅgiras, indicates his association with the cult of sacrifice and fire worship. Thus he is a priest of Agni like Aṅgiras and Atharvan, and started the practice of singing the *sāmans*.

He is then deified. As a god he is born of *ṛta*, the eternal law (6.73.1, 2.23.15). His place is in the sky (*abhriya*, 10.68.12). He goes quickly in the two worlds and dwells in the light (6.73.1). His mother is Rodasī (the heaven and earth). He is born in the high heaven, from the great lustre. He has seven mouths and seven rays (4.50.4 ; 7.97.8).[21] His head is blazing (10.182.3). Thus as a god he is a bright luminous figure in the sky. His seven heads may refer to the seven metres in which he sings the *ṛcs* or the seven notes of the music. On account of his association with Agni as the priest and as a deity he shares the qualities of Agni on the earth, in the middle region and in the heaven. This explains his rays, seven mouths like Agni and his blazing head.[22]

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[21] B. G. TILAK, in his work '*Arctic Home in the Vedas*' p. 342, adds that Bṛhaspati has ten heads, on the evidence of AV 4.6.1. The AV does not refer to Bṛhaspati, but to the first Brāhmaṇa. According to Sāyaṇa, this is the description of the serpent Takṣaka, who is a Brāhmaṇa among the serpents. He points out that the *sarpas* have castes like the human beings.

[22] Cf. *Nirukta* 7. 5, 16.

Bṛhaspati, like Aṅgiras and Atharvan is, first, the priest of Agni and then a deity belonging to the sky.

He has hundred vehicles (7.97.7). He is borne in a chariot, driven by the horses of red colour (7.97.7). Sometimes his chariot is described to be the glorious chariot of *ṛta*, killing the enemies and winning the light (2.23.3). He has a golden axe (*hiraṇyavāśī*) (7.97.7).[23] He has missiles and sharp edged weapons (2.30.9). He has also *vajra* (the thunderbolt) with which, the fiercely flaming god pierces the enemies (2.30.4). His missiles are blazing. With them he burns the enemies (2.23.14). He has bow and arrows. His bow is quick and has the string of *ṛta*. The arrows are discharged in quick succession and seen to be coming from his ears (2.24.8). It is the practice of the archers to stretch the string of the bow to the ear, so that when the arrows are discharged in quick succession they appear to come from the ear.[24] His missiles (*hetīs*) go out and reach the heaven (1.190.4). Bṛhaspati is thus a warrior skilled in archery and wielding of golden axe, thunderbolt (*vajra*) and missiles (*hetīs* and other *āyudhas*).

He is described by the Ṛgvedic poets very vividly. He is pure, bright, purifying, impetuous, sublime, beautiful (7.97.7), heroic, praiseworthy (2.23.14), upholding *ṛta* (2.23.17), receiving oblations (6.73.1), accompanied and increased by the band of singers (6.73.5, 10.14.3),[25] the Father, the god of all gods (6.73.6, 2.24.3), the victorious lord of the cows (10.67.8–9), having a voice like the thunder (10.67.1), the seniormost and gracious lord, the liberal giver, dearly loved by all (6.97.2–4), having clear and sweet voice, the holy lord of the houses (*pastyānāṁ yajataṁ* 7.97.5), the speaker in the assembly (2.24.13), supreme in the social gatherings, becoming equal to the gods, of fair complexion (2.24.11), the lord of the worlds, receiving and accomplishing prayers of the poets (2.24.1), the protector of the human bodies, never giving way to the enemy, hurling a challenge against the enemies, removing the debt of the poets truthfully (2.23,11), the shepherd of men and maker of the paths (2.23.5), the lord and the leader of *gaṇas*, the poet of the poets, the lord of Brahman (2.23.1), the wise and immortal god, the creator of all *brahman*, the holy hymns, the original source of the gods, who get share in the sacrifice through him (2.23.2, 10.72.2), the Disposer (*vedhas*), having blue back, having shining golden and reddish colour (5.43.12), scatheless, new lord,[26] sweet tongued, leader of the songs, bringing forth praise and chant (*upastuti* and *śloka*), worshipped, intelligent, bull among men, of universal form (3.62.5, 1.190.1-4).

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[23] GRASSMANN RV 1.375 takes *vāśi* to mean axe. P. S. DESHMUKH takes it to mean sword. See his *Religion in Vedic Literature*, p. 291.

[24] Sāyaṇa and GELDNER consider, however, that the arrows are his prayers. His *brahman*, no doubt, acts as a missile against his enemies. But here we can easily suppose Bṛhaspati as the deification of the *purohita*, who being adept in archery and use of missiles, actually fights on the battlefield against his enemies.

[25] These are the Āṅgirasas according to Sāyaṇa.

Bṛhaspati is thus Brahmaṇaspati, the lord of the hymns and the creator of the gods. As the existence of the gods finds source in the poetic expression of the speech of the seer, the gods are described to be generated from Bṛhaspati, the first singer of the hymns. As he stands for the priests, who perform the sacrifice, the gods get their share in the sacrifice from him only. It is thus the superior intelligence of the poet of the poets, that brings all gods into existence and feeds them. It is but natural that Bṛhaspati should occupy a very high position in the circle of the seers. He figures in the RV as the best of the mortals, the god of the gods, the poet and the warrior priest.

The functions of the Bṛhaspati

1. Killing Vṛtra or Vala. This adventure of Bṛhaspati is similar to that of Indra. The cows of the Āṅgirasas were stolen by the Paṇis. The Āṅgirasas desired to get them back (10.67.8). The Paṇis had kept the stolen cows in the mountain full of stones and streams (2.24.4, 2.23.18). This was the city of the demon Vṛtra (10.67.5). The Āṅgirasas urged Bṛhaspati, the lord of the cows and the hero in their family, by means of their prayers (10.67.8). The holy singers, the Āṅgirasas, tried to find out the cows, lost by them. They found out the tricks of the Paṇis and set out to find them out along the wide ways. They found out Agni in the rocks, and fanned him with their hands, saying that that was the strange Agni and offered oblations to him (2.24.6).[27] There they found out the secret treasure of the Paṇis (2.24.8). Bṛhaspati then decided to launch the final attack on the positions of Vala. Accompanied by his friends, the Āṅgirasas, who talked like the swans, Bṛhaspati threw away the stone barriers. He spoke in the thundering voice to the cows, which were bound in the barrier of falsehood. He wanted to secure light in the darkness (10.67. 1, 4). He then pierced the cloud (2.24.4). He broke open the city in the west[28] by lying down. He cut off the three, viz. the heaven, firmament and earth from Vala, who held the waters. Thundering like Dyaus he

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[26] The word in the hymn is *navya* (1.190.1). It is possible to interprete this word as has been done by the scholars as 'praiseworthy' from root *nu*. Sāyaṇa explains it as praiseworthy or new one. I prefer to render it as a new god, the word *navya* has been used in the RV in the sense of adjective for many times. Cf. RV 3 31.19, 1.139.8 (*navyaṁ amartyaṁ*) 1.105.12, 8.24.26 etc. He is a new god, since his deification must have been done later on.

[27] I have followed Sāyaṇa and GELDNER *Der Ṛgveda* p. 276 in interpreting the *ṛc*.

[28] LUDWIG takes *apacī* to mean 'hostile'. Quoted by GRIFFITH, *The Hymns of the RV*. 2.479.

discovered the dawn, the sun, the cows and the hymn (10.67.5). He was helped by the wild boars in this battle. He, sweating with heat possessed the treasure (10.67.7). The Mountain opened up, to His Majesty when he let loose the store of the waters covered with darkness (2.23.18). He took out, after thinking well, the cows from the rock, breaking it as it were the skin of the earth, like the cloud chased by the wind or darkness overcoming the light (10.68. 4-5). The heroes, who accompanied Bṛhaspati shouted with the cows in joy (1.62.3). In the fight against Vala, Bṛhaspati broke the missile of Vala by means of his songs, blazing like Agni. He then consumed Vala (10, 68.6), who was surrounded by the cows (10.68. 9). He found out there Uṣas and light. With his rays he dispelled darkness (10.68.8). He won the cows and rich treasures by smashing the cities of Vṛtra, by means of his charms (6.73.2, 3). The cows released by him are quick, beautiful, of good complexion and of blameless complexion (10.68.3). Having overcome the demons and darkness he mounts on the glorious chariot of *ṛta*, which is horrible, killing the enemies and winning light (2.23, 3). This is the great deed of the most divine of the gods, that the strong things were loosened and firm ones gave away. He drove the cows, cleft Vala with his *brahman*, dispelled darkness and displayed the light of the heaven (2.24.3). This deed of Bṛhaspati cannot be imitated by any one. On account of him the sun and the moon ascend in the sky alternately (10.68.10). When Bṛhaspati won the cows the Āṅgirasas becoming many, with lustre in their mouth glorified Bṛhaspati, who then ascended to the heaven and beyond that (10.67.10).

It will be noticed from the description given above that Bṛhaspati by means of his chants pierced the mountain and shattered the cities of Vala, who had imprisoned the cows and waters. He then let loose the cows, Uṣas and the sun, and dispelled darkness and displayed the rays of the heaven. He was accompanied by the Āṅgirasas. In all probability the cows are the rays covered with the cloud (darkness) which represent the demon Vala. Bṛhaspati released the cows, by means of his songs. The sun arose and the Āṅgirasas sang his glory. Atharvan performed sacrifice and Bhṛgus showed themselves with dexterity (10.92.10).

The functions of Indra are exactly similar to those of Bṛhaspati. Bṛhaspati accompanies Indra when he pierces Vala. So Bṛhaspati is the double of Indra in this respect. No doubt, even in the account of the adventures of Indra, Bṛhaspati is given a prominent part. Yet here we find Bṛhaspati exclusively credited with that adventure. Sāyaṇa identifies Indra with Bṛhaspati, who is according to him the lord of the gods (1.62.3). Professor Roth considers that Bṛhaspati or Brahmaṇaspati is the lord of prayer. The prayer (*brahman*) pierces the hiding place of the enemy.[29]

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[29] Quoted by GRIFFITH. *The Hymns of the RV*. Vol. I, p. 21.

2. Bṛhaspati in the battles against the enemies and the demons : This Āṅgirasa hero runs in his chariot to kill or to drive off the demons or the enemies. He protects the cars of the men on his side (10.103.4). He never gives way in the battle. He is ready to hurl a challenge against the enemy in the battle, burning his foes (2.23.11). He hits the enemy with rapid succession of the arrows coming from his quick bow stretched on to his ear. He thus is the skilled archer (2.24.8).[30] He is well praised in the battles, and relying on his skill in the battle field even the sun shines brilliantly without any trouble (2.24.9). He takes active part in the battles. He is to be invoked in the battles, and to be approached with prayers. He marches in the battles, winning treasures. With his fiercely flaming missile he burns the enemy, who scorns him. When he shows his valour in the battle he manifests whatever is praiseworthy in him (2.23.13,14). His thunderbolt pierces the heroes of the demons Vṛkadvaras (2.30.4). His missiles (*āyudhas*) are sharp and quick in conquering the enemies (2.30.9). In every battle the persons in his party invoke the mighty and victorious Bṛhaspati. As a priestly hero on the battle field, Bṛhaspati Āṅgirasa is equipped with chariot and weapons like bow, golden axe, arrows, sharp missiles and thunderbolt. He moves on the battle field killing the enemies. This priestly hero is adept in the science of the missiles and archery.

3. Protector of *the brahman* (prayer and the Brāhmaṇas) : Bṛhaspati's special function is to protect the god-fearing men and kill the haters of *the brahman*. Gṛtsamada Āṅgirasa or Bhārgava prays that Bṛhaspati should find out and pierce the enemies, who assault and want to destroy his devotees, with his sharpened weapon (2.30.9). The enemies are possessed of godless mind and intend to harm the devotees of god (2.23.12). These haters of god are the sinners, who think Bṛhaspati to be an old bullock and live on him, who is holy. He is called upon to kill the haters of god (1.190.5). He is thus invoked to offer protection to the holy persons against the godless persons, because he is the creator of all *brahman*, as the sun is of the rays. Bṛhaspati and *the brahman* are inseparable like the sun from its rays (2.23.2). He gives *the brahman* fair and easy passage (7.97.18). He brings forth praise and chant. On account of his power the sun is fearless and powerful (1.190.3). He kills the haters of *the brahman* with his arrows (10.182.3). On the bank of the river Aṁśusmati he with Indra destroyed the godless men (8.96.15). Along with the function of the vindication of *the brahman*, the prayer, Bṛhaspati also warns the haters of the Brāhmaṇas, who would rob them of their wives. Bṛhaspati him-

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[30] GELDNER *Der Ṛgveda*, p. 277 interprets the arrows as prayers. But this priestly hero is adept in archery and is seen active in war. His arrows may be real.

self was robbed of his wife. Such an act is a sin against the Brahman (*brahmakilbiṣa*). All deities, the waters, and *ṛta* proclaimed against such sin (10.109.1).[31] She was taken away by holding her hand saying that she is the wife of a Brāhmaṇa. She could not be traced. But ultimately king Soma, Varuṇa, Mitra and Agni restituted the wife of a Brāhmaṇa. Bṛhaspati thus obtained his wife. Formidable is the wife of a Brāhmaṇa, thus indeed the gods and seven sages, who sat for practising penance, said (10.109.4).

4. Bṛhaspati as *a kavi* : Bṛhaspati is *the kavi* (poet) of *the kavis*. He is the most intelligent, famous and supreme lord of the *brahman*, the poetic compositions of the Ṛgvedic singer. He is the creator of *the brahman* (2.23.1–2). He is born of the chants or the songs.· He is from the birth a poet, a singer (10.14.3). This charming and bright new god is sweet tongued, and is the leader of the songs (*gāthās* 1.190.1). His voice is clear (7.97.5). He has seven mouths, which means the seven metres or tunes. Bṛhati metre was produced by him (4.50.4,10. 103.4). The hymn approaches him, who is the lord of much praise (10.47.6).[32] He sings old song again and again (10.68.12). Bṛhaspati is identified with Agni in that he, as the inspired seer, listens to the songs (2.26.2). He appreciates the hymn composed by the singer (2.23.19). He is invoked to come along with his *gaṇas* and *the ṛkvas*, who are the Āṅgirasas (5.51.12). The singing band of the Āṅgirasas praised him in his attack against Vala (4.50.5). His associates, the Āṅgirasas, also have sweet voice like the cackling of the swans (10, 67.1). The prayers wait upon him and he is increased by them (1.190.1, 3.62.4), which are well trimmed (10.64.4). Bṛhaspati praises with the Sāmans (10.36.5). Bṛhaspati is thus from birth singer, leader and composer of the *sāmans*, which are *the ṛcs* put to tune. The whole poetic composition is called *brahman* and Bṛhaspati inspires it in others. Thus the other Vedic singers praise him loudly and repeatedly (10.68.1). He prolongs the life of the singer (10.100.5). No calamity, or enmity? double dealing affects him, who is protected by Bṛhaspati. He is thus the shepherd of the poets, showing their way. They sing under his inspiration (2.23.5–6). The singers get heroic sons, wealth, horses, cows and garments from him (5.42.8). He is the guide for the singers, who go out like nomads in search of pasture. Garga, the son of Bhāradvāja says that he has come to a place, which is devoid of any space for the movement of the cows, and is desolate. Bṛhaspati

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[31] Sāyaṇa considers that *vāc*, the speech is the wife of Bṛhaspati. She is rendered sinless by these deities and given over to him. But this is treated as an outrage against the Brāhmaṇas represented here by Bṛhaspati. See AV 5.17 which describes this topic in 18 *ṛcs* (for 7 in the RV).

[32] GRASSMANN takes *saptagu* to mean drawn by seven oxen. See *Wörterbuch Zum RV* p. 1474,

should find out a way for the movement of the cows (6.67.20). He is a trusted friend of the singer (2.25.2).

5. Bṛhaspati as a god : He is the best among men (3.64.5). Thus he is a mortal. He is then the ordainer and the lord having blue garment on his back. He is shining, golden coloured and reddish in appearance. He is then identified with Agni as Sāyaṇa takes him to be (5.43.12). He is the father (*pitṛ*) and god of all gods (4.50.6). He is in every way supreme in this world. By his might, he, the god, extended to the other gods the status of gods (2.24.11). He is the holy lord of the household (*pastyānāṁ yajataṁ* 7.97.5). Thus he is *the purohita* or domestic priest of the gods, and the counterpart of *a purohita* among the priests. Bṛhaspati, the most intelligent seer of the Āṅgirasa family is the creator of the gods, who get the share in the sacrifice through him. Thus all deities are inferior to him, who brings them into existence through his *brahman* (2.23.2, 10.182.1). He controls and creates *the brahman* (2.24.12). He and the other gods filled everywhere the fame of the people. Atharvan first supported the people with sacrifice and the Bhṛgus showed themselves with dexterity (10.92.10). He is worshipped by means of the songs (3.62.5). Indra and he drink *soma* in the sacrifice (4.49). In the primeval sacrifice for the preservation of the human race, the gods made Bṛhaspati, the sacrificial offering. Here Yama was himself Bṛhaspati (10.13.4).[33] Bṛhaspati is the *purohita* or household priest, and the creator of the gods and the brahman.

6. Bṛhaspati as *purohita* : His identification with Agni, who is *purohita* (1.1.1), his position as the household lord and his power to create gods and control them, make him *purohita*, the household priest. The human priest of the family of Aṅgiras, is deified and is made *the purohita* of all gods. He has tremendous power to do and undo the things. He, *the purohita* is the gatherer and separator. He is well praised in battles (2.24.9). Here is thus a suggestion that Bṛhaspati and the gods, stand the relation of the Brāhmaṇas and the Kṣatriyas respectively. A Brāhmaṇa *purohita* helps the king in the battle, like Bṛhaspati the gods. The *purohita* is not merely the master of charms, but is a real hero taking part in the battle with his missile (2.23.14).[34] The human descendants of Bṛhaspati acting as the *purohitas* with some kings, were confident of their ability in the province of charms and missiles, and could defy any king, who would not honour them, thinking himself to be a fierce ruler (2.23.12). The seer Vāmadeva Gautama of the RV 4.50 points out the importance of a Brāhmaṇa *purohita* at the

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[33] See EHNI, *Der Vedische Mythus des Yama* pp. 160–162. Also see R. N. DANDEKAR, Yama in the Veda *B. C. Law Volume*, p. 201.

[34] He becomes thus the direct ancestor of Droṇa, the teacher of the Kauravas, who honours the position of Commander-in-Chief of the Kauravas. That is why we find the Āṅgirasas only taking active part in the war along with the Kṣatriyas.

court of a king. He says that the king, who supports a well tended Bṛhaspati (a prototype of a *purohita*), praises and adores him as the first sharer in his prosperity, stands above all enemies with his might. The king dwells in his kingdom, in comfort and affluence with the submission of his subjects to him, when the *brahman* (*purohita*) leads him. Unopposed he wins the wealth of his own people or enemy, when he makes rich a Brāhmaṇa, who seeks his protection (4.50.7-9).[35] It is significant to note that the seer Vāmadeva of the Āṅgirasa family designates the Brāhmaṇa, who is doing the job of *a purohita* in the court of a king, as Bṛhaspati, who is the son of Aṅgiras and the singer of charms, possessor of missiles and who is a sturdy warrior. The holy priest of the household (*pastyānāṁ yajatam*), also acts as *the purohita* of the king. With his magical, political and sacred knowledge he guides the king and helps the king in the battles with his missiles and thus maintains the greatness of the Brāhmaṇas at the court of the king. It is in this way that we can satisfactorily explain the double function of Bṛhaspati. As the priest of Agni, he is adept in the technique of sacrifice and also in the magical rites. His *brahman* is useful for both the purposes. His knowledge of the missiles and equipment of the weapons make him a warrior. That is how, this deified household-priest, Bṛhaspati, is described as taking leading part in the fight of Indra against Vala. The whole credit of conquering Vala is sometimes given to Bṛhaspati and his associates, the Āṅgirasas. This is quite in keeping with the tradition of the Āṅgirasas as depicted in the AV and in the Mbh., as has been shown later on. Thus the *purohita* combines in himself the functions of a household-priest, *purohita*, at the court of the king, the master of the *brahman* in the both aspects viz. the holy hymns and the magical hymns, and finally the warrior displaying his skill in the missiles and the use of the *brahman* (magic). The earthly *purohitas* look upon him for his guidance. Devāpi, the *purohita* of Śantanu invokes Bṛhaspati to inspire his tongue, with brilliant, vigorous and faultless speech. Bṛhaspati granted him his request and when urged by the speech of Devāpi, the gods sent down the rain, in the country. Thus already at the time of the RV the office of the *purohita* was acknowledged by the kings, and the *purohitas* considered Bṛhaspati as their prototype.

7. Bṛhaspati as Brahmaṇaspati and Vācaspati : Bṛhaspati and Brahmaṇaspati are praised with the same functions in the RV 2.23-26. Brahmaṇaspati as the lord of the *brahman* is the functional designation of Bṛhaspati. Brahmaṇaspati set up the law on account of which the heaven and the earth move about separately without conflict (2.24.5). All gods were fashioned by him, like an architect or a smith. The gods exist in and through the *ṛcs*, he composed. So he is the architect

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[35] The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa 8.26 considers that the *purohita* is praised in these *ṛcs*.

of the gods (10.72.2). Thus Bṛhaspati as the lord of the *brahman* (the hymns of the Ṛgveda), produced the gods. They depend on him for their maintenance through the sacrifice, which he evolved. This is the function of Bṛhaspati as Vācaspati. The hymn 10.71 describes how the first and earliest utterances were sent out bearing the names of the different aspects in nature. The secret sense of these utterances was then manifest (10.171.1). The wise ones in spirit created speech, of which Bṛhaspati is the lord. Then the style of the speech was developed among the sages, due to the sacrifice. The seven singers (seers), spread it everywhere (10.71.3). Only some have the capacity to fathom the implications of the speech (10.71.7). Thus the seven seers first started and propagated everywhere the speech through the sacrifice. Bṛhaspati is the lord of the speech. The hymn 10.71 is addressed by Bṛhaspati to himself. In this hymn he traces the origin and development of speech and its style. It is but natural that such a mighty god of the gods would be the lord from whom the Truth proceeds.

Bṛhaspati took out Trita from the well where he was thrown (1.105.17).[36] Bṛhaspati also grants a full span of life to a person suffering from phthisis (10.161.4). He, roaring like lion favours the assemblies of the learned people by means of his auspicious hymns (10.67.9). He made wide room for man to live (6.73.2). He unites the couples like a friend (10.68.2).

In the RV Bṛhaspati is the son of Aṅgiras. Like Aṅgiras and Atharvan he is identified with Agni. That is why, he is described as golden coloured and luminous. He praises Agni with the *sāmans* along with his *gaṇas*, the Āṅgirasas. He is always described as associated with the *sāmans* and the songs, which possess miraculous power. With these songs he praises Indra and kills the demon Vala and releases the cows, which are the rays enveloped by the cloud of darkness. The sun is released by him to move in the sky. The sacrifice is then offered by Atharvan. Thus Bṛhaspati by his song makes the sun, the heaven and the earth to do their duties. Bṛhaspati thus stands for the intelligent singer and the leader of the songs. He is a prototype of priesthood. He is the holy seer of the household. He is a warrior equipped with his chariot and with arrows, bows, an axe and missiles. On account of his identification with Agni, he is also the Agni in the middle region, the thunder, which forms his missiles. Thus he is associated with Indra, who succeeds against Vala through Bṛhaspati's great power. It is this association of Bṛhaspati with Indra that leads to the association of the Brāhmaṇas with the Kṣatriyas (the kings). The Brāhmaṇas act with the kings in the capacity of their *purohitas*, who possess the knowledge of missiles and priesthood of Agni. As the prototype of the *purohitas*, Bṛhaspati stands as an ideal before the earthly priests. His intelligence, his songs, his missiles, and his *brahman* form a basis for the *purohitas* of the succeeding generations to imitate and to cherish his example. Incidentally it may be noted that the birth of Bṛhaspati in the family of Aṅgiras, lends a great support to the claim of the office of the *purohita* by the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas. The knowledge of the missiles and the priesthood were specially preserved in their family as can be seen through their account down to the period of the great epic. It is also a significant fact that out of the eleven hymns, which contains the praise of Bṛahaspati, nine are offered by the Āṅgirasas such as Gṛtsamada, Vāmadeva, Bharadvāja and Ayāsya, and the seven of these eleven hymns are found in the family Maṇḍalas viz. II, IV, VI and VII.

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[36] Sāyaṇa here calls Bṛhaspati as the god who protects all gods. Elsewhere (8.10.2) he describes him as the lord of the gods i.e. their *purohita*.

III. Bṛhaspati in the AV

Bṛhaspati is decribed in the AV in the same way as in the RV. His *brahman* here as in the RV is charged with the magical qualities.

Bṛhaspati is the leader of the seven sages. The shining spirit (*virāj*) in the form of a cow approached the seven sages, who called her as one possessed of Brahman (*brahmaṇvatī*). Soma became her calf. In the pot of *chandas* (metres), Bṛhaspati Āṅgirasa milked *the brahman* (the holy power) and *tapas* (penance), on which the seven sages live (8.10.25). It is interesting to note that in this account, Bṛhaspati is described as bringing forth *the brahman* in the limitations of the metres and penance. In the RV he is the generator of *the brahman*.

Bṛhaspati is the lord of the upward direction (3.27.6). He is the sovereign ruler of Vena, the sun (4.1.5). His stay in the sky is due to his identification with Agni in the middle region. In the RV he is described as making the sun travel in the sky fearlessly.

In the battle the defeated enemies run away being thrust by his *brahman* (mysterious power of the charm) allowing none to escape (8.8.19). He designs a contrivance to tie down the enemy on the battle field (6.103.1). He has a thunderbolt with three joints (*triṣandhi*), which is sharpened by his *brahman* and set up in the sky. This forms his missile for the destruction of the demons. Āditya and Indra stand erect only because they are protected by his *vajra*. The gods won the worlds by means of this thunderbolt of Bṛhaspati. The thunderbolt sharpened by the *brahman* is used by the *purohita* representing Bṛhaspati to enclose the whole army of the enemy, which is thus killed with force (11.10.10-12).

Bṛhaspati is the relative of the gods. He is approached to make the supplicant, the generator of all, the poet, the god, of impulsive mind and completety protected. *The brahman* of Bṛhaspati with the *tapas*, enables a person to be the creator, the god and intelligent poet (4.1.7).

Bṛhaspati is the *pitṛ* (Father). He comes to the funeral sacrifice with the band of the singers, the Āṅgirasas (18.1.47).

He is the principal priest and sacrificer in the primeval sacrifice for the sake of the creation of the universe and propagation of the human race. This sacrifice was performed by Bṛhaspati and Yama yielded his dear body (18.3.41).[37] He thus helped Yama to secure immortality for the progeny after death, while Bṛhaspati made the gods immortal (3.22.3). The gods are after all the creation of the *brahman* of Bṛhaspati and are immortalised by it.

He is the singer of *the sāmans*. It is probable that *the brahman*, he gave rise to, was also put to singing by him. The RV speaks of his birth from *the sāman* (9.6.45).

The AV clearly points out that the association of Bṛhaspati with Indra is due to the identification of the Brahman (the Brāhmaṇas) with Bṛhaspati and Kṣatra (royalty) with Indra. Thus Bṛhaspati and Indra are the same as the Brahman and Kṣatra (15.10.3–6). The AV also mentions that it was Bṛhaspati, who broke open the fortress of Vala (9.3.2). This is an independent adventure of Bṛhaspati and not based on their mutual identification, for Bṛhaspati is a god different from Indra. The AV speaks of the Divine Bṛhaspati serving Indra with an offering served in a spoon (7.110.3). The claim of Bṛhaspati in breaking open the fortress of Vala, must be due to the aggrandizement of the Brāhmaṇas and their *brahman* and is an example of the attempt to impress on others their priestly supremacy.

Bṛhaspati is the holy god of the household. It was primarily the function of Bṛhaspati and the Atharvaṇic priest to be the domestic priest. His fire arms, firy missiles and the *triṣandhi vajra* indicate the result of his fire worship and *tapas* (penance) culminating in securing for himself these fire missiles. As a household god, he brings about the union of the married couple like a friend. In the Atharvaṇic form of the marriage[38] Bṛhaspati dresses the hair on the head of the bride, who is the form of Sūryā, the bride of Aśvins. He increases her with progeny

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[37] This *ṛc* is corresponding to the RV 10. 13. 4. There is a different reading in the AV. The AV 18.3.41^c, reads as *Bṛhaspatiḥ yajñamatanuta* for RV 10.13.4^c, *bṛhaspatim yajñamakṛṇvata*. The AV reading points out that Bṛhaspati performed the sacrifice, while in the RV the gods are the subject of *akṛṇvata*. LUDWIG reads *vaivasvata* for *bṛhaspati* in the RV version. But there is no need for the emendation, as the sense is quite intelligible is both the RV and the AV. The AV impresses on us the independent priesthood of Bṛhaspati.

[38] The *Daśakumāracarita* ii refers to the marriage celebrations according to the Atharvaṇic form. So it seems that the Atharvaṇic form of the marriage was current in the society even in the days of *Daśakumāracarita*.

(14.1.54, 55). A new garment given to the bride for putting on at the time of the ceremony, is given to her by Tvaṣṭṛ under the direction of Bṛhaspati. Bṛhaspati hands over the bride to the husband (14.1.52, 53). She is released by Bṛhaspati and then supported by the Viśvedevas (14.2.53–58).

Bṛhaspati is the champion of the cause of the Brāhmaṇas. The wife or the cow of a Brāhmaṇa must not be taken away from him. The AV 5.17 describes the state, which would take place in case the wife of a Brāhmaṇa is stolen from him. The wife of Bṛhaspati was taken away from him, but was restituted later on by the gods. The whole kingdom is ruined for the molestation of the wife of a Brāhmaṇa. This is a sort of a threat given to the Kṣatriyas to behave decently with the wives of the Brāhmaṇas. The abduction of the wife of Bṛhaspati seems to be at the basis of this threat.[39]

Bṛhaspati as Brahman is invoked to deposit embroy in the rite of conception (5.25.4), to bestow brahmanical splendour (2.29.1), to protect men and cattles (2.26.2, 3.20.4), to lead from good to better state (7.8.1) and to clothe the young boy at the *godāna* rite (2.13.2). Bṛhaspati is a bull. With his hands of the Truth he releases a man from old age and a child from the snares of death. He rectifies errors in sacrifice (2.35.4, 3.11.8). He brings about harmony in the house (6.73.1). The noble minded and pleasant Bṛhaspati forming the very soul of a person, removes the defects in the mind and speech of a person and causes him no distress (16.3.5, 19.40.1). He is the Brahman in the sacrifice (5.26.2). He started the *bṛhaspatisava* to secure the heaven (13.3).

Bṛhaspati makes the demonic creatures come out and speak. He takes them in his charge (1.8.1, 2). He urges the plants to relieve the distress of the human beings (6.96.1). He provides amulets for securing prosperity and removal of calamity. The amulet of the *audumbara* tree is prepared by him (19.31.5). By means of the *pratisara* amulet for repulsion, all witchcrafts (*kṛtyās*) should be driven back by the goldly *purohitas*, thus indeed Bṛhaspati opines (8.5.5). The amulet of the plough share of *khadira* tree is put on by him for securing vigour. He tied it on Agni, Indra, Soma and Sūrya to kill the haters (10.6.7–9). The moon tied it on to shatter the cities of the demons (10.6.10). He tied it on Vāta to make him swift, on Aśvins to protect the agriculture (10.6.11.12). On account of it, the gods won all the worlds. The Āṅgirasas, the comrades of the Ātharvaṇas, were equipped with this amulet by Bṛhaspati, when they split the stronghold of the Dasyus

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[39] The AV 5.17 corresponds with the RV 10.109. The RV hymn consists of seven *ṛcs*, while the AV has eighteen *ṛcs*. The AV describes at great length the calamity that befalls the king, in whose kingdom the wife of a Brāhmaṇa is not safe. The poet seems to generalise the consequences from the particular instance of Bṛhaspati.

(10.6.17). Thus due to the amulet of Bṛhaspati, everything took place in the world. This is the *brahman* of Bṛhaspati, which overcame the demon Vala.

In the AV thus Bṛhaspati occupies a unique position of a *purohita*, well-versed in the magical rites, amulets, medicine and the magical missiles. As a householder's priest he removes distress, calamities and demonic beings. He brings about the marriage of the bride. On the battle field he puts to rout the enemy by means of his *triṣandhi* and employs the traps to confound the enemy. In the sacrifice he acts as Brahman. Thus here are in Bṛhaspati, the functions of (1) a householder's priest, (2) a priest of magic, (3) a warrior on the battle field with his missiles, (4) a kind hearted god removing the ailments and defects of the persons by means of his *brahman*, and (5) a *purohita* at the court of a king.

IV. Bṛhaspati in the other Saṁhitās, Brāhmaṇas and Upaniṣads

The Vājasaneyī Saṁhitā of the YV (36.2) refers to Bṛhaspati as the priest rectifying the defect in the mind, eyes and heart of the people. It also points out that Soma is the son of Bṛhaspati (8.9). It mentions that he is the *purohita* of the gods numbering 3, 11 or 33 (20.11).

The Kāṭhaka Saṁhitā praises Bṛhaspati as the bull among men, possessed of universal form, destroying the godless people and as the fierce lord (4.16). It refers to him as the god in the upward direction (7.2). He acts as the *purohita* of the gods and offers sacrifice for Indra to secure supremacy for him over other gods (11.3). He represents the Brāhmaṇas and grants Brahmanical splendour to them (11.4, 11.1, 13.7). The Brāhmaṇas offer the *bṛhaspatisava*, while the Kṣatriyas offer the same *sava* and call it *indrasava* (14.8). He brought stability and lustre to *yajña* and supreme rulership to Indra (14.4, 21.2). In the fight between the gods and the Asuras, Bṛhaspati was the *purohita* of the gods, while Śaṇḍāmarkas were those of the Asuras (27.8).

Thus in the Saṁhitas of the YV, Bṛhaspati is taken to be the *purohita* of the gods and the priest in the sacrifice elevating its dignity.

The Aitareya Brāhmaṇa emphasises the equation that Bṛhaspati is the same as Brahmaṇaspati, who is the same as the Brāhmaṇas (1.13). Bṛhaspati is the *purohita* of the gods and of the human beings (8.24.2). The AB refers to the birth of Bṛhaspati from the embers, which were not extinguished and which blazed up again. These embers are from the burning seed of Prajāpati, which fell down in his attempt at the illicit intercourse with his daughter. Bhṛgu and Aṅgiras were born of the same inflamed seminal fire (2.24). The AB comments on a verse from the AV. 7.8.1, which glorifies him as the god of eloquence and speech.[40] He and his son, Soma, preside over all creation (2.38). Bṛhaspati is a model before all priests. The AB tells us that the gods led by Bṛhaspati conquered all celestial worlds, so the sacrificer led by Bṛhaspati as his *purohita* conquers the celestial world and becomes victorious (3.17). Even Indra secured supremacy over the gods through him. Once the gods did not acknowledge the supremacy of Indra over them. Bṛhaspati then offered for him a sacrifice lasting for twelve days. He then became their leader (4.25). So to secure leadership, children and cattle, beauty, sacred knowledge and fame and for sanctity, he is to be pacified (4.11). The assistance which Bṛhaspati gives to Indra in conquering the Asuras refers to his part in the feuds between the gods and the Asuras. Indra assisted by him conquered the tribes of the despisers of the Devas, when they encountered the Devas on the battle field. For, the Asura nation was everywhere subjugated by Indra with the assistance of Bṛhaspati and was driven away. Therefore the sacrifices subdue and drive away the nation of the Asuras by means of Indra and Bṛhaspati.[41]

A very interesting account is narrated at AB 7.26, 26–28 about the relation between Indra and Bṛhaspati. It is taken here for granted that Indra stands for the Kṣatriyas and Bṛhaspati for the Brāhmaṇas. The office of the *purohita* was traditionally held by the families of the Brāhmaṇas with the family of a particular king. It seems that some *purohitas* did not allow the right of the king to participate in the food of the sacrifice. The *purohitas* claimed that the king would enjoy the share in the sacrifice only through them. Rāma Mārgaveya of the family of the Śyāparṇas explains to the king Viśvantara, whose *purohita* he was, that Indra had been excluded by the gods from receiving share in the sacrifice, for he had scorned Viśvarūpa, cast down and killed Vṛtra. He threw the pious Yatis before the wolves and rebuked his teacher Bṛhaspati. It was on that account that Indra was excluded from sharing in the sacrificial food. Following the same tradition AB tells us that all Kṣatriyas were denied that right. Through their *purohitas* who constitute half of Kṣtara, they could participate in the sacrifice. It is to be noted that the relations between Indra and his *purohita*, Bṛhaspati were not cordial. It may be that Bṛhaspati attempted to show himself more powerful than Indra. Indra being thus enraged, abused him. Bṛhaspati then disallowed any part in the sacrifice to him. Thus Indra stands for Kṣatriyas and Bṛhaspati for their *purohita*. There was a tussle between them for mutual supremacy. The *purohitas* seem to have an upper hand over the other party. AB 8.26 glorifies the importance of the *purohita* at the court of a king.

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[40] See Dr. HAUG, *Translation of AB* Vol. II, p. 27 note.

[41] Dr. HAUG remarks that these *asuras* are the Zoroastrians beyond any doubt. See his Essays on the sacred writings of the Parsees, pp. 226–230.

Thus the AB points out that Bṛhaspati stands for the Brāhmaṇa *purohitas*, who are superior to the Kṣatriya kings, who are represented by Indra.

The Taṇḍyamahābrāhmaṇa of the Sāmaveda points out that Bṛhaspati is the Udgātṛ of the gods. This is quite appropriate since he is in the RV mentioned to be closely associated with the singing of the *ṛcs* and is in fact born of the *sāmans*. The Udgātṛ priest is thus asked to praise Bṛhaspati, the first Udgātṛ in the sacrifice (1.9.1–12, 10.1.12, 6.5.5). His holding the position of Udgātṛ, brought about jealousy from the Asuras, who desired to kill him; but he saved himself by offering sacrifice (6.7.1). The TMB also refers to the *bṛhaspatisava*, the sacrifice performed by Bṛhaspati to secure the office of *purohita* for himself. Therefore any Brāhmaṇa desirous of securing such office should offer this *sava* (17.11.4). This *bṛhaspatisava* is also called the *sthapatisava* (17.11.6).[42] The recitation of the prayers called the *stoma* of Bṛhaspati, enabled him to secure the priesthood of the gods (25.1.7). In the distribution of the *dakṣiṇā* at the close of the sacrifice, garment is given to the priest for pacifying Bṛhaspati, who clothes people with the garments (1.8.10).

The Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa mentions that the attainment of the priesthood of the gods by Bṛhaspati, was due to the offering of *bṛhaspatisava* by him (2.7.1.2). The TB clearly mentions that Bṛhaspati is a Brāhmaṇa among the gods (2.5.8.4, 3.7.6.3). Savitṛ is identified with Bṛhaspati (3.7.6.3). The TB points out that Bṛhaspati ran the race and came first among the gods to perform the *vājapeya* sacrifice. He secured the lordship of the heaven, which is his great glory. He then officiated in same sacrifice for Indra, who also secured that fruit. It is to be noted that Bṛhaspati first and then Indra secured the lordship of the heaven (1.3.2.2). This domestic god of the RV is invoked here to bring harmony among the contending members of the clan or the family (2.4.4.6). The TB (3.1.4.6) identifies Bṛhaspati with the constellation called *tiṣya*.

In the Śatapathabrāhmaṇa we find Bṛhaspati identified with the Brāhmaṇas and Indra with the Kṣatriyas (9.3.4.18). He is described as wise (4.2.1.27). Soma is born of him (4.9.2.12). He is the Udgātṛ priest in the sacrifice. A gift (*dakṣiṇā*) of a garment is given to him (4.3.4.26). He stays in the sky (2.3.4.36). He is identified with the *brahman*, which means *yajña* (3.1.4.15).[43] The institution of *yajña* seems to have received a set-back and the opinion prevailed among the people that sin is incurred by the performance of it. Bṛhaspati Āṅgirasa revived and made more stable the institution of *yajña*. The SB tells that disbelief (*aśraddhā*) took hold of men that those who offer sacrifice become sinful and those who do not offer it become more righteous. As a result of this no sacrificial food came to the gods, who subsist on it only. The gods then asked Bṛhaspati Āṅgirasa to restore the institution of the sacrifice among men, who had no faith in it. Bṛhaspati came to the men and told the means to secure righteousness by performing the sacrifice (1.2.5.25–26). We may thus say that Bṛhaspati was responsible in removing the disbelief among the people regarding the efficacy of the *yajña* and reviving it to secure its glory. Thus SB uses Bṛhaspati to restore the dignity of *yajña*. Bṛhaspati restored the sacrifice, which was injured, being torn by Rudra. The sacrifice is Prajāpati, who was pierced because of his sin, caused by the illicit intercourse with his daughter. Bṛhaspati made it complete (1.7.4.21–22). Bṛhaspati is associated with Viśvedevas (3.4.2.1). Along with the revival of *yajña*, Bṛhaspati is also credited with the strengthening the priesthood, which turned to him and make it subject to him (3.9.1.11–14).

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[42] The *sthapati* is taken here by Sāyaṇa to mean a person skilled in the technique of the establishment of the *dharma*.

[43] It is interesting to note that Bṛhaspati is associated with the *brahman* in all its implications in different periods of the Vedic literature. In the RV he is the lord of the *brahman* (the *ṛcs*). In the AV he is the master of the magic (the *brahman*). In the Brāhmaṇas, he is the *yajña* (the *brahman*). Thus though the significance of the word *brahman* changed in the different periods, Bṛhaspati remained its master or lord.

The *vājapeya* sacrifice is the *bṛhaspatisava* of the AV 11.3 (5.1.1.19). The *vājapeya* belongs to him, for he won it in a race with the gods. By offering it, he ascended to the higher region where he stays (5.1.1.4). This is about the first *vājapeya* sacrifice. In the normal *vājapeya* sacrifice an offering of the cooked wild rice (*nīvāra*) on seventeen potsherds is offered to him (5.1.4.12, 13). In this sacrifice the Brahmā mounts a cartwheel set on a post as high as a navel and says 'I ascend to the highest heaven of Bṛhaspati', and the sacrificer reaches there after his death (5.1.5.8).

Thus the SB points to the greatness of Bṛhaspati as the restorer of the system of sacrifice, as the leader of the Brāhmaṇas and the *purohitas* and as the originator of the *vājapeya* sacrifice which is the same as *bṛhaspatisava* of the AV.

The Gopatha Brāhmaṇa points out that Bṛhaspati Āṅgirasa is the Brahman of the gods (2.1.1). He had a wife by name Dhenā (a cow) (2.2.9). He restored the injured sacrifice (2.1.2).

The Taittirīya Āraṇyaka (1.10.1) mentions him as the son of the earth and the sky without mutual union. The Maitrāyaṇīya Āraṇyaka tells a peculiar story, according to which, Bṛhaspati disguising himself as Śukra went to the Asuras and told them for their destruction, the doctrine of the non-existence of the Ātman, the doctrine of delusion (7.9).

In the Upaniṣads he plays an insignificant part. He is mentioned to be the lord of speech and is identical with the *udgītha* in the

Chāndogya Upaniṣad (1.2.11). He is invoked along with Indra to confer bliss on the singer in the Taittirīya Upaniṣad (1.1.1). The Jābāla Upaniṣad (1) of the AV narrates a dialogue between Bṛhaspati and Yājñavalkya about the meditation on the Highest Principle.

Thus in the AV, in the Brāhmaṇas and in the Upaniṣads we find Bṛhaspati as the first priest of the fire and magic, and is identified with the *brahman* in the sense of prayer and magic. He is also the lord of the household and *purohita* of the gods. He symbolises Brāhmaṇas and Indra the Kṣatriyas. The Brāhmaṇas claiming to be the *purohitas* of the kings, considered him to be the ideal before them. His intelligence and wisdom are remarkable.

V. Bṛhaspati in the Mahābhārata

Aṅgiras had the following issues : Bṛhaspati, Utathya, Payasya, Śānti, Ghora, Virūpa, Saṁvarta, Sudhavan.[44] He had a daughter by name Varastri. Atharvan is born in the family of Aṅgiras as the name Atharvāṅgiras implies. The AV (10.6.20) speaks of the Atharvans as the comrades (*medians*) of the Āngirasas. In the Mbh. they belong to the family of Aṅgiras, (5.18.8). Out of the eight sons of Aṅgiras, Bṛhaspati, Utahya, Saṁvarta and Sudhanvan figure prominently in the Mbh. The remaining four are barely mentioned. Bṛhaspati had two sons viz. Kaca and Bharadvāja. Here Bṛhaspati, figuring in the Mbh. is treated.

Bṛhaspati and Śukra, respectively the sons of Aṅgiras and Bhṛgu seem to be contemporary. They represent the highest Brahmanical culture and intelligence. They are jointly praised for their intelligence. After the death of Droṇa, Dhṛtarāṣṭra remarks that he was equal to Bṛhaspati and Śukra (7.9.30, 7.6.18).* They possessed brilliance. Aśvatthāman and Arjuna possessed the brilliance of Śukra and Bṛhaspati (8.17.1).* Bṛhaspati is the ideal of intellectual perfection. The king Kārandhama was like Bṛhaspati in intelligence (14.4.22).* Bṛhaspati knew all *śāstras*. He was respected by both gods and demons (1.94.33-35). He had ability to handle any situation tactfully (1.97.6). His wife is Tārā (5.115.11-14). He belonged to the great family of Bhṛgvaṅgiras, whose progeny is claimed to be the lord of the creation, practising penance, knowing the Vedas and progenators of other great families (13.85.36-43).* A time was there in the past, when the whole world was peopled with the descendants of the Bhṛgus and the Āṅgirasas (13.85.35).*

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[44] Cf. Mbh. 13-85.30-31*. The references marked with asterisk refer to the Bombay edition of the Mbh. and those without it to the B. O. R. I. edition. I have used all published *parvans* of the Mbh. by B. O. R. I. For remaining *parvans* I have used the Bombay edition.

(i) Birth of Bṛhaspati : Bṛhaspati is born of Aṅgiras, a form of Agni. Agni being disgusted with the task of carrying oblations to the gods, disappeared. He came to Aṅgiras, whom he asked to be Agni forever. He refused this offer and requested Agni to be born of him. From Aṅgiras, Bṛhaspati was born first. Then the whole family of Agni was born of Bṛhaspati (3.208–209). Thus the Mbh. records the association of Bṛhaspati with Agni in conformity with the account in the Vedic literature.

The Mbh. also tells us that Bṛhaspati is one of the Ādityas, who are the children of Kaśyapa. Kaśyapa is one of the issues of Brahman like Aṅgiras. This explains the reason why Bṛhaspati is mentioned to be a god (1.66.38).

(ii) Bṛhaspati is also associated with Indra. Indra, having killed the two Brāhmaṇas viz. Vṛtra and Triśiras, the sons of Tvaṣṭṛ, disappeared. His place was taken by Nahuṣa, who oppressed the Brāhmaṇas and desired to enjoy the company of Indrāṇī. She came to Bṛhaspati Āṅgirasa and asked his protection against Nahuṣa. He promised her to bring Indra back (5.11.21). He also offered a sacrifice to destroy Nahuṣa (5.15.25). On account of the performance of the sacrifice, Agni found out Indra, concealed in the stem of a lotus (5.16.11). Indra then was reinstated on the throne of the heaven. In this account of the reinstatement of Indra, Bṛhaspati, the *purohita* of Indra plays a vital part. Bṛhaspati thus helped to re-establish the glory of the Brahmanical religion which was lost for some time in the absence of Indra.

Bṛhaspati acted as the guardian and teacher of Skanda, the son of Agni and Śivā Aṅgirasī, and of Śuka the son of Vyāsa. Bṛhaspati as the *purohita* of the gods performed the birth rite and education of his two wards (9.45.1*). At the time of the birth of Śuka, the son of Vyāsa, all Vedas presented themselves to him. However formally Bṛhaspati taught him the Vedas, the *itihāsa* and politics (*rājyaśāstra* 12.324.22–25*). It is to be noted that there was a close association between two priestly families of Aṅgiras and Vasiṣṭha. Vasiṣṭha praises him in his hymns of the RV (7.42.1; 52.3). He is also a seer in the AV. He is described by Kālidasa as the store of the Atharvaṇic knowledge.[45] Parāśara, who is the grandson of Vasiṣṭha, is the father of Vyāsa and the grandfather of Śuka. Bṛhaspati is the guardian and the teacher of Śuka. The Bhārata is the composition of Vyāsa, the Vāsiṣṭha (1.1.61). This explains the Vāsiṣṭha element in the epic. However in the Mahābhārata, in its final redaction it has been subordinated by the Bhṛgvaṅgirasa element in it. The Mbh. shows that Śuka learnt all sacred knowledge from Bṛhaspati Āṅgirasa.

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[45] See *Raghuvaṁśa*, 1.59.

(iii) The Mbh. in its manifold teachings also teaches the gospel of Devotion, which is called *nārāyaṇīyadharma* in the Śāntiparvan.[46] Bhīṣma narrates the account, in which he tells that Bṛhaspati was responsible for the preservation of the Vedic learning after the deluge, when Vāsudeva created all new creations (12.210.20, 21*). Bṛhaspati, being the lord of the *brahman* i.e. the Vedic knowledge, is thus credited by Vāsudeva to be the repository of all sacred knowledge, even in his new system of religion, which replaced the religion of sacrifice. There were first the seven sages called the seven *prakṛtis* or *saptacitraśikhandins* viz. Marīci, Atri, Aṅgiras, Pulastya, Pulha, Kratu and Vasiṣṭha (12.225.29). These along with Svāyaṁbhava composed a scripture of a lakh of verses. Nārāyaṇa was pleased with this scripture, composed in agreement with the Ṛc, Sāman, Yaju and Atharvāṅgiras Vedas. From this, the religion of all people proceeded (12.335.38–40*). Nārāyaṇa prophesied that Bṛhaspati Āṅgirasa would teach this scripture, outlined by these sages, to the world. The whole world would receive this teaching through him. He further prophesied that a king by name Uparicara, a perfect devotee of Nārāyaṇa and of nonviolent and non-killing nature would be born and would receive instructions in this scripture from Bṛhaspati (12.335.46–56*). The sages then deposited the scripture in Bṛhaspati, who was not yet born. When he, the son of Aṅgiras was born, he got the name Bṛhaspati owing to his great qualities (*bṛhat = brahman* 12.336.2*). Bṛhaspati then taught this scripture to Uparicara. He acted as a priest in the horse sacrifice of Uparicara, in which no victim was killed. Owing to the teaching of *śāstra* taught by Bṛhaspati, a new precedent was formed, in not killing any victim in the sacrifice, in which usually victims were killed.

Thus it is interesting to note that Bṛhaspati Āṅgirasa, of all sages, was given the credit of propagating the new doctrine of Nārāyaṇa and the new type of sacrifice, in which no killing was effected. This was a new order of the religion of Devotion propounded by Nārāyaṇa. The propounder of this new doctrine of devotion felt confident that the name of Bṛhaspati Āṅgirasa was a guarantee about its being felt as quite traditional system by the public, though it was reformist in its tendencies. The *nārāyaṇīyadharma* attempted to fill in the cavity formed by the decadence of the Brahmanical religion of sacrifice in the religious life of the people. This new religious reform introduced a sacrifice where no killing of victims took place. This was a departure from the normal Vedic sacrifice, which involved killing. For the propagation of the new reform in religion, which was necessitated by the growing Jain and Buddhist tendencies, which attacked the killing involved in sacrifice, this change was introduced by the founder of the *nārāyaṇīyadharma* in the *sanātana* (traditional) Vedic religion. This reform was sponsored by the *sātvatas*. In this reform the old Vedic religion was given its due respect, yet to check the growing heterodox tendencies, the Brahmanism assumed a new form, incorporating in its old ideals, the new Bhāgavata religion. The followers of the Āṅgirasas and the Bhṛgus, who championed the cause of the Brāhmaṇas and the Vedic tradition, supported this new religion of Bhakti (devotion). That is why we find Lord Kṛṣṇa saying that he is Bṛhaspati, the chief *purohita*; he is Uśanas, the best of the *kavis*; he is Bhṛgu among the great sages (6.32.24, 25, 37). The Bhṛgvaṅgirasas, who had influenced the kings in the domestic, religious and political affairs in their capacity as their *purohitas*, wholeheartedly supported this new religious movement, which guaranteed their place in the religious system. This must be the reason of the prominent mention of Bṛhaspati Āṅgirasa as the preserver and propagator of the new religious movement.

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[46] See BHANDARKAR, *Vaiṣṇavism* etc. pp. 4–8.

(iv) Bṛhaspati and Nītiśāstra : Bṛhaspati and Śukra in their capacity as the *purohitas* became proficient in the science of politics. As the spiritual and political guide of the kings, these *purohitas* had traditional knowledge of this *śāstra*. Bhīṣma in the Śānti and Anuśāsana parvans of the Mbh. gives nothing but the summary of the political and religious doctrines propounded by Bṛhaspati and Śukra (12.58.2, 3*). The Mbh. giving the account of the treatises on politics tells that Śiva composed a treatise on politics consisting of ten thousand chapters, called *vaiśālākṣa*. Indra condensed it in five thousand chapters called *bāhudantika*. Bṛhaspati then condensed it in three thousand chapters called *bārhaspatya*. Kāvya Uśanas condensed it in one thousand chapters. It will thus be seen that Bṛhaspati is the first among the sages to condense this treatise on politics (12.59.81–85*). Thus Bṛhaspati occupies a unique position among the writers on politics.

(v) The views attributed to Bṛhaspati in the Mbh. :

(1) Bṛhaspati advocates the policy of activity on the part of the king. Even Indra became the lord of gods through the strong policy of activity. He points out that a king of active life excels over one who only talks. In this respect even mere intelligence of the king is of no use if it is not followed by activity. He advises the king to follow the policy of strong activity and deal with each potential enemy very cautiously; for, the position of the enemy is also a factor of considerable importance for the king (12.58.14–18).

(2) Bṛhaspati advocated the use of magical missiles in the warfare and the members of his family such as Droṇa and Aśvatthāma fought in the battle. Droṇa commanded the army of the Kauravas. In the whole range of the Brahmanical families we find only the members of the Bhṛgvaṅgiras family mastering the technique of warfare and taking active part in it. No other priestly family seems to have attained

excellence in this respect. These Bhṛgvaṅgirasa teachers fought for the sake of their kings, whose *purohitas* they were. In this connection it may be noted that Bṛhaspati was the *purohita* of the gods and Śukra Bhārgava was of the Asuras. Both of them were the famous teachers of politics, and knew the technique of warfare. They designed the arrangement of the armies on the battlefield. In the fight between Rāma and Rāvaṇa, Rāma arranged his army according to the precepts of Bṛhaspati and Rāvaṇa according to those of Śukra (3.269.5, 6). Arjuna arranged his armies in the *krauñcāruṇa* formations as prescribed by Bṛhaspati (6.50.40). Thus the *purohitas* not only indulged in the magical practices, but were competent to teach the Kṣatriyas in the mode of warfare and the use of the weapons on the battle field. They could do the job successfully, because they themselves were the masters in the science of warfare.

(3) Draupadī in the Āraṇyakaparvan, refers to the Nītiśāstra of Bṛhaspati, while discussing the nature of *dharma* and the duties of a man (3.33.57).

(4) In the dealings of a king, Bṛhaspati advocates the policy of conciliation. To illustrate the relative values of conciliation, use of money, punishment and fifth-column activities, Bhīṣma quotes a dialogue between Indra and Bṛhaspati. Bṛhaspati here points out that out of the different means for securing one's object, conciliation is the only means of securing victory and of being respected as an authoritative person. A person putting on a gloomy appearance and sitting with knitted eyebrows, is indeed hated by all. On the other hand if he puts on a smiling face and pleasing countenance, and speaks in simple and pleasing words, he is liked by all. Thus Bṛhaspati speaks of the great value of the enchanted atmosphere of the pleasing manners and expression. A man of pleasing manners and expression secures what one would not get even by punishment (12.84.1-11*).

(5) At 12.103.1-53* Bṛhaspati tells Indra how a king should behave towards his rivals. He points out that quarrelling with the enemy does not always lead to success. To avoid quarrelling, the king must always practise forbearance. He should check any sentimental outburst against his enemies. With a prospective hope of conquering the enemy, the king may become humble before him, inspiring confidence in him. But when an opportunity comes, he should attack him. He should always foster discontent in the country of the enemy by means of a regular system of spies. He should, if necessary, bribe the ministers of the enemy. With the help of his priest, he should even practise witchcraft to destroy his enemy. He should employ even his own ministers or trusted men on the secret mission of spying and thus affect the morale of his enemy. All these are the fifth-columnist activities, so well known

in the recent world war. Bṛhaspati thus advocates a strong system of spies, manned by trusted men, fifth-columnist activities and even practice of witchcraft to win the enemy. Referring to the nature of true friendship, he points out that friendship demands absolute mutual sympathy between the friends in all matters.

(6) Bṛhaspati advocates the strong and righteous rule of the king, which alone is the root cause of the prosperity of the people. The strong and powerful king alone can inspire awe among his people and check lawless elements in his kingdom. The kingship is an absolutely essential institution as much as the luminaries in the sky. For want of the king there will be utter lawlessness, disorder and persecution of the weak by the mighty and of the religious by the irreligious. Without him the whole social order would crumble and religion would be at stake. The effects of the weak king can be seen perpetrating even to the families. The youngsters in the family would not obey the seniors. Immorality would prevail. People would not respect the social institutions like marriage. There would be inter-mixture of the castes. The country would soon be in the depth of the economic depression. Therefore the king must rule supreme. He is not an ordinary man, for he is made up of the portions of Agni, Āditya, Mṛtyu, Vaiśvānara and Yama. Thus according to Bṛhaspati the king is a Divinity. This is the doctrine of Aṅgiras. Bṛhaspati the son of Aṅgiras advocates the same doctrine (12.58.59*).

(7) At 12.124.19.35,* Bṛhaspati instructs Indra in the desirability of having good moral character. Bṛhaspati also tells him that true knowledge alone leads one to salvation.

(8) Bṛhaspati advocates easier and less expensive substitutes for the difficult and more expensive sacrifices. He tells that a gift of a cow, land or gold to the Brāhmaṇas removes all sins and defects. He values the gift of a fertile land to the Brāhmaṇas as equivalent to the sacrifice of the lives of many heroes on the battle field and the actual performance of sacrifices. It is to be noted that in the transition from the Vedic religion of sacrifice to the *ācāradharma* of the epics and the *purāṇas*, the Āṅgirasas play a very important part in laying down simple equivalents for the cumbrous sacrifices. They are within the reach of an average man of the society and equally efficacious as the sacrifices. Bṛhaspati thus advocates the practice of offering gifts to the Brāhmaṇas to get rid of the sin and to secure salvation (13.62*).

(9) While describing the rotating wheel of the worldly existence (*saṁsāracakra*) to Yudhiṣṭhira, Bṛhaspati tells that the human being alone is responsible for his actions and must reap their fruits. Therefore he must be very cautious about his behaviour. When he dies, only his good deeds follow him, leaving behind him all relatives.

Equipped with *dharma* he goes to the heaven, and with *adharma* he goes to hell. The five elements along with their presiding deities constitute the body of a man. Even though the body perishes, the divinities remain to witness the good and bad actions of man. These divinities enjoy food swallowed by man and produce the seed from which the human beings are born. By the practice of *adharma*, a man obtains a number of births and deaths and when the deeds are exhausted by their fruition, he is again born as a human being. The *adharma* results not only from the physical actions, but also from the mental ones. As a result of these mental and physical sins he gets many ugly births and consequently goes to hell. He, who expiates his sins and confesses them to a pious Brāhmaṇa, becomes sinless. The gift of food or any article to a Brāhmaṇa also removes the sin. Bṛhaspati also tells that non-killing is the best religion. Non-killing, performance of the Vedic rites, meditation, control over the senses and service are the five doors of *dharma*. The practice of non-killing leads one to the highest bliss. Along with non-killing one also should bear in mind the oneness of the soul and piety towards all. In the daily behaviour one must bring into practice all these tenets of *dharma*, and must avoid eating flesh and drinking wine. A person observing these principles is actually performing a horsesacrifice and practising penance[47] (13.111–113*). Bṛhaspati is also an author of a work on Arthaśāstra (13.39.10–11*).

Bṛhaspati spent his whole life in the practice of the *brahman* (the Ṛgvedic hymns, the sacrifice or magic). He practised penance and controlled his senses. Thereby he was valued by the gods (5.29.13).

Bṛhaspati, the son of Aṅgiras, is associated with the cult of Agni. He is the *purohita* of the gods. His descendants are the teachers of magical missiles and skilled warriors, helping the kings. Bṛhaspati is the celebrated teacher and author of political science and skilled in the formations of the army on the battle field. He is the teacher and propounder of the *nārāyaṇīyadharma*, founding the religion of devotion and performance of the Vedic sacrifices without killing victims. He is also authority on social, religious and philosophical matters, vitally affecting the life of the people. We feel in his teaching the urge of preserving the old Vedic religion in the new garb to suit the changed circumstances. His teaching of *ahiṁsā* and the conception of moral good seem to anticipate the Jain doctrine and in advance incorporates them in the Vedic religion.

I have described elsewhere the part played by Bṛhaspati in the Rāmāyaṇa.[48]

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[47] Bṛhaspati actually advocates here the principles as were taught by Lord Mahāvīra, the founder or reformer of Jainism.

[48] See my paper on the authorship of the Rāmāyaṇa, *Bombay University Journal*, XII, part II. 1943.

We have thus taken the bird's eye view of the activities of this Āṅgirasa Teacher, Bṛhaspati from the Vedic to the epic period. Bṛhaspati must have started the priesthood of Agni, composed and sung the *sāmans*. He was then taken to be the lord of *brahman* (Brahmaṇaspati). The *brahman* stood for magic also. So he was the author of the hymns and practice of magic (the *brahman*). His descendants followed his example by becoming the *purohitas* at the court of the king. Thus the identification of Bṛhaspati with Brāhmaṇas and Indra with Kṣatriyas became complete. In the Brāhmaṇa religion of sacrifice, Bṛhaspati became the lord of sacrifice too, for sacrifice was the *brahman*. He started the *vājapeya* sacrifice, which is the same as *bṛhaspatisava*. The office of the *purohita* was maintained by the members of the Aṅgiras and Bhṛgu family. As the *purohitas* of the kings, they became their guide, philosopher and teacher of politics and religion. All these descendants must have looked with admiration and pride at Bṛhaspati, who started the practice of officiating priests with the kings. Their descendants collected together the family lore and traditional teachings of Bṛhaspati and glorified him. We cannot imagine that Bṛhaspati lived for all these years. But out of admiration for the first *purohita*, the Bhṛgvaṅgirasas must have made Bṛhaspati as their mouth-piece for propagating their doctrines for the preservation of the *sanātanadharma* (the traditional religion) on the new model, incorporating many new religious doctrines and deities and thus widening the scope of the old Vedic religion.[49]

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[49] For the position of Bṛhaspati in the Dharmaśāstra literature see KANE, *History of Dharmaśāstra*, Vol. I, pp. 123-126 and 207-213.

THE ANTIQUITY OF GLASS BANGLES IN INDIA

By

H. D. Sankalia

Glass bangles, particularly of the type mentioned in this article, do not seem to be more than 600 years old in India. Such bangles of glass probably first came into existence in the 14th centuary A. D. when the Persian Muslims established themselves in India, partly as soldiers of fortune, and partly as artists and craftsmen.

Some kind of hand or arm ornament, called by its shape, the material used in it and its position (on the arm or hand), as armlet, wristlet, bracelet or bangle[1] for decorating the body is known in society—primitive and civilized—for several thousands of years. Bangles of chank (*śaṅkha*), and various kinds of soft and semi-precious stones were current in Europe during the New Stone Age,[2] and during the chalcolithic times in Crete,[3] Mesopotamia,[4] and Egypt.[5]

Originally it was worn both by men and women. Until very recently some kind of hand or arm ornament, called variously *kaḍū*,[6] or *kallū*, *pañhochi* (wristlet or bracelet) either solid or flexible, of gold or silver was worn by boys and men in India. However from the time of the *Mahābhārata*, a *śaṅkha valaya* (chank bangle) as the story of Bṛhannaḍā[7] indicates, had come to be regarded as a sign of femininity. This tradition has survived through the mediaeval (when a Rajput for his cowardly conduct in war was presented with a pair of bangles) to the modern times and was witnessed during the Civil Disobedience movement.

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[1] The word is Baṅgaḍī (Gujarati), Baṅga (Punjabi), Bāṅgadi (Marathi). According to Hobson-Jobson, p. 60, "The original word properly means a ring of coloured glass worn on the wrist of women ; (the *chūri* of N. India) ; but bangle is applied to any native ring-bracelet" etc. The earliest reference in English language, known to it, is of 1803. According to Dr. Katre, the word may be derived from Sanskrit *Vakra* : bent, or crooked, Pk. *Vaṅka*—(already Sk. *Vaṅku*), which would become in the North-Western Prakrit dialect *baṅga*. From this it seems to have been borrowed by the Western Prakrit dialects, like Gujarati and Marathi. The dictionaries give no pre-Muslim references. It seems therefore that the word is of later growth.

[2] Childe, Gordon, *Dawn of European Civilization*.

[3] Glotz, *The Aegean Civilization* (1925), p. 80-81.

[4] Delaporte, *Mesopotamia* (Babylonian and Assyrian civilization), p. 196 & 337.

[5] Glanville, *The Legacy of Egypt*, p. 98.

[6] Perhaps these were so from very early times. Dr. Katre kindly draws my attention to a remark of Patañjali, where he says that *kaṭaka* was made of gold.

[7] I am obliged to my colleague Dr. I. Karve for pointing out this story, *Virāta Parva* (Critical Ed.), IV. 40. 23. We are told therein that Arjuna who had so far assumed the dress of a dancer discarded it and along with it the *Valaya* or Śaṅkhacudā.

But a *valaya* (bangle) was not only a sign of femininity. For a married woman, at least from the times of Hāla who composed the *Gāthāsaptaśataka*,[8] a *valaya* was also a characteristic showing that her husband was alive. (*Avihavā lakkhaṇa valaam*). Of what this *valaya* was made, we cannot say for certain. Probably it was made of chank or lac.

Nowadays such a position is enjoyed by the glass bangle in Hindu society. If it breaks in daily life when the husband is alive, it is not to be called " broken ". A special word or expression has to be used for such a broken bangle. Gujaratis describe it with the expression " *Nandavaï gaï* ", meaning, probably, that the bangle is jingling ; the corresponding expression in Marathi is " *Vāḍhaleli* " signifying, probably, that it has "increased". In this conventional, euphemistic usage there is implied reference to the custom of breaking a widow's bangle (by her own hand) as soon as the husband is dead. Thus in a married state a (glass) bangle is supposed to be " unbreakable ". And it was for this reason that one of the expressions used in blessing a married woman was to describe her as having "*vajracūḍāmaṇi*", one wearing *cuḍā* (bangle) of unbreakable chank-shell.

Glass bangles seem to have acquired in Hindu social life such a high position during the Muslim and post-Muslim period. For research during the last two years has shown that glass bangles probably first came to be made in the Deccan (India) during the Bahmani period (A. D. 1347-1525).[9]

We have two kinds of archaeological evidence for the above statement. The first is negative. As said earlier the bangle as an object for decorating the body goes back to Neolithic times. In India the earliest specimens so far found belong to the Indus Valley Culture, found from Harappa, Mohenjo-daro, and other sites in Sind. These bangles are made of either gold, ivory, bone, chank-shell or clay. Other specimens found after an interval of about 2300 years, recovered from excavation at ancient sites of Takṣaśilā, Pātaliputra, Bhita, Sanchi, Bairat, Rairh, Amreli (Kathiawad), Paithaṇ, Kolhapur, etc. are also of similar material or of lac. From a few sites, pieces of glass bangles have been obtained, but since these are surface finds for a chronological study these are useless.

References in literature or shapes and types of bangles suggested by paintings in the Ajanta, Bagh and other caves, or the sculptures from

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[8] Ed. by WEBER, (Leipzig, 1881), p. 250.

[9] Other bangles, of gold etc. are not known to be broken. Possibly because, being of precious metal, they are allowed to remain with the widow as her property. As such some widows in aristocratic and richer classes are now-a-days wearing gold bangles, but the Hindu religion strictly does not permit it.

Barhut, Sanchi, Mathura, Amaravati[10] and Nāgārjunakonda[11] prove merely the popularity and antiquity of the bangle as an ornament used by women and men. These do not indicate as a rule the material used in the ornament, though it may be guessed in some cases. These comprise gold, rarely silver, pearls, chank shell, lac and terracotta, all the materials, of which specimens have been obtained from archaeological excavations.

In no case it is possible to single out any specimen as made of glass. Thus the existence of *glass* bangles prior to the 14th century cannot be proved either archaeologically or from literature, sculpture and paintings.

On the contrary definite archaeological evidence was obtained from the excavations conducted at Kolhapur in 1945-46 that the glass bangle industry was introduced in the Deccan in or about the Bahmani period.

No less than 10 natural soil layers and 5 structural periods were unearthed in these excavations. All the specimens of glass bangles—and these could be counted in hundreds—were located in layer three conssiting of *Pāṇḍhri Māṭī*, a soft, yellowish brown soil, formed by decomposed mudwalls and other debris.

These mud walls were of two building periods, the top one dated on the evidence of coins found in association with it, to the Bahmani period; the one below to the immediately preceding Yādava or Śilāhāra. Practically all the glass bangles, wires, and glass slag were found from the Bahmani layer, and none from the layers below it, whereas the Bahmani layer itself was sealed by a thick layer of riversilt, and this in its turn by large rubble stones and top soil.

The presence of glass wires, of incomplete or rejected bangles and glass slag show that the bangles were manufactured on the spot and not imported from elsewhere. Its stratigraphical position indubitably enables us to place it in the Bahmani period.

Bangles of the type unearthed at Kolhapur had been found by FOOTE and others before in the Deccan and Karnatak: at numerous places in Bellary District,[12] at Maski, Kadkal, Paithan (Hyderabad State), Khānāpur (Satara), Maṅgaḷveḍhā (Sholapur[13]) and Chandravalli (Mysore State), whereas Sir Aurel STEIN had found them in his explorations of Seistan, Baluchistan and the Indo-Iranian border.

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[10] SIVARAMAMURTI, *Amaravati Sculptures*, (Bulletin Madras Govt. Museum, 1942), p. 111-12, pl. vi.

[11] NAIK, "Studies in Nāgārjunakonda Sculptures" *BDCRI*, II, p. 86.

[12] FOOTE, *Indian Prehistoric and Protohistoric Antiquities* (Madras, 1916) p. 220-21 pl. 44-45.

[13] Part of this information I owe to Dr. M. G. Dikshit.

Before arriving at any conclusion from STEIN's discovery of glass bangles during his explorations in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan, the territories of Kharan, Makran and Jhalawan comprised within the Kalat State, that is Southern and Western Baluchistan (or ancient Gedrosia, as STEIN calls it), and North-Western India and South-Eastern Iran, it is necessary to record his evidence in detail.

In Northern Baluchistan fragments of glass bangles have been reported mainly from two sites[14] : a piece of a black glass bangle at a depth of three feet, along with painted grey ware, copper implements, etc. from the mound at Periano-Ghundai (Zhob[15]); and similar pieces along with flint scrapers, stone beads and copper from a mound at Dabarkot (Loralai District) "on low levels". But in the cutting D. E. on the same mound at the latter site, iron objects were also found along with fragments of black glass bangles.[16]

During the second tour, in Southern Baluchistan, a fragment of dark blue glass, "of uncertain age," was found on the surface of the mounds of Besema and Zayak (Khārān[17]); a fragment of a black glass bangle, perhaps from an early stratum, at Turbut,[18] while the precincts of Miri yielded "pieces of glazed pottery of all kinds, ranging apparently from early medieaval Persian ware to Chinese porcelain". Further at Suktagen-dor[19] was found on the surface along with blades and scrapers of flint, stone vessels and bangles of shell, "fragment of an elaborately decorated glass bangle", "composed of three layers (cobald blue, brown and yellow) fused" together and having "its keel decorated with a row of small raised light blue spots." Another fragment was found in a painted urn, at a depth of 5 ft. from the surface, at Shāhī-tump.[20] On the surface of the mound[21] at Mādak-kalat (Kolwa) numerous fragments of coloured glass bangles were picked up along with glazed pieces bearing arabesque ornamentation and iron implements.

A few fragments of glass bangles showing coloured decoration in relief or inlay were also found in the trial excavations on a mound at Kulli (Kolwa).[22] Like similar fragments found at Suktagen-dor and Shāhī-tump, STEIN regarded these as "manifestly imports from a far more advanced region". But since they were found at some depth, he thought them to be old.

At the same site in trench IV was[23] found "a piece of a bangle made of very dark glass and ornamented with fine relief spirals in different colours", along with terracotta figurines, a small copper fragment and pottery, plain and painted.

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[14] STEIN, *Archaeological Tour in Waziristan and Northern Baluchistan, MASI* 37. p. 440-41. [15] Ibid., p. 60. [16] Ibid., p. 61.

[17] STEIN, *Archaeological Tour in Gedrosia. MASI*. 43. p. 34.

[18] Ibid., p. 55. [19] Ibid., p. 63-64. [20] Ibid., p. 93.

[21] Ibid., p. 111. [22] Ibid., p. 123. [23] Ibid., p. 125.

During the explorations in Persian Makran STEIN noticed on a small, flat, mound near the Castle of Jamshed, Giti,[24] the ground "strewn with plentiful fragments of glazed pottery, relief decorated ware, and glass bangles". The glass bangles showed great variety of colouring and are often decorated with 'jewels' in relief on a raised keel.

It is worth noting that STEIN regards the glazed ware as belonging to mediaeval times, whereas according to R. L. HOBSON such a pottery was of Persian manufacture of the 9th to 10 century A.D.

At Bāmpur[25] two fragments of a glass bangle were found at a depth of 8 ft., in what looked like a Muslim grave.

When elsewhere at Bāmpur[26] some more pieces were found then STEIN observed, "the discovery of several fragments of glass bangles, inlaid in colours, on levels of 2 and 3 feet, raises an interesting problem. Their association here with prehistoric remains might be subjected to doubts were it not that glass bangles of a closely corresponding type are attested for quite a series of chalcolithic sites from Seistan to Kulli in Kolwa and Sutkagen-dor. Several of the decorated glass bangles found at different depths of the trench have been subjected to careful examination by Mr. Horace C. BECK, without any definite conclusion being derived from it as to their age". (According to BECK the bangle could not be older than 1500 B.C.). STEIN further adds, "It deserves to be noted that no distinct difference in the make of the glass was traced between the fragments from stratified layers and the numerous specimens found on the surface of the Bāmpur site".

At Chāh Husainī[27] a fragment of a black glass bangle inlaid with a brilliantly coloured pattern was found at a depth of 16 ft. along with pottery etc.

Some fragments of decorated glass bangles turned up also at Sūrkh-qualāt[28] and at other prehistoric sites. While along the Persian Gulf coast, on a site[29] which STEIN considers to have undergone a prolonged occupation from early Islamic times, were found pieces of glass bangles with small raised spots of yellow and green, besides glazed ware and porcelain.

As the above record shows STEIN found glass bangles of varied types (simple) black, coloured, black with inlay work, and polychrome (several coloured bands fused together with beads on the uppermost band), in association with :

(i) painted pottery, stone implements, copper fragments etc. probably of chalcolithic age ;

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[24] STEIN, *Archaeogical Reconnaissances*, (London, 1937), p. 82-85.

[25] Ibid., p. 106.

[26] Ibid., p. 109, pl. x. 418.

[27] Ibid., p. 128-29. pl. x. 47-553.

[28] Ibid., p. 140.

[29] Ibid., p. 197.

(ii) painted pottery, iron implements etc.

(iii) glazed ware, China ware, plain and painted pottery, and other objects of early mediaeval times.

This association in a large number of cases was merely on the surface. Only at four sites Shāhi-tump, Kulli, Bāmpur, Chāh Husainī were solitary pieces found at some depth in trial excavations.

On the strength of this evidence alone STEIN was inclined to assign these solitary bangle pieces to the chalcolithic period, though he himself had often said, as quoted above, that their antiquity might be doubted ; that they seemed to be imports from advanced regions, and that they probably were of the same age as the glazed ware.

BECK[30] who examined the specimens from Bāmpur was definitely of the opinion that these glass bangles could not belong to the chalcolithic period, and at the earliest they might belong to 1500 B.C. While taking an overall view of STEIN's finds, (the nature of his excavations, the number of finds, and their association), it would appear more probable that the glass bangles are of the same age as the Persian glazed ware, that is to say, early mediaeval times (9th–10th century A.D.).

In fact it is to the same impetus which gave birth to beautiful Persian glazed pottery that we should ascribe the origin of the glass bangles. Here it is necessary to recall that numerous fragments of coloured glass bangles, some exquisitely inlaid, were found in association with Persian glazed ware and China ware at Miri, Mādakkalat (Kolwa), Giti (Persian Makran) and Surkhqualat, whereas only a solitary fragment was found in the excavation at Bāmpur, Chāh Hūsaini, Kulli and Shāhi-tump. These solitary pieces might have fallen down from the surface of the mound in the chalcolithic layer, or the layer in which it was found might itself be disturbed. Until a true stratigraphic excavation is undertaken, the mere fact of the depth of a find could never be conclusive evidence of its antiquity. It is not a little surprising that HARGREAVES who conducted more systematic excavations at Nāl and Mustung[31] does not mention a single occurrence of a glass bangle.

Prior to our excavation at Kolhapur and elsewhere such bangles had been found together with Andhra or Sātavāhana coins, and still earlier antiquities. And it was thought that the bangles too belonged to that remote period. But during the systematic and stratigraphic excavations hundreds of pieces were found in the Bahmani layer and not a single piece in the subsequent layers.

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30. BECK, *Ancient Egypt*, 1934, p. 13.

31. HARGREAVES, *Excavations in Baluchistan*, *MASI*. 35.

We now arrive at a point which, I think, will clinch the issues. Some of these Kolhapur and other (surface) Deccan bangles are identical in respect of the nature of the glass (which is opaque and not transparent as in modern bangles), its colour, and technique of decoration with those found by **Stein**. In fact the pieces noted by **Stein** from Suktagen-dor, having three layers (cobald blue, brown and yellow fused together, and having its keel decorated with a small raised spot and others) could as well pass away as finds from Kolhapur.

Such an identity in technique of manufacture and not merely in form suggests two alternatives : First that the art of making such bangles was known in chalcolithic times in Iran or an adjacent country and thence was introduced into India (the Deccan), in early medieaval times, that is, after 3000-4000 years, (because so far no site in north India, either Maurya or Gupta or later is reported to have yielded such glass bangles).[32]

Or the second that the art first came to be known is Iran, along with that of glazed pottery, to which it is allied, in about the 9th-10th century A. D. and from these it gradually spread to India in about the 13th-14th century, with travellers—traders, craftsmen, and soldiers—who temporarily occupied the same mounds along the ancient highways, which were inhabited during the chalcolithic and early historic times.

Such a migration of the art of glass bangles is most probable when we remember that many of the monuments built by the Bahmani kings, viz. the Jāmī Masjid at Gulbarga, the Chānd Minar at Daulatabad and the great college of Mahmūd Gāwān at Bīdar were the works of Iranian craftsmen.[33]

It is also about the 12th-13th century that we have the first literary references to the manufacture of glass in India, as recently shown by Prof. **Gode**.[34]

A survey of the present distribution of the bangle industry in different parts of India[35] also shows that the craft was mostly in the hands of Muslim families who practised it as a cottage industry. This is probably because the craft was first introduced by Iranian Muslims, and has remained with their brethren for all these centuries.

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[32] This point needs to be emphasized because Manoranjan **Ghosh** (*JBORS*. X. 194) has pointed out that a glass flask, and some fragments of glass found a Taxilar have been dated by Marshall 6th cent. B.C. whereas glass seals were found at Pataliputra. Ghosh also cites references from *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, *Vinaya Piṭaka*, and the *ArthaŚāstra*, to *Kācha*, which if they do refer to glass would take the antiquity of glass to the 4th—8th century B.C.

[33] Cf. *Cambridge History of India*, III. p. 629. Persia played a prominent part in the development of their civil architecture. Mahmūd Gāwān was himself a Persian.

[34] **Gode**, "The Use of Kāca or Glass in Indian Pharmacy." (Between A. D. 1100-1800). *Bhāratīya Vidyā*, Nov. 1946.

[35] *Reports on the Industrial Survey of United Provinces* ; *Reports of Survey, Cottage Industries*, Madras. I am indebted to Prof. D. R. **Gadgil** for lending and drawing my attention to these reports.

As far as Kolhapur is concerned the stratigraphic evidence is conclusive that the glass bangle industry was first introduced in the 14th century, during the Bahmani rule in the Deccan.[36] It is more than probable that it was so elsewhere in the region,[37] and other parts of India. Small but systematic and wide-spread excavations alone can, however decide the issue.

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36. Full details about the technique and types of these bangles will be published in the report on these excavations.

37. A copy of the article was sent to Dr. R. E. M. WHEELER, the Director General of Archeology in India. He very kindly pointed out to me that a few very plain monochrome glass bangles were found in the Andhra layers at Brahmagiri. Later specimens of these were sent to me for study. The bangles are identical with the plain types found in the Bahmani layers at Kolhapur. This would imply that either there is an overlap at Kolhapur or that the few pieces at Brahmagiri are of a later period. If we accept the first alternative, then the antiquity of the glass bangle of the simple type is to be pushed back to the Andhra period. To have a definite idea of its age, it is necessary that excavations are conducted at the several sites mentioned above.

A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF MAḤẒARS

(A.D. 1400-1800)

By

V. T. GUNE

A MAḤẒAR is a decision of a MAJLIS or deliberative body, composed of the local government officers (= the Diwān); and the indigenous officers and landholders (= the Gota).

The length of a Maḥẓar varies from 3 to 15 feet and breadth from 4 to 6 inches. It is prepared by fixing together short pieces of hand-made paper and the joints are marked with seals on the back side. The ink used for writing is deep black and sometimes black-brown. It is always written in Marathi (Modi). The form of the Modi script changes from period to period. Sometimes a brief summary of its contents is given in Persian at its very beginning.

From the point of its contents it may be divided into two parts: the one representing the Majlis in whose presence the award is passed, and the other dealing with its subject. The former records in detail the place of Majlis, the members of Majlis both from the Diwān and the Gota, according to their rank and their respective designations, native places and seals; while the latter confines itself to the subject proper and the nature of the subject determines its form.[1]

FORM OF A MAḤẒAR :—

Persian gist,

Seals of Chief Officers.

THE HAZEER MAJLIS

Place and date ;

Names of the members with their respective designations, native places and seals etc., in a fixed order.

The Diwan or Rajmudra

Of the local government officers and servants such as, Qāzi, Havāldār, Mujumudār, Nighāvan.

The Gota

Of the indigenous heads of the division—Deshmukh, Deshakulkarni.

Of those of the mart—Shete Mahājan, Chaudhari.

Of the village officers and servants—Mokadam, Kulkarni and the 12 Balutās.

Of the landholders and other tenants in the villages.

Of the different traders of the bazar—the 28 Khooms.

The Brahmasabha

Of the learned Brahmins.

MAIN BODY OF A MAHZAR

....

....

.......................*date and ending formula.* (*Seal*)

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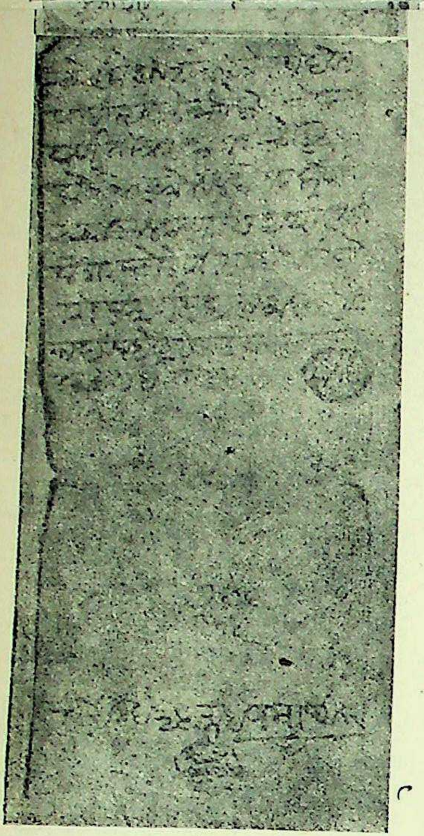
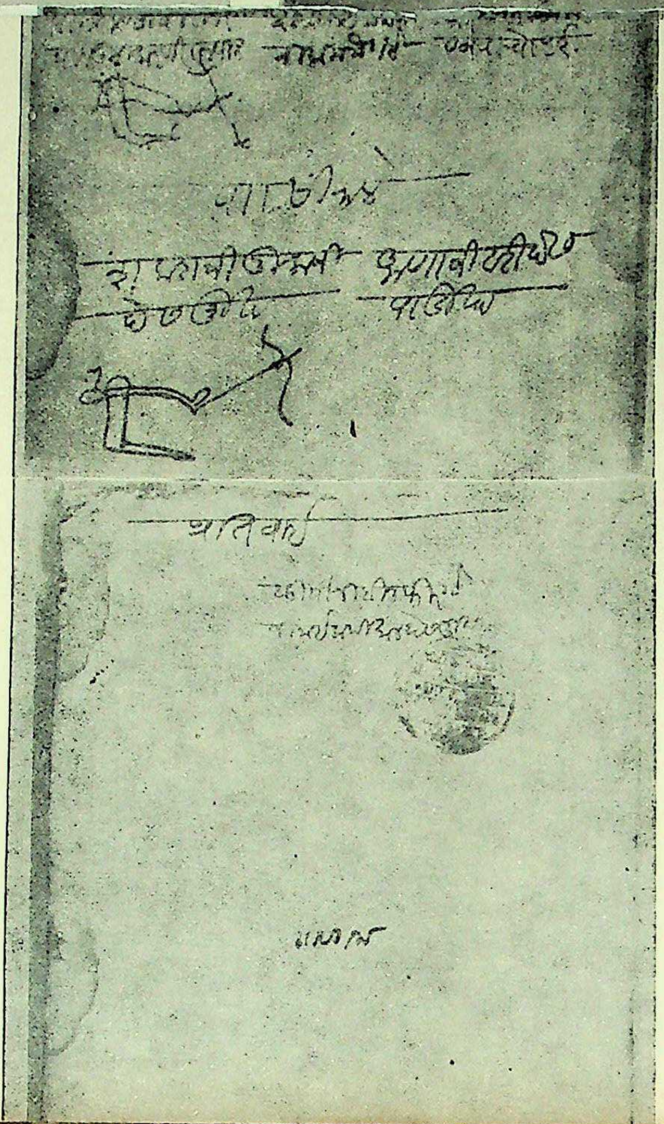
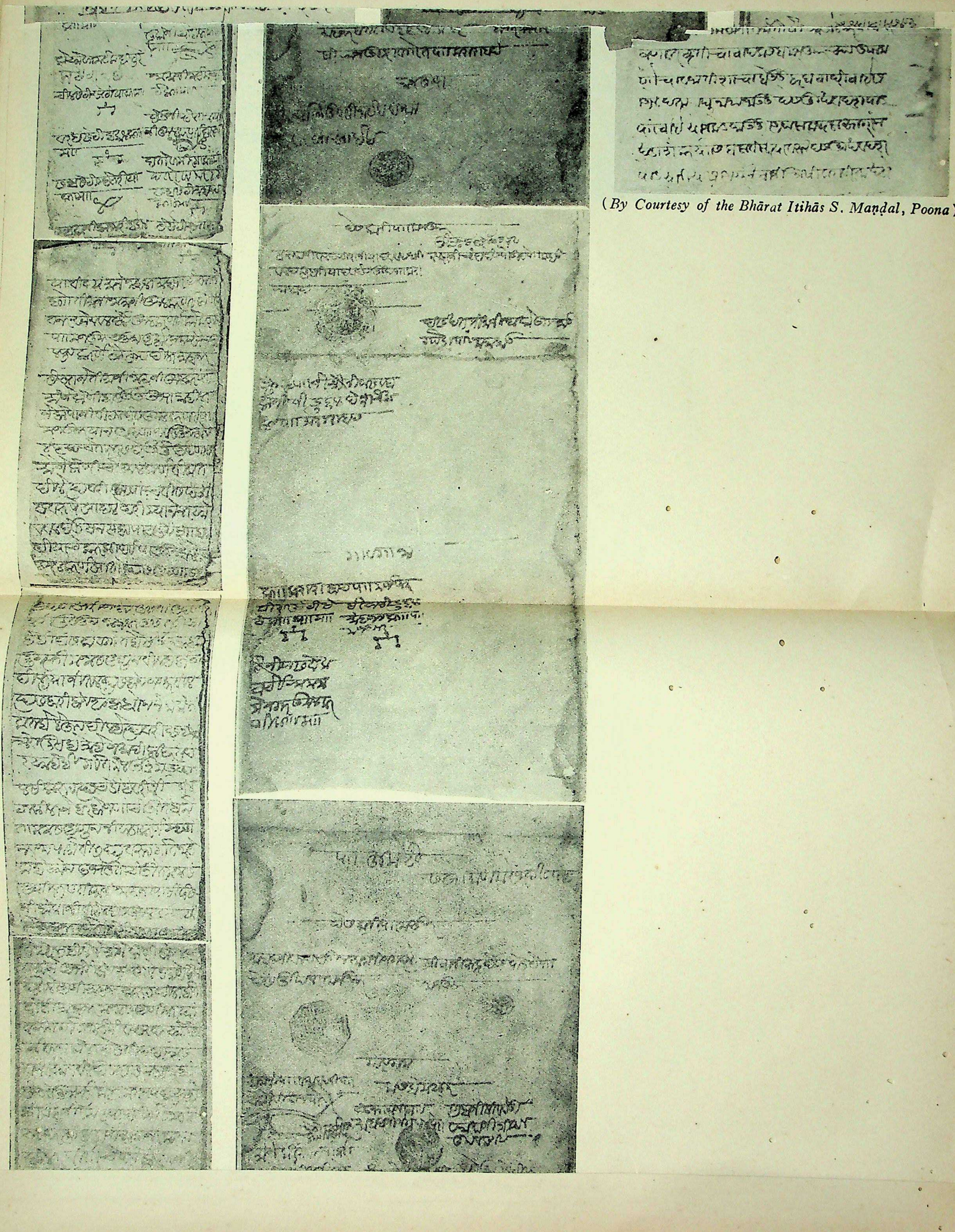
[1] In all 155 Maḥẓars are analysed. Of them about 28 are marked as 'Tāliqs' or copies.

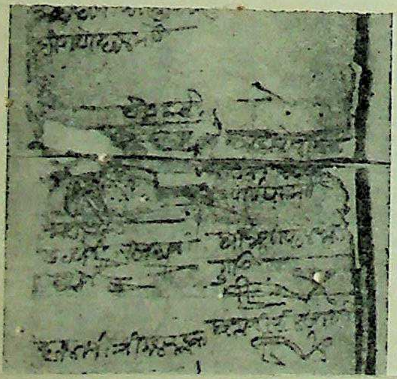


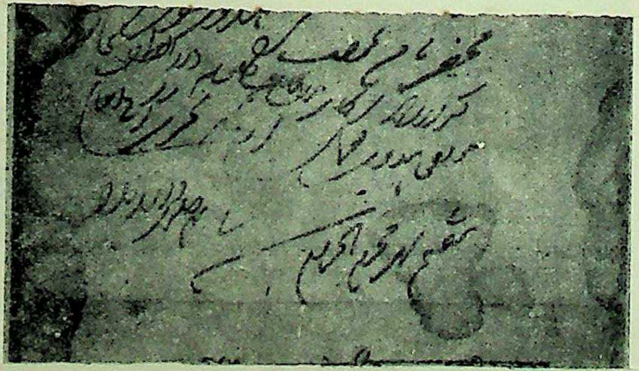
(**By Courtesy** *of the Bhārat Itihās*
S. Maṇḍal, Poona)

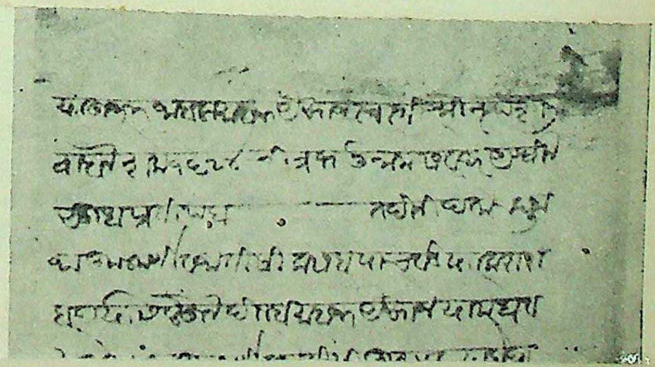




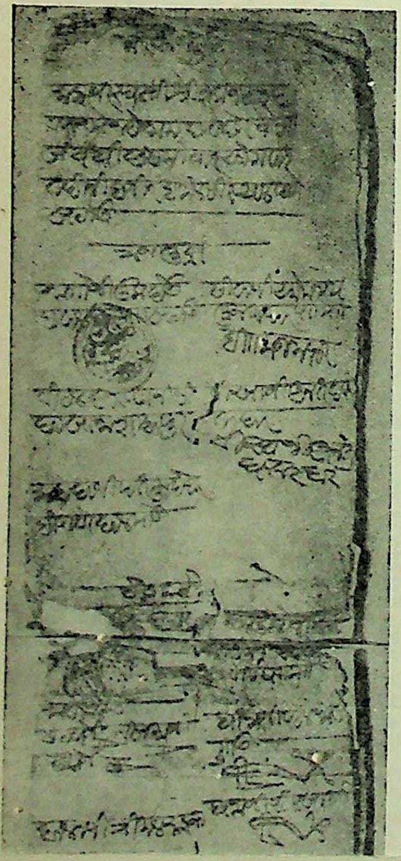
(*By Courtesy of the Bhārat Itihās S. Maṇḍal, Poona*)



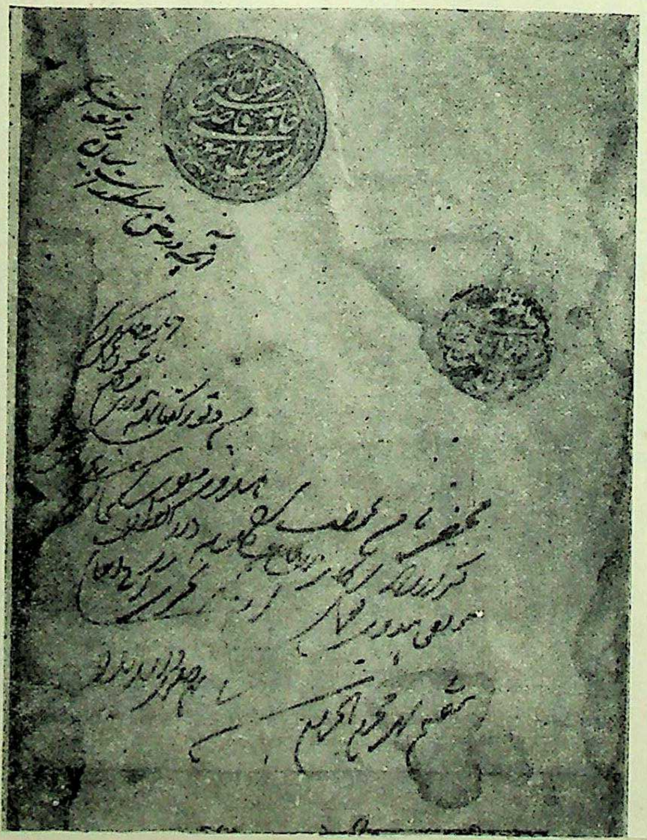


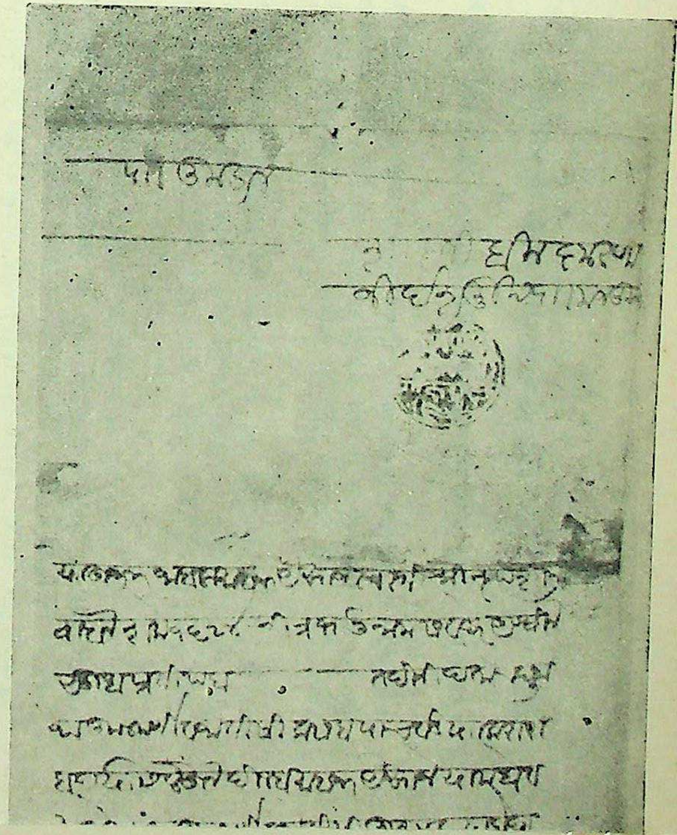


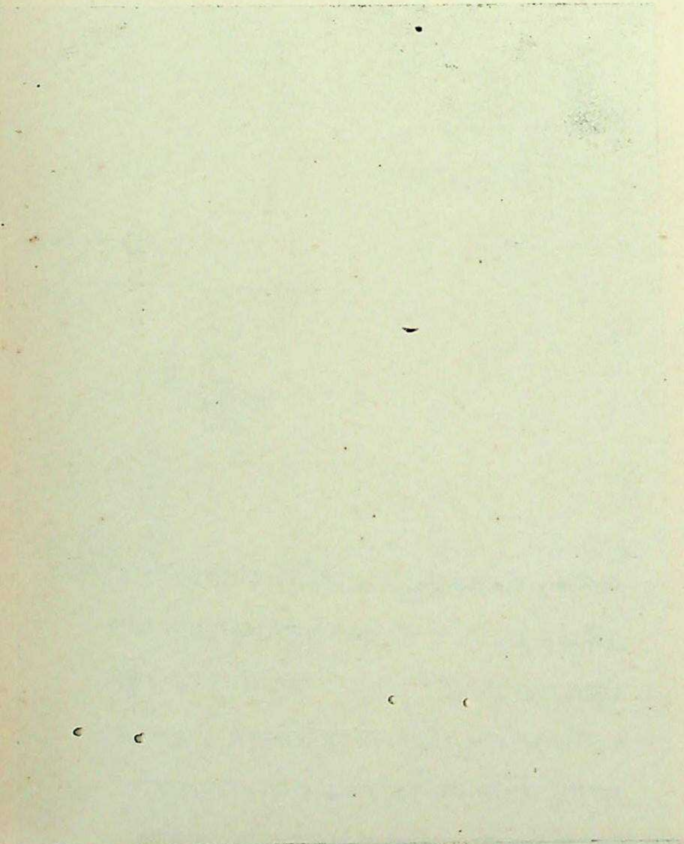
A Mahzar of a dispute
dated, 1st May, 1654 A.D.
(Cf. No. 66, p. 305)



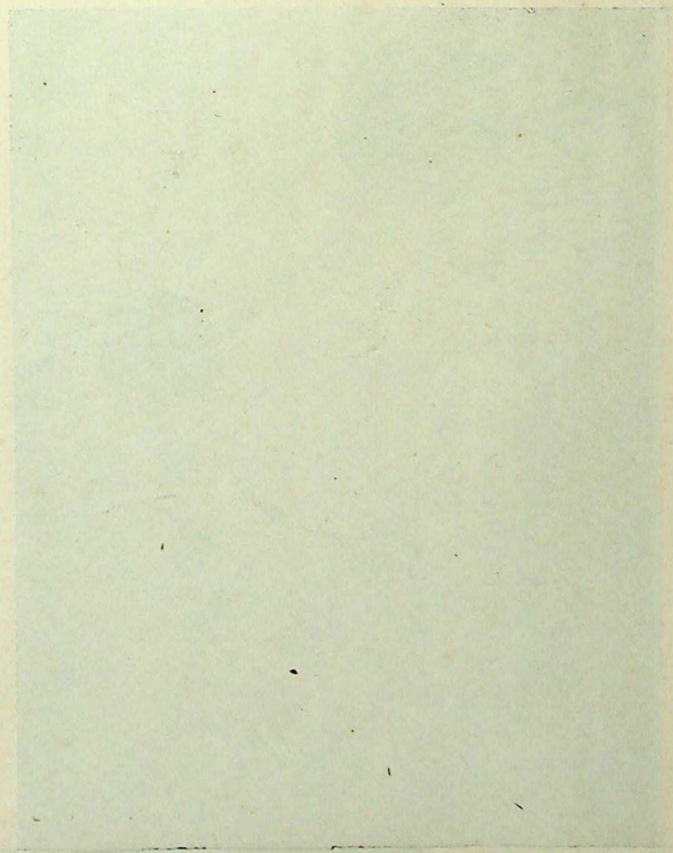
The Quorum of a Majlis from a Mahzar
dated, 11th Sept. 1702 A.D.
(Cf. No. 159, p. 366)



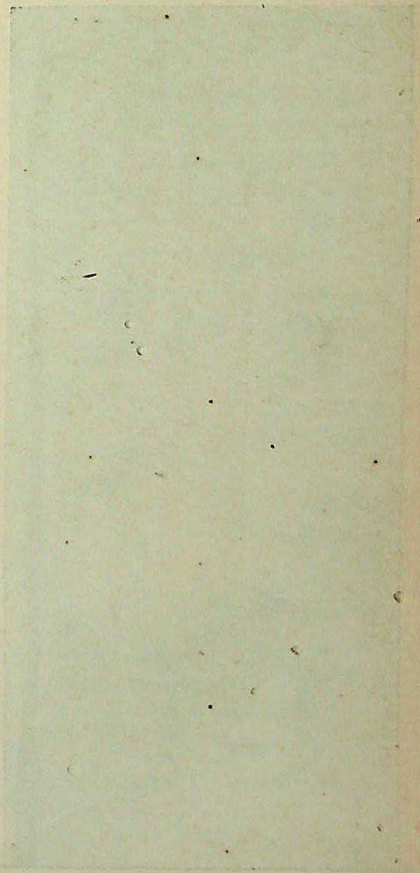




The Quorum of a Majlis from a Mahzar
dated, 11th Sept. 1702 a.d.
(Cf. No. 154, p. 266)



A Mahzar of a dispute
dated, 1st May, 1654 a.d.
(Cf. No. 36, p. 305)



CLASSIFICATION OF MAḤẒARS, ANALYSED ACCORDING TO THEIR SUBJECT MATTER :—[2]

(i) Of a written agreement given by the Gota conjointly to a person for the performance of certain duties such as of a head-man or of a record-keeper; towards the village. Nos. 79, 86, 87, 92, 105, 141, 142, 144 = 8.

(ii) Of a formal confirmation by signature on behalf of the Gota concerning different transactions of local importance. Nos. 34, 39, 41, 58, 59, 64, 78, 91, 98, 113, 121, 127, 128, 129, 130, 134, 135, 138, 139, 143 = 20.

(iii) Of a public attestation by a number of persons particularly the Gota professing to be cognisant of the circumstance of the case. Nos. 76, 80, 89, 94, 96, 104, 108, 110, 111, 112, 118, 121, 124, 125 = 14.

(iv) Of a collective agreement and representation. Nos. 73, 83 = 2.

(v) Miscellaneous. Nos. 1, 102, 106, 123 = 4.

(vi) Of the decisions of disputes; in all there are 101. Of them 90 are the unanimous awards of the Diwān and the Gota. The remaining 11 are of the nature of arbitration and granted by the Gota alone.

FURTHER CLASSIFICATION OF MAḤẒARS OF DISPUTES :—

I. Of inheritable rights, property, emoluments etc. (= Haqs), privileges and perquisites (= Mānapāns) of an office or trade forming part of an indigenous establishment of a district (= Paraganā) or village (i. e. of Watans) :—

(i) Of a Paraganā headman (Deshamukha). Nos. 20, 21, 131, 132; about partition, 43, 60, 67, 74; about elderly rights, 82, 88, 95, 126 = 12.

(ii) Of a Paraganā record-keeper (Desha Kulkarna or Deshapande). Nos. Desha Kulakarna and also gaon or village Kulakarna—6; Deshapande—10, 19, 25. Deshapāṇde and gaon-Kulakarna—28, 54, 62 = 7.

(iii) Of a village headman (Mokadam)—2, 27, 30, 31, 32, 33, 37, 44, 45, 47, 50, 52, 53, 63, 72, 77, 81, 93 (elderly rights and 'plough'), 97, 101 (partition), 136 = 21; (Pātilki)—3, 12, 13, 18, 46, 65, 75, 90, 99, 115, 120, 140 = 12.

(iv) Of a village record-keeper (Kulakarna) Nos. 17, 107, 137, 148 = 3.

(v) Of a village astrologer and record-keeper (Jyotish and Kulakarna) Nos. 35, 61, 66, 70, 85, 103 = 6.

(vi) Of a chief potter's elderly rights (Kumbhār Mehatarki, Vadilapan), 51.

(vii) Of a gardener, 109.

(viii) Of a Mirāsi Naiki, 55.

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[2] Of the 155 Maḥẓars analysed those marked with definite years are classified in the following pages. In all they are 149.

(ix) Of a village watchman (Mahār Mehatarki), 68.

(x) Of a Prefect of a Mart (Shete), 9, 22 = 2.

(xi) Of other officers of a Mart ;
Of a Pānasarā, 57 ; Of a Gāvadā, 116 = 2

(xii) Of a Public Censor (Dharmādhikāri) Nos. 7, 29, 38, 40, 42, 56, 69, Of a priest (Grāmopādhik) 4, 5 = 9, in all, 79.

II. Of a landed property Nos. 25, 71, 85, 100, 133 = 5.

III. Of a movable property Nos.
11 (gifts of funeral rites) ; 15 (money dispute) = 2.

IV. Of a boundary dispute Nos. 8, 14, 16, 23, 26, 36, 49 = 7.

V. Miscellaneous Nos. 48 (purification) ; 119 (marriage) ; 117 (crime) ; 114 (partition) ; 145, 146, 147, 149 = 8.

CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT PERIODS IN THE HISTORY OF MAHĀRĀSHTRA :—

Period I; A.D. 1300–1347 = 1
,, II; A.D. 1347–1500 = 1
,, III; A.D. 1500–1650 = 58
,, IV; A.D. 1650–1700 = 59
,, V; A.D. 1700–1750 = 28
,, VI; A.D. 1750–1800 = 2.

CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO SEASONS :—[3]

Hot season—36;

Fālguna—6, Chaitra—6, Vaishākha—7, Jyeshta—17.

Rainy season—39;

Āshādha—3, Shrāvaṇa—14, Bhādrapada—7, Āshvina—15.

Cold season—48;

Kārtika—9, Mārgashīrsha—14, Pausha—8, Māgha—17.

CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO THE PLACES OF THE MAJLIS :—

(i) Of Maḥẓars of disputes :—

Of a Paraganā (district place) Nos.[4] 2, 4, 6, 7, 9, 12, 13, 16, 17, 19, 22, 27, 28, 33, 35, 38, 45, 48, 50, 55, 56, 57, 61, 66, 75, 77, 81, 88, 99, 100, 103, 115, 120, 125, 137, 145.

Of a Tarf, Karyāt or Thānā (Taluka place) Nos. 3, 15, 26, 37, 65, 68, 72, 140.

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[3] Of the 149 maḥẓars only 123 are marked with dates in detail. See 'Time Analysis.'

[4] The size of these administrative Units was smaller than that of the modern District or Taluka.

Of a Kasabā (place of a mart) Nos. 29, 44, 51, 52, 67, 69, 84, 93, 109, 116, 117, 136, 146–49.

Of a fort Nos. 10, 20, 21, 36, 40, 42, 43, 46, 47, 53, 62, 63, 131, 132.

Of a Thal (place known for deciding suits) Nos. 5, 18, 32, 71, 90, 95.

Of towns and villages Nos. 11, 82, 97.

Of holy places Nos. 85, 114.

Of which places could not be determined Nos. 8, 14, 23, 24, 25, 30, 31, 49, 54, 60, 70, 74, 101, 107, 119, 133.

(ii) Of other Maḥẓars :—[5]

Of a Paraganā Nos. 127, 128, 138; 76, 80, 94, 104, 125; 73, 83, 123.

Of a Tarf or Karyāt Nos. 79, 141; 41, 91, 143; 89.

Of a Kasabā Nos. 78, 113, 106.

Of a fort Nos. 142; 34, 58, 110, 111.

Of a village Nos. 86, 87, 92, 130; 112, 118.

Of which places could not be determined Nos. 105; 39, 59, 64, 98, 122, 129, 134, 135, 139; 96, 108, 121, 124; 1; 102.

Thus the system of management of local affairs, both public and private, through Majlis and by granting Maḥẓars extended all over the table-land of the Deccan and even in some port of the Konkan. It was a remarkable product of the political and social conditions of the period. It provided an instrument of government that linked together the two administrative units of local government—The Diwān formed of the local public officers and the Gota consisting of the indigenous officers and landholders. It, therefore, represents in it an excellent mixture of the Muslim and indigenous institutions of local administration. The office of Qāzi might have been responsible for its development under the Sultans of the Deccan.

All problems of local interest, whether administrative, social or religious, were treated as a subject for Maḥẓar.

The study of Maḥẓar and especially of the Majlis represented in it, is thus highly important to the institutional history of Mahārāshtra. An attempt is, therefore, made in the following pages to analyse the published and also a few unpublished Maḥẓars into four groups as under :—

Group [अ]—Reference, date, outward form of the document.
,, [आ]—The subject.
,, [इ]—A detailed analysis of Majlis.
,, [ई]—Remarks; selected quotations etc.

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5. The order of these numbers varies according to the classification given on p. 261.

संक्षेप व त्यांचें स्पष्टीकरण

परिच्छेद—

[अ] = महजर–संदर्भ ग्रंथ, तारीख व महजराचें बाह्य स्वरूप.

[आ] = विषय अथवा व्यवहाराचें स्वरूप.

[इ] = हाजीर मजालसीचें (सभेचें) पृथक्करण. सभासदांचें वर्गीकरण शक्यतों मूळ क्रमानुसार केलें आहे. बहुतेक सर्वत्र त्यांचा नामनिर्देश गाळला असून हुद्दा व सही निदर्शक चिन्ह विशेष येवढ्यांचाच उल्लेख केला आहे. सदरील काळांत मुसलमान हे सत्ताधारी असल्यानें त्यांचें जातिवैशिष्ट्य लक्षांत यावें म्हणून सभासद मजकुरांचे हुद्यापूर्वी × असें चिन्ह घातलें आहे. एकुण सभासदांची संख्या क्रमशः स्पष्ट व्हावी म्हणून, हुद्याच्या प्रारंभास अथवा पुढें अंक घातलेत. राजकीय विभागांपुढेंहि असे अंक कांहीं ठिकाणीं घातलेत.

[ई] = वैशिष्ट्य व महत्त्वाचे उतारे.

शब्द—

अ. = अष्टकोनी; काा = कसबा, कर्यात; चि. = चिन्ह, सही निदर्शक (कांहीं ठिकाणीं असें चिन्हविशेष हुद्यास जोडून कंसांत दिले आहेत); ताा = तर्फ; निाा = निशाणी अथवा सही वाचक चिन्ह विशेष; देशकुाा = देशकुलकर्णी; पाा = परगणा; पाौ = पैकी; प्राा = प्रगणा अथवा परगणा, प्रांत; पााहाये = परगणेहाय, परगणानुक्रमें; फा. = फारसी; बा. सही = बाळबोध सही; बिाा = बिकलम, तपशीलवार; म. = मराठी; मााानिहाये = महालानुक्रमें; माार = मजकूर, उपरिनिर्दिष्ट (पाा माार = परगणा मजकूर, पूर्व निर्दिष्ट परगणा, ताामाार = सदरहूप्रमाणें); मु. = मुद्रा; मुाा = मुकाम; वा. = वाटोळा; विाा = विरुद्ध; वाो = वेदमूर्ति; शि. सि. = सिका; साा = संमत्, तर्फ.

प्रमुख संदर्भ ग्रंथ—

ऐ. सं. सा. = ऐतिहासिक संकीर्ण साहित्य.
म. इ. सा. = मराठ्यांच्या इतिहासाचीं साधनें.
शि. च. सा. = शिवचरित्र साहित्य.
संकीर्ण. = अप्रकाशित महजर, भारत इतिहास संशोधक मंडळ संग्रह, पुणें.

— १ —

[अ] भारत इतिहास सं. मं. इ. वृ. श. १८३५, पृ. ३४२; शिवचरित्र सा. खं. ५; ले. ९९२.

श. १२२५ कार्तिक शु. १ शनिवार, श्रीमुखनाम संवत्सरे; इ. १३०३ आक्टोबर १२; श्री; फारसी मजकूर; नकल.

भा. इ. सं. मं. इतिवृत्तांत, "शक १२५५ श्रीमुखनाम संवत्सरे कार्तिक शु. १" असा स्पष्ट उल्लेख आहे. (=आक्टोबर १०, १३३३ रविवार). संवत्नाम पि. जं. बरोबर जमतें. महजराच्या अखेरीस 'छ २९ जमादिलाख़र' असें आहे, = चैत्र शु. १ श. १२५६; ही तारीख जमत नाहीं. सुहूर सनाचा उल्लेख नाहीं. फक्त शक दिला आहे.

[आ] दादजी बिन ऱेऊजी हांडे देशमूख प्रा॥ जुन्नर याच्या अर्जावरहुकूम सायाजी बिन गोमाजी कड्ड यास 'मजलस ह्जूरनें' प्रगणे चाकणपैकीं ८४ गांवांची सरदेशमुखी दिली आहे.

[इ] **ह्जीर मजालस……बिहुजूर तपसील.**

मजलसींस ३६ मंडळी हजर आहेत; ३५ जण लष्करी हुद्देदार असून फक्त एकच मोकदम आहे. ३६ मंडळींपैकीं १२ व्यक्ती हिंदू असून त्यांत एकजण 'अहीर' आहे. या १२ व्यक्तींचा हुद्दा 'नाईकवाडी' असा असून त्यांच्याकडे निरनिराळ्या कारखान्यांचे हवाले आहेत. गांव वतनदार मंडळींपैकीं मोकदमच तेवढा असून तो सुरसनाबादचा आहे व जातीनें मुसलमान पठाण आहे. महजराच्या प्रारंभीं उजव्या बाजूस यापैकीं १८ व डाव्या बाजूस १८ अशा एका विशिष्ट क्रमानें या मंडळींचा उल्लेख आहे.

उजव्या बाजूस—प्रथम एकूण १२ 'खानांचीं' नांवें आहेत; पहिल्याचा हुद्दा 'हुजराती बिनी' चि. कट्यार; दुसऱ्याचा 'हुजराती' चि. कट्यार; क्रमांक तीन ते सहा या खानांच्यापुढें "खान वजिरानी नांवाची मोहर" असे शब्द आहेत; सात ते बारा यांचा हुद्दा शिलेदार, त्यांपैकीं पांच जणांचें चि. कट्यार व एकाचें चि. तलवार. यापुढें एकूण ६ नाईकवाडींचीं नांवें असून ते सर्व हिंदू आहेत. त्यांत एकजण 'अहीर' आहे व एकजण रजपूत असावा, नांव उडाणसिंह; नाईकवाडी हवाला कोठी तराजू; हवाला जामदारखाना चि. बंदूख (?) हवाला; म्यान ब्याक चि. (?); हवाले आफतागीर चि. आबदागीर; हवाला अहीर चि. कट्यार; हवाला जुल्हे;—एकूण १८.

डाव्या बाजूस—प्रथम एकूण ११ खानांचीं नांवें, त्यांपैकीं चौघांच्यापुढें 'खान वुजिरानी नांवाची मोहर असे.' एकाचें चि. कट्यार आहे. उरलेले सहाजण शिलेदार आहेत. त्यांचीं चि. कट्यार, तलवार, अर्धचंद्राकृति हत्यार, चि. (?), कट्यार, कट्यार, यापुढें ७ जण असून त्यांतील एकजण 'मोकदम' आहे. चि. नांगर, जातीनें मुसलमान आहे. उरलेले सहा नाईकवाडी असून ते सर्व हिंदू आहेत. त्यांचे हुद्दे–नाईकवाडी हवाला बाक

(१) चि. शस्त्रविशेष, —हवाला दफतर चि. सुरी; हवाला आफराद चि. सुरी; हवाला पागा चि. पट्टा; हवाला लस्करी चि. कट्यार; हवाला पीलखाना—एकूण १८.

[ई] (१) भाषेवरून पहातां महजर १६ व्या शतकाच्या अखेरीचा दिसतो. (२) महजरांत गोतांचा समावेश नाहीं. लष्करी पथकच सभेस हजर आहे. फक्त एका मोकदमाचा मात्र उल्लेख आहे. देशमुखाच्या अर्जावरून महजर दिला आहे. (३) देशमुखीच्या मानपानाची अगदी सूक्ष्म नोंद आहे. (४) चाकण येथें मुसलमानांचें ठाणें चौदाव्या शतकाच्या पूर्वार्धांत महंमद तघलकाच्या वेळेपासून होतें असें अन्य पुराव्यावरून निश्चित होतें. (५) महजराची तारीख कदाचित् चूक असेल, परंतु महजर बनावट नसावा. चौदाव्या शतकांत नव्यानेंच मुसलमानांची सत्ता या भागांत प्रसृत होत असतांना हा महजर लष्करांतून दिला असावा. याच महजराचे आधारें नाना फडणविसाच्या कारकीर्दींत वतन निर्णय केला आहे. (मं. इ. वृ. १८३५, पृ. ३६४). (६) भा. इ. सं. मंडळाच्या इतिवृत्तांत चिन्ह विशेष जसेच्या तसेच छापले आहेत. त्यावरूनहि महजर बनावट असेल असें वाटत नाहीं. (७) यावरून मजलस पद्धती दिल्ली सुलतानांच्या राजवटीपासून दक्षिणेंत सुरू झाली असावी.

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[अ] **श्री सरस्वतीमंदिर वर्ष ४ थें, अंक १ ला,** श. १८२६; महजर, रवा दिव्याचा.

सुा ८७५, रजब १७; श. १३ ९६ मार्ग. व. ४ रविवार; इ. १४७४ नोव्हे. २७.
फार्सी सिके; फार्सी मजकूर; त्याचा पुढें मराठींत तर्जुमा; फार्सी भाग अमुद्रित.

[आ] भवानजी बिनलखमोजी ताकपीर विाा रामणा बिन तिमणा गवळी मौजे दरूज व कुरोली प्रा खटाव एथील मोकदमी विषयीं वाद. ताकपीर खरा जाहला. गवळी यास रवा लागला.

[इ] खान अलीशानखाजे हजूर हजर माज्यालस तपशील.

सिका—देशमुख पाा खटाऊ.

पाा खटाऊ काा मजकुर—देशमूख,

का मार—सेटे (नि. नांगर मोकदम ?); सरगुऱ्हो नाईकवाडी; चौगुला; चौधरी (= सुतार व लोहार) निाा किकर; कुमार निाा चाक; परीट निाा मुगली.

देशकुलकर्णी,

का मार—गावकुलकर्णी व जोशी, सेटे निाा तागडी, महाजन निाा तागडी, पोदार निाा ताजवा, न्हावी निाा आरसा, महारनिाा इलादोर.

भोंवर गांव २४, चे २४ पाटील मोकदम निाा नांगर.

एकूण ३८ व्यक्ति. 'खान' सोडल्यास सर्व गांवकीचे अधिकारी हिंदु आहेत.

[ई] (१) "देशमुा व देशकुा यानीं सांगितले जे ...... खान अजमसाहेबा पासीं येऊन उभा राहून आपली हकीकत जाहीर करणें." (२) रवा दिव्याचे वर्णन उपयुक्त. (३) "......यासी कोणी दावा दंद हिलाहरकत करील तो दिवाणचा गुन्हेगार व गोताचा खोटा......", याप्रमाणें महजराचा शेवट आहे. यावरून मजलसींतील दोन प्रमुख घटकं संस्था 'दिवाण' व 'गोत' या इ. स. १४७४ पूर्वी अस्तित्वांत आल्या होत्या असें दिसतें. (४) दुर्गादेवीच्या दुष्काळाचा उल्लेख.

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[अ] **पेशवा दप्तर, विभाग ३१ नं. २.**

सन ९५८, श. १४७० श्रावण शु. ५ मंगळवार; महजरांत दिला आहे. इ. १५४८ जुलै १०.

श्री; सिका फारसी; मजकुराच्या आरंभीं डाव्या बाजूस 'दस्त अक्षर सदासिव रघुनाथ कानगो निाा सरकार–' असें आहे.

[आ] मौजे रावेत ताा हवेली प्राा पुणें, या गांवच्या पाटिलकीविषयींचा.

[इ] अजदिवाण ठाणे बेदर; हजीर मजालस मुाा आऊंद येथें नबाबसाहेब बाा मजमुरदीखान सुभेदार मोर्तबसुद. देशमूख देशपांडे पाा पुणें; देशमूख ताा पौडखोरे: देशमूख ताा मुसे खोरे; सिर्के प्रांत पुणें; पुंडले जोसी कुलकर्णी, रावेत; ठाणेदार प्राा पुणे पाटील मौजे येलवाडी; कड्डू ताा चाकण; काजी प्राा पुणें एकूण १० व्यक्ती. व नबाबसाहेब.

[ई] (१) देशमूख देशपांड्यांचीं नांवें मजलसींत प्रामुख्यानें आहेत. (२) महजर पूर्ण छापलेला नाहीं. त्यामुळें वादाचें स्वरूप नीट समजत नाहीं. (३) भाषेवरून हा महजर १७ व्या शतकांतील असावा. मजकूर कदाचित् खरा असेल.

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[अ] **शि. च. सा. खं. ९, ले. ३, महजरनामा, नक्कल.**

सु. ९६५ श. १४८६; इ. १५६४.

[आ] मामले चेऊलपैकीं कांहीं गांवांच्या 'वृत्ती'विषयीं उपाध्ये व जोसी यांमधील वाद.

[इ] हाजीर मजालस, देशमूख व शेटे महाजनानी, व चौधरी यांनीं व मोक्तसरानी मामले मूर्त जा़बाद. ऊर्फ चेउल.

महजलसींत सुमारें ४५ व्यक्ती आल्या आहेत. हा महजर बालबोधींत असून अगदीं अलिकडील नकल आहे, अशी संपादकाची टीप आहे. त्यामुळें मजलसीचें पृथक्करण केलें नाहीं. असला बरहुकूम नकल असेल असें दिसत नाहीं.

[ई] (१) कोंकण भागांतील महजर म्हणून याचें महत्त्व आहे. (२) 'चौंघला' हें रूप विचारार्ह आहे. (३) सभेंत सुमारें १० भटजींचीं नांवें आहेत. वादहि 'वृत्तीचा' आहे. (४) सभेकडे तक्रीर दाखल केली व सभेनेंच निर्णय केला.

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[अ] **म. इ. सा. खं. २०, ले. १८५.**

श. १४९२ ज्येष्ठ शु. १ शुक्रवार; इ. १५७० मे ५

[आ] पोसीभट लाटीकर विा विरुपक्षभटवेदांती कोल्हापूरचे ग्राम उपाधीकासंबंधींचा वाद. पाठक वेदांती खरे ठरले. पोसीभटांनीं दिवाणांत त्याविषयीं कातवा लेहून दिला, त्यावरून हा महजर केला आहे.

[इ] विहुजूर समस्त ब्राम्हसभा तथा राजमुद्राधीक्ष करून समस्त महाजन काा अरटे पाटोळ याचे.

पेशवा
ढाणादार काा
पटेल मोटोल्याचा
सेटिया
महाजन
कुलकर्णी
जोतिसी
धर्माधिकारी, सिराळे

मजुमदार सेकीन मौजे कबज
–सीवनगी मामले विजापूर
चौगला
सेटी
समस्तजन व ब्रह्मसभा व बाजे–
–लोक महाजन.
याशिवाय इतर ६ व्यक्तींचीं नांवें आहेत.

एकूण १८ मंडळी सर्व हिंदू ; १ पटेल, २ सेटीये, १ चौगला व, इतर असे. ५ सोडल्यास, सर्वजण ब्राह्मण आहेत. महजराचे अखेरीस ९ ब्राह्मणांच्या साक्षी आहेत.

[ई] (१) कोल्हापूर भागांतील महजर. (२) ब्रह्मसभेचें स्वरूप. (३) दिवाणांत कतबा लिहून दिला व मग हा महजर केला आहे. (४) कतब्यावरून इत्यर्थ चतुःशाखेचे उपाध्ये वेगळे असें निश्चित झालें. (५) शेवटास मोर्तब आहे व पुढें ९ साक्षी घातल्या आहेत. (६) "झगडत दिवाणांत आले."

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[अ] **शि. चि. सा. खं. ७, ले. १.**

सु. ९७३; श. १४९४ कार्तिक शु. १२ सोमवार; इ. १५७२ आक्टो. १८. श्री. तालीक ई रासबंद.

[आ] विठ्ठल हरि अथर्वेदी देश कुलकर्णी व गांव कुलकर्णी प्रा खटाव विरुद्ध कृष्णोपंत. प्रगणे खटावच्या देश व गांवकुलकर्णीविषयीं वाद.

[इ] स्वस्ति श्रीशके……सोमवार तदिनी बेस्मे.

काजी इस्माइल
तुकदेव उकदेव पेशवे
देसाई

राजेश्री कान्होजी राजेसाहेब
मजमूदार
चौगुला

याशिवाय भोंवर २१ गांवचे २१ पटेल, ६ सेटिये, ७ रयानी का खटाऊ एकूण सुमोरें ४० मंडळी, काजीच फक्त मुसलमान आहे इतर हिंदू. का खटावी मजलीस झाली असें दिसतें. महजराचा प्रारंभ–'हे मुख्य करून समस्तदेशक प्रो. खटाव सुा……कारणे लेहून दिल्हा माहजर यैसाजे जे…आथर्वेदी याधी लेहुन दिल्हा महजर ऐसाजे,' महजराचा शेवट 'हा महाजर सही' असा आहे.

[ई] (१) पन्हाळ्याहून मनसुबी करण्याविषयीं रविराऊ साठे यांचे नांवचें फर्मान आणलें त्यावरून साठे मजकुरानें समस्त देशक यांच्या सहीनें हा महजर दिला आहे. (२) 'रावसाहेबी समस्त देशक बोलाविले.'

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[अ] **भा. इ. सं. मं. त्रै. मा.; वर्ष ८, अं. ३ पृ. १५९.**

सु. ९८०; श. १५०१ भाद्रपद; इ. १५७९. आरंभीं एक ओळ फारसी, महजर अपूर्ण.

[आ] उपाध्ये आणि जोसी यांजमधील कसबे तळियाच्या उपाधिकाचा वाद.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी मामले तळिया माहे रजब.

×मुतालीक कारकून मामले माार, सीका अष्टकोनी.
महालदार तहसील चि. बाणछडिया
×महालदार चि. तलवार
(कळत नाही) चि. कटयार.
देसाई चि. नांगर
×अधिकारी पाा हवेली
मादरडचे दोन पटेल (अधिकारी)
काा सेटियासोनार चि. चिमटा.
काा सेटी चि. कातरी.
काा तील ३ व्यक्ती (एक ब्राह्मण)

×काजी मामलेमाार
माहालदार पाा हाय ? चि. तलवार
×कतीब फारसीं सही.
नाईकवाडी किलेमाार सई बाळबोध
नाईकवाडी चि. त्रिशूल
पटेलु-दरेवली चि. नागर
७ अधिकारी देई गौ.
चौधरी बकाल काा चि. (तागडी)
गोली मेहतरी समस्त गोली काा चि. कावड
जोईसी टकले काा
अंतभट ब्रंह. (बा. सही.)

एकूण २३ मंडळी, ७ मुसलमान. बहुतेक अधिकारी मुसलमान. चिन्हें महत्त्वाची आहेत. हिंदूंमध्यें १ देसाई, ३ पटेल भोंवर गांवचे, आणि सेटी, चौधरी, जोसी अशा विविध व्यक्ती आहेत.

[ई]   तक्रार ढाण्यास दाखल झाली व मग का। मजकुरास हुजूर अधिकाऱ्यानें मजलस केली.

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[अ]   भा. इ. सं. मं. त्रै. मा. वर्ष ७ अं. १, पृ. ७. महजरू; दिव्याचा.

सु. ९८४, श. १५०५; इ. १५८३. दिव्याची व महजराची तारीख वेगळी आहे. कानडी व मराठी मोडी वळणांतील दुवा असें अक्षर आहे. ल=ळ, वेलांटी सर्वत्र ि याप्रमाणें.

[आ]   यैनापूर पा। रायबांग व तागडी पा। विजापूर या दोन गांवांतील शिवेचा निवाडा.

[इ]   महाजरु······बहुजुरु सरसमत् वा कारकुनानी वा देसायानी.

[ई]   (१) पटेल व डाव्या बाजूस कुलकर्णी असा क्रम सर्वत्र नाहीं. प्रारंभास आहे. गांवानुक्रमें पाटलांचीं नांवें आहेत. 'पटेल वा चौगुला.' असें जोडून लिहिलें आहे. (२) तागडीकरांनीं विजापुरास खानापाशीं तक्रार सादर केली तेव्हां त्यानें सरसंमत् देहाये विजापुरु वा पा। मा।राचे कारकुनास रजा फर्माविली व त्यांनीं देहाये पा। मा।रच्या साहाय्यानें निर्णय केला आहे. (३) दिव्याचें वर्णन महत्त्वाचें.

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[अ]   शि. च. सा. खं. ५ ले. ८३६.

सु. ९९८ सवाल २३; श. १५१९ ज्येष्ठ व. १० सोमवार; इ. १५९७ मे ३०; श. १५२० वैशाख व. १० शुक्रवार; इ. १५९८ मे १९.

वीस ओळी फारसी मजकूर व हजर मंडळीचीं नांवें महजराचे अखेरीस मजमूदाराचा सीका आहे.

[आ]   वीठ सेटी बिन सील सेटी वाघ सेटिया पेठ कालवट पा। वाई वि।। मलसेटी सेटिया पेठ कालवट पा। वाई येथील मिरासी सेटियेपणाविषयीं वाद. निर्णयांत वीठ सेटी खरा ठरला.

[इ]   माहजर व तेरीख······दिहुजूर.

कारकुनानी

×मालिक नैबगैबती; मुश्रीफ (फा. अ. कोशि)   पंडित मजमुदार (फा. वा. शि.);

सर्नौबती (फा. लं. व. शि.)

सरगुरो वा नायेकवाडी

हे एकूण १८ मंडळींचे पथक आहे. त्यांत ३ मुसलमान पठाण आहेत. व त्यापैकी दोन पथकाचे प्रमुख आहेत. व त्याचे शिक्के आहेत. ते बंदूखवाले दिसतात, बाकीचे सर्व हिंदू आहेत. बहुतेक सर्वांचे चि. कट्यार आहे. तिरंदाज फक्त दोनच आहेत; चि. तीर बाण, दारू बाण. या अधिकाऱ्यांची वर्गवारी:– १ रणनौरा, १३ नाईकवाडी, २ मजुमली, २ सरगुऱ्हो.

सबनिवीस–चिटिणीवीस;

देसाई वा सेटिये महाजन

देसाई देशकुलकर्णी, अहंमद पटेल का वाई

मेहतरी तेली (पली) दर्जी (कात्री)

५ पाटील.

सेटिये चौधरी (तराजू);

मेहतरी माली (माळ), रंगारी (भांड)

मेहतरी परीट (चोपणे ?)

४ पाटील.

एकूण ४२ व्यक्ति हजर.

[ई] (१) सभा महत्त्वाची आहे. पथक पूर्ण असावें. सर्व अधिकारी हजर असलेली अशी फक्त हीच सभा आहे. (२) "दिवाणांत उभा राहिला‥साहेबानी मजलसी करुनु कारकून वा देसाई व सेटिये माहाजन वा मोकदम बैसानु तफवास केले…" (३) वीट सेटीकडून १५० होन खुसीसिर्णी घेण्यांत आली. "मलसेटी सेटिया मजकूर सीह हिसेचे गुन्हा याबद्दल ताजील माल होउनु."

— १० —

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ४ ले. ७१५.

सु. ९९९; श. १५२०–२१; इ. १५९८–९९.

प्रारंभीचा भाग फाटला आहे.

[आ] तानो मेगदेऊ देशकुलकर्णी तपे वालवे वि॥ जागोवा माणको; तपे वाळवेचे देशकुलकर्णीविषयीं वाद. तानोमेगदेऊचे वतन झाले.

[इ] महजरांतील तपशीलाच्या प्रारंभावरून मजलीस किले पनाळे येथें झाली असावी. "समस्त हाजीरानी तपे वालवे मु॥ किले पनाले." आरंभास देसाई पटेल, नाईकवाडी, सेटे, महाजन यांचीं नांवें आहेत. नंतर देहाये तपे मजकूर यांत पुढील गांवचे पाटील, कुलकर्णी व चौगुले यांचा समावेश केला आहे. मौजे, रुण, कामेरी, येड, कुंडल, सिरगाऊ, थानपडे, देवरठे या सर्व गांवीं चौगुला आहे.

[ई] (१) 'किले मजकुरासी मालूम केलें.' व नंतर किल्याहून मजलस करून निर्णय दिला आहे. (२) तपेंवाळवेंतील वरील सर्व गांवास चौगुला आहे.

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[अ] **म. इ. सा. खं. १५ ले. ४३०.**

श. १५२३ मार्गशीर्ष शु. १३ शुक्रवार; इ. १६०१ नोव्हेंबर २७.

[आ] मुद्गलभट पुंडले विा ब्रह्मे पिंडदान नांदीश्राद्ध वगैरे उत्पनाबद्दल वाद. ब्रह्मे खरे झाले.

[इ] आरंभास मजलस दिलेली नाहीं. महजराचे अखेरीस 'गौही' जोडली आहे. महजराचा आरंभ—"महजर श्रीशके······ते दसी चाकण-स्थल-सील-सभे विदमान महजर केला ऐसाजे···" असा आहे. "सभा केली देवळी मुख सभानायक देसमुख व साल पाटील व···कुलकर्णी व तेली; मुतालीक देसमूख व सुतार हे समस्त बैसोनु.···" गौहींत ११ मंडळींचा उल्लेख आहे. तींत देशमूख, पाटील, महाजन, बकाल, कुलकर्णी, शेटे वगैरे मंडळी आहेत.

[ई] (१) सभा नाईकांनीं गांवांतील तीन चार प्रमुख ग्रहस्थांच्या माथा 'देवाचा पाला' घालून सत्य विचारलें आहे व तदनुरूप हा महजर केला आहे. (२) देवळांत, सभानाईक देशमूख यांनीं सभा केली.

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[अ] **म. इ. सा. खं. १८; ले. ३; महजर, रवा दिव्याचा.**

सु. १००९ रविलाखर १; श. १५३० श्रावण शु. ३ मंगळवार; इ. १६०८ जुलै ५.

श्री; नकल. महजराची व दिव्याची अशा दोन स्वतंत्र तारखा.

[आ] तान पाटील बिन अचल पाटील कुंभारकर जाव पाटिल बिन बाद पाटील खाडगे; वणपुरीच्या पाटिलकीविषयीं वाद. तान पाटिलांचें वतन ठरलें.

[इ] बिहुजूर हकीमशरा व नैबगैबत व हाजीर मजालसी प्राा पुणें.

२ ×काजी आबन व इस्माइल हकीमशरा
१ ×सेख नूरमहमद मुतवली
१ ×रोजा महदूम सेखसला
१ ······मुश्रीफ, १ शितोळे देशमूख
१ सेटे काा पुणे, १ सेटे पेठ मूर्तजाबाद
१ वेव्हारा महाजन
—
९

१ ×मीरसैद इसीफ नैबगैबती
किले कोंढाणा हवेली
प्राा पुणे
१ ······मजमुदार
१ ······नाजीर
१ पाटील काा पुणे
३ सेटिया व कृष्णाजी आणि विष्णुबुवा
महाजन पेठ शहापूर
१ सेटे पेठ मलकापूर
—
८

याशिवाय ४ नाईकवाडी व भोंवर २२ गांवचे २२ मोकदम आहेत.

एकूण ४३ सभासद हजर. त्यांतील ५ मुसलमान व बाकी हिंदू आहेत.

[ई] (१) श. १५३० जेष्ठ वाा ११ रविवारीं पांढरीवर तपत महादिव्य झालें. मंगळवारीं वाल्ह्यास पिशव्या काढल्या. (२) दिव्य होते समयीं सुमारें ३२ मंडळी हजर होती. (३) "सितोले देशमूख यांचे अजहत त्रिंबक पीलदेव" व "देशकुलाा यांचा यारेदी रंगो श्रीपती," दिव्यासमयीं हजर. (५) ठाणा पुणेहून महजर दिला आहे.

– १३ –

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ५ ले. ८८४.

सु. १००९ साबान १०; श. १५३० का. शु. १२ बुधवार; इ. १६०८ नोव्हे. ९. तालीक.

[आ] मालजी पटेल टेकी विाा तुको पनाळेकर मौजे कुमठे बुाा पाा वाई येथील पाटिलकी. मालजी पटेल व त्याचे वडील विठोजी वा चागोजी हे खरें जाहलें.

[इ] बिहुजूर हजिरानी मजालस पाा कराड देसाई देशकुाा व भोंवरगाव–उंबरज, खडाडे, किवळ, किरोळी, अरवी, केली, कविठे, तारी, कोपरडे या ९ गांवचे ९ मो. " पाा मजकूरचे नेबई इतदखान कारकुनानी वा सरगुन्हो नाईकजीवाडी देसाई वा देसक वा हकजवारीचे लोक बैसोन मुनसफी करून······टेका पटेलगी होये यैसे माहजर केले···"

[ई] (१) सर्वांनीं मिळून निर्णय केला आहे.

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[अ] सनदा पत्रें, प्राा २, ले. ६; महाजर, ऐरण दिव्याचा.

श. १५३० कार्तिक व. ११ बुधवार; इ. १६०८ नोव्हे. २३.

[आ] मौजे घाटण तपे करकंब व मौजे भोसर तपे उदरगांव या दोन्ही गांवच्या शिवेचा तंटा.

राजमुद्रा (५)–मुनसिवदार, राजीव तपे उंदरगांव.

गोत (२८)–परगणे हवेली–कुरढ्ढ, म्हइसगांव, शिराल, जालगांव, वडसिंग बारलोणी, चिंचगांव, आकुलगांवचे मिळून ८ मोकदम;

तपे करकंब–देशमूख १; काा करकंबचे २; पंडित २

×दाऊदखान शाई–भोंसर

तपे भोस मोकदम देहाय; साप्टणे व आस्ट याचे मोकदम २

तपे उंदरगांव—

देशमूख २, अजहत देशकुाा १; पिंपरी,

मोडलिंब, आरण, रोपळे खुा, भेडवरवडे
मिळून ४ एकूण मोकदम ६.

तळवळे, उपलई खुा माढें व ओहळचे
मिळून मोकदम ८

एकूण ३३ सभासद, १ मुसलमान बाकी हिंदू.

[ई] (१) "निवाडा करावयास हुजुरून मिया आजम पाठविला, तेहि, हवेलीचे व हामशाईचे मोकदम बोलाविले." (२) दिव्याचें वर्णन महत्त्वाचें.

– १५ –

[अ] **भा. इ. सं. मं. त्रै. मा. व. ६; अंक १ ते ४ पृ. ६७,६८.**

सु. १०११; श. १५३२; इ. १६१०.

अपूर्ण आहे.

[आ] गोपाळभट पुजारी का वणी विा भिऊजी भोपे गुरव, पूजा तक्षिमेविषयीं वाद.

[इ] मजलीस अपूर्ण.

[ई] गोपाळभटानें ठाण्यास तकरीर केली.

– १६ –

[अ] **शि. च. सा. खं. २ ले. ९३ महजर, दिव्याचा.**

सु. १०११; श. १५३२; इ. १६१०; अपूर्ण आहे. पहिला भाग फाटला आहे.

[आ] मौजे कडेगाऊ आणि मौजे पारगाऊ प्रांत पुणें या गांवामधील शिवेचा तंटा.

[इ] शरा व हाजीर मजालसी प्रा पुणा.

×काजी अवदुल हवेन काजी महमद
×हकीमशरा व काजी इस्माइल नैबकाजी
द(सेख ?)
नूर मिया वली
सेखसला का पुणें,
सेटिये महाजन का पुणे, महजन पेठश्यापूर
सेठे शेठमूर्त जावाद माहाटे जथे ४
नऱ्हे, चऱ्होली, रावेत, वडगांव, कोथरूड पो. मो.

×सैद शावत नैब किले कोंढाणा व हवालदार
प्रा पुणे व बाजे महाल कारकून–मजमुदार,
मुश्रीफ मोकदम–पुणें, सेटिया व महाजन २
पेठ शाहापूर; पर्वती, हिंगणें, धायरी,
घोरपडी गिरीम ता पाटस २

एकूण सभासद ३१, पैकी ६ मुसलमान.

[ई] (१) पाटलाच्या वतीनें पारगांवच्या महारांनीं 'एरण दिव्य' केलें परंतु तें खोटें झाले व कडेगांवकरावर हल्ला केला. खान अलिशान खान हुजूर याजकडे तकरीर सादर झाली. प्रगण्यास वाद तोडण्याविषयीं हुकूम झाला. मग रवा दिव्य झालें देवाचें व गोताचे तोंडे खरें झालें व मग महजर दिला आहे.

— १७ —

[अ] **शि. च. सा. खं १ ले. ९.**

श. १५३२ श्रावण व. १३ मंगळवार; इ. १६१० ऑगस्ट. ७.

तालीक.

शि. च. सा. खं १ ले. ११ मध्यें सदरहू वाद्यामधील याच वादाचा महजर आहे. ती नकल आहे. पटवर्धन त्या महजरांवरून खरे ठरले असें दिसतें. दुसऱ्यानदा तेलतूपाचें दिव्य केलें आहे. (श. १५४० मार्ग० वाा ३.)

[आ] विसाजी विन नारोवा म्हसवडा विाा नागोजी विन कोडभट पटवर्धन, मौजे भोगवली पाा सिरवल चे कुलकर्णी वतनाविषयीं वाद. म्हसवडयानें रवा काढला व खरा झाला.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी पाा सिरवळ

काजी सेखन हकीमशरा पाा माार जसवंतराऊ नैब पाा माार

मजमूदार पाा; माार देशमूख पाा माार मुश्रीफ पाा माार देशकुलकर्णी–पाा माार,

यानंतर सेटिये, हशम, नाईक, चाकर ठाणे पाा माार चौगुला, चौधरी, आणि मोकदम कयैती माार या मथळ्याखालीं १३ गांवच्या मोकदमांचीं नांवें आहेत.

[ई] (१) भाषा—"करकसा होता······आग्रवादी व पछमवादी······उभे राहुनु वेल्हार भाविला, अग्रवादी······भाविलाजे; पसमवादी······भाविलाजे;······ तकरीरा उभेवर्गी दिधलिया आहेत. हा आमल कैसा आहे म्हणौन साहेवी सभेस पुसिले. समस्त सभा बोलिले जे······याचा धर्मता निवाडा केला पाहिजे······राजमुद्रा व समस्त सभा मनास आणून केदारस्थानी दिव्य देऊन निवाडा करणे यैसे केले." (२) दिव्य वर्णन महत्वाचें आहे. (३) हरकी गुन्हेगारी घेतली नाहीं.

— १८ —

[अ] **म. इ. सा. खं १५ ले. ६.**

श. १५३२ माघ शु. १० सोमवार; इ १६११ जाने. १४ तालीक, प्रारंभास २ देवतांचे उल्लेख, "गोदावरी व सिद्धेश्वराची साक्ष," नंतर हवालदाराचें नांव, शेवट—सही लेखल संख्या ओळी.

[आ] नरसोजी जगदाळे देशमूख तपे मसूर व पाटील काा माा विाा वापाजी विन याकूबजी मुसलमान सेकिन. कसबे मसूरच्या पटेलगीचा गर्गशा.

[इ] कसबे प्रतिष्ठान.

प्रारंभ–गोदावरी सन्निध वेल्हार प्रवीण धर्माधिकारिणी हरीपाठक व माणीक पाठक.

महजराच्या प्रारंभास उजव्या बाजूस ' बिहुजूर दावलखान हवालदार ' असें आहे. नेहमीप्रमाणें मजलस नाहीं. विद्वान् ब्रह्मसभेनें निवाडा केला आहे.

[ई] (१) यापूर्वी दोनदा निवाडे झाले परंतु वाद तुटला नाहीं म्हणून थळ प्रतिष्ठान देण्यांत आलें. (२) उभयवादी स्वप्रांतस्थ हवालदाराचें, परथळीच्या हवालदारास पत्र नेतात. बरोबर स्वप्रांतीचा महालदार असतों. थळकरी हवालदार पत्रें पाहून ब्रह्मसभेस सर्व प्रकार निवेदन करतो व न्याय करण्याची विनंति करतो. (३) धर्मचौथऱ्यावर उभा करून उभयतांच्या तकरीरा घेतात. नंतर धर्माधिकारी कागदपत्र पहातो ' साक्ष पत्र असता दिव्य कैसे '? यास प्रमाण ' विज्ञानेश्वर ' पहातात. (४) मुसलमानांचें राज्य व गुन्हेगार मुसलमान म्हणून देहान्त प्रायश्चित्त माफ. (५) हिंदु मुसलमानांच्या वतनविषयक वादाचा निवाडा ब्रह्मसभेकडे तज्ञ म्हणून सोपविला आहे. (६) क्रमांक ५६ पहा.

— १९ —

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. १. ले. १०.

श. १५३८ चैत्र व. १० सोमवार; इ. १६१६ एप्रिल १.

तालीक समकालीन.

[आ] विठ्ठल काईदेऊ देशकुलकर्णी विा रुद्राजी दामोदर व दादाजी भूपालराऊ लंबे परगणे सिरवलचे देशकुलकर्णाचा वाद.

[इ] बीहुजूर खान अलिशान हैबतखान (विजापूरचा, वाई पाा मोकासाई) व हाजीर मजालस.

वजारतमहा खान आजमआलीखान
—पंडित पेशवे
—सबनीस
४ सरदार
देसाई कर्याती सासवड

खान हवालदार
खोज़ हाफीज
खाा जमालखान
जसवंतराव हवालदार
सादुलाखान सरदार
६ सरदार

सुभेदारासह एकूण १९ सभासद, पैकी ६ मुसलमान.

[ई] (१) हुजूर हैबतखान यानें मजलसिद्वारा निर्णय केला आहे. (२) हमाशाई देशमूख देशकुाा सेटे महाजन यांच्या गोहीवरून वाद तोडला आहे. (३) मजलसींत सरदार मंडळी आहेत.

— २० —

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ५. ले. ९४६.

सु. १०१७ जिल्हेज ११; श. १५६८ मार्गं० शु. १२ मंगळवार; इ. १६१६ डिसें. १०.

[आ] सूर्याजी मरळ देशमूख ताा कानदखोरे विाा बाबाजी झुंजारराऊ देशमुख ताा कानंदखोरे. ताा कानदखोरेच्या देशमुखीचा वाद. " बोल मनास आणुनु हाजीर मजलसी हुजूर सूर्याजी नाईकास हकलाजिमाची सीस्त करून दिल्ही आसे."

[इ] महजर महाल किले पुरंधरू बि हुजूर.

नामजाद किलेमाा (फा. सिका)	हरकारे किभार (शिका).
भानजी हनवरस (शिका)	देशमूख ताा खेडेबारे (सीका)
देसमूख पाा शिरवल (नांगर)	देशमूख ताा गुंजणमावळ
खोत ताा सिवतर खोरे (सिका. अ. को.)	देशमूख (सीका)
जेधे देशमूख ताा रोहिडा भोर (अ. सिका)	देशमूख ताा उरवली ताा रोहिडा (नांगर)
मोकदम–पूर, (नां.); सेटिये–पेठ मूर्तजाबाद (तागडी)	मोकदम आलंद; सेटीमहाजन मूर्तजाबाद (तागडी)
—	—
७	७

२ मौजे कोलवाडी व दापोवडेचे मोकदम; १ विंझर–चौगुला; १ विंझरचा मोकदम; १ मालोचा मोकदम; सेखभाई मुरसंदाज (खंजीर); एकूण २० मंडळी. सर्व हिंदू; मुरसंदाज सोडून.

[ई] (१) वतनाची व्यवस्था नीट लावली आहे. (२) महजर सर्व दृष्टींनीं उपयुक्त आहे. (३) महजराचा शेवट " दिवाणचा गुन्हेगार व गोताचा अन्याई " (४) "हाजीर मजालसी हुजूर किले······सिस्त करून दिली असे."

– २१ –

[आ] म. इ. सा. खं. १६. लेखांक ५.

सु. १०१७ जिल्हेज ११; श. १५३८ मार्गशीर्ष शु. १२ मंगळवार; इ. १६१६ डिसें. १०.

[आ] बाजी नाईक मरळ देशमूख विाा बाबाजी झुंझारराऊ देशमूख. ताा कानदखोरेच्या देशमुखीविषयीं वाद.

[इ] क्रमांक २० चीच मजलस आहे व तपसीलहि तोच आहे. तेथें नांवापुढें सिके आहेत. हा विशेष आहे.

[ई] (१) किले पुरंधरास भांडण दाखल झालें व मजलसीनें निर्णय केला आहे. (२) सूर्याजी व बाजी या उभयतांचा वाद, बाबाजी झुंझारराऊ विाा आहे. दोघांस वेगळाले

महजर दिले आहेत. (३) या महजरांतील मजकुराचा प्रारंभ "समस्त देशक तर्फ कानदखोरे" असा आहे.

— २२ —

[अ] **संकीर्ण.**

सु. १०१९ जजादिलाखर २१; श. १५४० ज्ये. व. ७ शुक्रवार; इ. १६१८ जून ५; श. १५४१ ज्ये. व. ८ बुधवार; इ. १६१९ मे २६.

प्रारंभास फार्सी सिका. महजर अपूर्ण आहे.

[आ] रेम सेटी विा मंगसेटी भिंगे यामध्ये काा आटपाडीचे सेटेपणाचा वाद लागला. रेम सेटी दिव्यास खरा झाला.

[इ] पा माण दहिगाऊ······आपाजी पंडित हवालदार वा कारकुनानी.

—मजमुदार

—निघावन

महंमदजी महालदार पा मार

सेटे महाजन व समस्त पेठ पिलू व सुमारें ६ व्यक्ती; मोकदम कासेगांऊ

सेख इब्राइम सरसंमत् काा

—निघावन

देशकुला पा मार

सरगर; मेटेकरी; मोकदम पिलूव; सीदगौड मो मौजे गोमेवाडी काा आटपाडी; मेटकरी काा सांगुलवे.

[ई] (१) परगण्यास हुजूर वाद दाखल झाला. (२) चण्याचें दिव्य घेण्याचें ठरलें. दिव्याचा हा एक नवीनच प्रकार आहे.

— २३ —

[अ] **म. इ. सा. खं. १८. लेखांक ४.**

श. १५४० मार्गशीर्ष व. १२ ब्रहस्पतवार; इ. १६१८ डिसेंबर ३ गुरुवार.

(सुा तिसा आश्रैनच्या ऐवजीं तिसा अशर वाचणें जरूर आहे) श्री, शंकर, नकल.

[आ] काा सुपे व मौजे वढाणे या दोन गांवातील शिवेचा वाद.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी.

हाकीम शराः—×काजी चांद बिन काजी मनसूर प्रा सुपे, ×काजी प्रा चाकण

×काजी इसाख प्रा इंदापूर

दिवाण लोकः—×शहाजी अह्ली देशमूख

लिलोजी अजहत देशमूख काा सासवड देशमूख, देशकुा पा इंदापूर.

हवालदार; मजमूदार पा सुपे—हरकारे.

याशिवाय भोंवर १८ गांवचे मोकदम, चौगुले, जोसी व इतर मंडळी मिळून सुमारे ३२ व्यक्ती आहेत.

एकूण सुमारे ४३ व्यक्तींचीं नांवें आहेत. ह्यांत ४ मुसलमान आहेत.

[ई] (१) देशमुखानें हुजूर वाद, दाखल केला तेव्हां निर्णयाकरितां मुनसिफदार पाठविले. (२) गोतांचे कागदपत्रांचें ज्ञान सूक्ष्म असावें असें दिसतें. दिव्य महजर कसा होतो, याची उपयुक्त माहिती आली आहे. (३) गोतांनीं शिवेवरून चालून शीव निश्चित केली.

– २४ –

[अ] **सनदापत्रें प्रकरण २ ले. ३९ पृ. ४१.**

शा. १५४३ दुर्मतीनाम सं. आश्विन व. ७ गुरुवार; इ. १६२१ सप्टेंबर २७.

निवाडपत्रांत महजर आला आहे.

[आ] मौजे मालशिरस पाा सुपे व मौजे टेकेवाडी व मौजे पिसरवे ताा कऱ्हेपठार प्रांत पुणे या गांवातील शिवेचा वाद. मलिकंबराच्या वेळीं वाद सुरू झाला व थोरले बाजीरावाचे वेळीं संपला असें दिसतें.

[इ] कित्ता महजर बितेरीख २७ माहे जिल्काद हुजूर हाजीर मजालीस.

हजरत रायाराऊ
देशमूख—प्रांा पुणे, काा सासवड
लाजिमदार व बलुते काा सासवड

कारकून पाा सुपे
हवालदार, मजमदार, सरदार २
मजमदार–सासवड, देशमूख पाा सुपे.
मोकदम–मावडी, कुंभारवळण; खळद खुा, टेकेवाडी.

मोकदम–मौजे रिसे, भिवरी, मुरडी इतर ३ व्यक्ती.

एकूण २० सर्व हिंदू.

[ई] (१) हुजर आजमाकडे प्रथम तकरीर केली. (२) "हजरत राऊ साहेबी नेम केला जे शिवेची माती आणून श्री वटेश्वर मुाा काा सासवड तेथे ऐरणी दिव्य घेणे." वृत्तीकारानें दिव्य केलें आहे. (३) "कारकीर्द निजामशहा ममलकतमदार महंमद अजम ……दोही गांवचे चौगली यानी रवा कादिला" (हरसूलास).

– २५ –

[अ] **भा. इ. सं. मं. त्रै. मा. व. ४ (अंक १ ते ४) पृ. ४७.**

सु. १०२२ रविलावल १२; शा. १५४३ माघ शु. १३ मंगळवार; इ. १६२२ जाने. १५.

दोन ओळी फार्सी मजकूर व फार्सी सिका, महजर अर्धवट उतरला असावा.

[आ] उमाराम देशपांडे विाा कान्होजी त्रिमल, परगणे खेडल्याचे देशपांडे वतनाचा वाद.

[इ] मालोजी राजे यांच्या खुर्दखताच्या आधारानें उमारामाचें वतन खरें असल्याचें ठरलें.

[ई] (१) कागद फाटला किंवा काय हें समजत नाहीं. कागदांत मजलीस दिलेली नाहीं. (२) वऱ्हाड प्रांतांतील हा एकच महजर उपलब्ध आहे.

– २६ –

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ३ ले. ५७७.

सु. १०२२ रविलावल १६; श. १५४३ माघ व. २ शनिवार; इ. १६२२ जाने. १९.

[आ] लखजी भडाळा मोकदम मौजे आंबवडे. मोकदम मजकुरास देशमुखानें आपल्या इसाफतीपैकी एक खाचर इनामतीस दिलें होतें. त्याविषयीं व टक्याविषयीं ‘ कुसूर ’ पडला होता. भोगवटा मनास आणून खाचर मोकदमाचेंच ठरलें.

[इ] महजर हाजीर मजालसी ताा भोर ताा रोहिडा.

कान्होजी देशमूख (सिका) प्रभु देशकुलकर्णी

बापोजी जेधा.

चिखलगाऊ, पोमरडी, चिखलवडे, ताा भोर, कर्नवड, आंबघेर या ६ गांवचे मोकदम आहेत नि. नांगर; मौजे वहतुंडीचा सुतार (वाकस); आंबवड्याचे वार्तिक महार ३; मेहत्र्या ताा भोर (मोगरी असे) — दोघांची कव्यार आहे; आंबवडेचा चौगुला (नांगर); व सुतार (वाकस).

एकूण १८ सभासद.

[ई] (१) देशमुखाकडेच फिर्याद झाली व त्यानेंच महजर केला आहे. (२) महजराचा शेवट—“ देशमुखाची चाकरी करून मौजे मजकूरची मोकदमी खाऊन सुखी आसिजे.”

– २७ –

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ५, ले. ८७३; महजर, रवा दिव्याचा.

श. १५४३ फा. व. १० रविवार; इ. १६२२ फेब्रु. २४.

कागदाचा वरचा भाग फाटला आहे.

[आ] लखदराणा बिन सोमदराणा गुरव विाा दाऊ पाटील बिन परस पाटील कटका. मौजे भिवरीच्या मोकदमीचा वाद.

[इ] —वरचा भाग फाटला.

×काजी अवदुल बिन काजी महंमद हकीमशरा व काजी इसमायल प्राा पुणे.

मुजमदार ठाणे मार

शितोळे देशमूख प्राा मार, सेटे काा मार, गोपाळ नरसी (वेल्हारा) महाजन काा पुणा, व पेठ शहापूर व बाजे पेठा. सेटे पेठ मूर्तजाबाद, से पे॰ महाजन पेठ मलकापूर.

भोंवर गांवचे २० मोकदम.
प्रजा ८

समस्त बलुते मौजे मार
बलुते
जोशी
परीट
कोळी
त्रीतिकार
सुतार
चांभार
कुंभार
वेरड
महार

[ई] (१) हुजूर प्रा मारास फिर्याद केली. नंतर मजलीस होऊन निर्णय झाला आहे. (२) दिव्याचें वर्णन महत्त्वाचें आहे. (३) श्री नागेश मुा पेठ शहापूर कसबे पुणे येथें रवा दिव्य झालें. रविवार शिमगा वा १०, श. १५४३.

— २८ —

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. १ ले. २१.

सु. १०२३ रजब २५; श. १५४४ ज्ये. व. १२ रविवार; श. १५४५ वैशा. व. १२ गुरुवार; इ. १६२२ मे २६; इ. १६२३ मे १५.

चार फारसी अक्षरें वरच्या बाजूस. हा महजर फारच उत्तम प्रतीचा आहे.

(शि. च. सा. खं. १ ले. १३ याबरोबर वाचणें जरूर आहे.)

[आ] रामाजी फर्जंद विठल काईदेऊ विरुद्ध गणो रुद्र लंबे. परगणे सिरवळच्या देश कुलकर्णाचा वाद. रामाजी खरा झाला.

[इ] हजीर मजालसी सदर ठाणे परगणे सिरवल.

×काजी सेरबन बिन काजी
खुदो हकीमशहा (फारशींत 'सेखन')
मजमूदार मोर्तब
देशमूख व मो का मार (नांगर)
आपाजी मल्हारजी देशमूख
(हीं अक्षरें वाटोळ्या शिक्यांत आहेत व सभोंवतीं १६ दलें दाखविलीं आहेत.)

हवालदार
(फारसी सिका तेरा दली)
निघावन
नाईक ठाणे पा मार
(कट्यार)
नाईक (कट्यार)

(या खालीं डावे व उजव्या बाजूस मिळून सेटीये, महाजन, मोकदम, जोसी, गुरव, सुतार, हजाम, कुंभार, जिनगार, प्रजा, कोळी, तेली, महार, जुनारदार, भोई, उपाध्ये, जंगम, पाणसरे, वगैरेंचीं आपापल्या निशाणीसह सुमारें १७५ नांवें आहेत.)

[ई] (१) गणो रुद्र लंबे यानें शहाजीराजे यास पा मार मुकासा झाल्यावर 'मालुमातीचें खुर्दखत त्याकडून महालास आणलें तेव्हां राजेसाहेब मोकासाई याजकडे परगण्यांतील देशमूखादि मंडळीनीं तकरीर केली. (२) तेव्हां साहेबानीं मुनसिफी मलिक आजम ममलकत मदारी छ २४ माहे जमादिलाखर हाजीर मजालसी याहुजूर केली. लंबे खोटे केले.

(३) खुर्दखतावरून वतन खरें होत नाहीं. भोगवटा लागतो "मालुमातीच्या खुर्दखतावरून मिरासी कैसी साधेल." पृ. २५.

– २९ –

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. २, ले. २९०.

सु. १०२६ रमजान १; श. १५४७ ज्येष्ठ शु. २ शनिवार; श. १५४८ ज्ये. शु. २ बुधवार; इ. १६२५ मे २८; इ. १६२६ मे १७.

[आ] हिराई कोम गोविंदप्रभु धर्माधिकारी का नाशीक आणि फुलाई, गोविंद प्रभूची मुलगी विा माहादप्रभु बालप्रभु धर्माधिकारी का नाशिक, अन्नवस्त्र, घरतकसीम व धर्माधिकरणाची तकसीम याबद्दल वाद. वाटा दिला.

[इ] "ठाणाहून मुनसिफी सदरहू, मुनसीफदाराचे हवाला केली सदरहू मुनसिफ मठामधे बैसोन मनास आणिलें." का नाशीक येथें

[ई] (१) स्त्रियांनीं वादात पडल्याचा उल्लेख याच महजरांत प्रथम आला आहे. (२) स्वतंत्र मुनसीफ नेमत असावेत असें दिसतें.

– ३० –

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. १, ले. २२.

सु. १०२६ रविलावल २९; श. १५४७ मार्ग. ३० सोमवार; इ. १६२५ डिसेंबर १९.

[आ] राघोजी बिन पिलू पटेल सेडकर मोकदम विा हाऊजी बिन साऊजी कामिथा मौजे चामिली पा पुणेच्या मोकदमीचा तंटा. कान्होजी सेडकर बिरादर राघोजी सेडकर हा राघोजीच्या वतीनें हजर आहे. वतन सारखें विभागण्यांत आलें.

[इ] बिहुजूर हाजीर मजालेसी.

सावाजी अनंत (निजामशाहीच्या वतीनें)
(फार्सी सिका)
हवालदार पा मार
मजमूदार पा मार
नाईकवाडी किले पुरंधर
सितोळे देशमूख पा मार (सीका)
देसाई गुंजणमावळ
मोकदम–पिंपलगौ, लोणी कालभार, पा पुणे,

महमदजी सरनोबत
(फारसी सिका)
बगत्यारखान मुकासाई मौजे चामिली
नाजीर किले पुरंधर
नाईकवाडी ना कोट का पुणे
देसाई, हिरडस मावळ
सोमाजी दिनकर राऊ सरदार बिा मोकदम–मौजे निबूत व पागारे पा मार
फार्सी सिका

[ई] (१) दिवाळीनंतरचा काळ निर्णयाकरतां ठरविला आहे. (२) उभयवाद्यांना आपसांत वाद तोडण्याविषयीं सवलती देण्यांत येत. अखेरीस गोतांच्याकडे निर्णय सोपविला. (३) देशमूख पाा मार यानीं मजलीस हुजूर बोलावली व निर्णय केला.

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[अ] **संकीर्ण.** महजर दिव्याचा.

श. १५४७ फाल्गु. शु. ११ रविवार; इ. १६२६ फेब्रु. २६.

महजराचें अक्षर पेशवेकालीन आहे. बंदाच्या जोडांत बंद चिकटवतांना अक्षर गेलें आहे यावरून प्रत्येक बंद स्वतंत्र लिहीत असावेत व मग चिकटवीत असावेत. दिव्याचा तेवढा उतारा घेतला आहे.

[आ] सूर्याजी बिन महादजी पोवार विाा दादा पाटील बिन चाहू पाटील बडधा. मौजे कोढीत बुाा कर्याती सासवडच्या मोकद्दमीचा निर्णय. सूर्याजी खरा झाला.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी कर्याती सासवड व बाजे महाल, सर्व भाग उतरून घेतला नाहीं.

[ई] (१) ठाण्यास फिर्याद केली आहे. (२) रवा दिव्याच्या दृष्टीनें महजर उपयुक्त आहे.

– ३२ –

[अ] **सनदापत्रें प्रकरण २ रें, लेखांक १२.**

श. १५४८ फाल्गुन शु. १ इ. १६२७ फेब्रु. ६ मंगळवार श्री. प्रारंभास.

[आ] मावजीपाटील मोकदम विाा केरोजी पाटील, मोकदमीविषयींचा वाद. मावजी खरा झाला व निमे हक्कदक्क केरोजीस देण्यांत आले. गांवाचें नांव दिलेलें नाहीं.

[इ] बेहुजूर नागावा बेहुजूर राजश्री खंडोबलाळ; महजर बेहुजूर.

×काजी मुल्ला, राजश्री जिवाजी खंडेराव; रुद्र हवालदार व कारकून ताा करकंब सोन ठाकूर:

तपे भोंस	**तपे करकंब**
देशमूख देशकुलकर्णी	देशमूख, मोकदम काा मार,
मौजे—खेडे, अहिरगांव, ताा मार.	देहाये तपे करकंब, आरण,
सापटण, मालगांव, देवढी, देहे,	वरवडे, गुरसाले, पेंजूर, बेंबळे,
पाथरी, अन्हे, वरडी–१० मोकदम	आखूब, पिंपळनेर, लोदापूरी, उज्जनी, हेदल
	खुाा ऐकूण १० मोकदम, पाटील; पेंजूरला
	पाटील चौगुला आहे असें दिसतें.

एकूण ३० सभासद; पैकीं एक मुसलमान.

[ई] (१) “बेशमी बापोजी अनंत व गोंदजीराम देशकुा तंपे माा कारणे मह्जर लेहून दिल्हा;” यावरून कुलकर्णी महजर लिहिण्याचें काम करी असें दिसतें. (२) कसबा, साहेबीं गुरसाळें ‘थल’ दिलें होतें व थलपत्राप्रमाणें हा महजर दिला आहे. (३) शिर धडाच्या चिठ्या टाकून थळकरी यांनीं निवाडा केला.

– ३३ –

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ४ ले. ७२१.

सु. १०२९ सफर १ श. १५५० आश्विन शु. ३ रविवार; इ. १६५८ सप्टेंबर २०.

श्री. मह्जराच्या अखेरीस (ष. शि.) आहे: सासवडच्या मोकदमाच्या सहीचें अक्षर निराळें. भाषा फारसीमिश्रित आहे.

[आ] खंडोजी व बाजी बिन जाऊजी घोरपडे मोकदम मौजे कापसी पाा फलेटण. विाा बोबडे. मौजे कापसीच्या मिरासी पटेलगीचा निर्णय. खंडोजी खरा झाला.

[इ] हाजीर मजालस खान आजम अंबारखान बाा कौलू शाहासाहेबू.

सिदी मुकुंद ठाणेदार (वदामी शिका); ळाहामाजी गोविंद मेजमूदार;

नरसो गोमाजी सबनीस.

देसक

नाईक देशमूख २ देशकुलकर्णी

(चौकोनी शिका)

मोकदम—(९) सांगवी, कसबे, गिरवी, कापडगांव, सासबड, तरडगांव, हिंगणगांव वाटार, कोरेगांव; सांगवीचा ‘ गोड ’ मोकदम आहे.

एकूण १६ सभासद.

[ई] (१) महजराचा प्रारंभ–“ हे मुख्य करून पाा फलेटण.” (२) दिवाणचा महालदार कमाविसेस आला असतां तकरीर दाखल केली. देसाई यांसहि सांगितलें. त्यांनीं हामशाई मोकदम, व सेटिये महाजन काा मार, देशक यांची ‘गोही’ घेतली. घोरपडे खरे झाले. (३) “सांहेबासी मुकासा अर्जानी जाहाला ठाणाहून महजर मन्हामत केला पाहिजे म्हणवून,” त्यावरून ठाण्यानें महजर दिला आहे.

– ३४ –

[अ] म. इ. सा. खं. १५ ले. ४१३. महजर, मिरासीचा.

सु. १०३१ रविरोवल ११; श. १५५२ आश्विन शु. १३ शुक्रवार. इ. १६३० आक्टों. ८.

फारसी मजकूर व सिका; सेवटासहि शिका आहे.

[आ] संभाजी तान देऊ विा गोंदजी मोकदम व रामजी विन राजजी मोकदम मौजे निरगुडे किले फत्तेमंगल. सदरहू मोकदमीच्या निम्या विभागाचे क्रयपत्र.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी किले फत्तेमंगल.

हवालदार कारकून किले माार
देझमूख किले माार
(ष. को. दोन शिके)

अलाफतुला सर (नोव) त
पाा राा खास
विदस्तूर देशकुलकर्णी किले माार

[ई] (१) ४५ होनास निमी मोकदमी निकली, कारण दुष्काळ.

– ३५ –

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ७ ले. २१; महजर दिव्याचा.

सु. १०३१ रजव २; श. १५५२ माघ शु. ३ मंगळवार; इ. १६३१ जाने. २५.

ह्या महजराचे प्रारंभींचे ५ बंद गहाळ आहेत व शेवटचाही मजकूर उपलब्ध नाहीं. यामुळें वादाची अखेर समजत नाहीं. यद्यपि ले. १८ मध्यें याच दिव्याच्या पुढील मजकूर आल्यानें उभय वाद्यांत दादाजी कोंडदेवानें अखेरीस वतन विभागलें असें दिसतें.

[आ] येसो नारायण बेलसरे व इतर जोतिसी देह ९. विा येम जोशी बिन सोन जोशी व इतर; जोतिश व कुलकर्ण देह ९.

पाा पुणें
जेजुरी, थालेवाडी, नाझिरे, साकुर्डी;
का सासवड पो मौजे बेलसर

पाा सुपे
कोथले, कोलबिहिरे, नाविली, निळूज.
= ९.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी मामले दौलत मंगल.

हवालदार व कारकून (७).

—रायाराऊ हवालदार
—खाभाई सरनोबत
चिटणीस कारकून
मजमूदार

मजमूदार
सबनीस
पारसनीस

सरगुन्हो व नाईकवाडी व बोडानीं (८)

×गुन्हेनामजाद

हशमकर नऊ सचणी ७ ?
(मुसलमान १)

ठाणेमामलेमार (४) ?

देशकमामलेमार (४२)

सेटिये २
मोकद्मानी व रयाणी

का दौलत मंगल, मोकदम व कुलकर्णी २.
मोकदमानी देहाये—

मौजे बेलसर १०—मोकदम, २ सेटिये, महाजन, १० गांवचे.
२ ढाकूर, परीट, लोहार, वर्तीकार व इतर ३.
मौजे जेजुरी २—मोकदम.

पा सुपे ७

देसाई, कुतवल, महाजन सेटे व इतर ३ व
देशकुा १.

का सासवड १२.

एकूण ६४ सभासद; त्यांपैकीं ३ मुसलमान, तिघेहि लष्करी पेशाचे.

[ई] (१) दिव्याचें वर्णन महत्वाचें आहे. (२) जलदिव्याचा एक नवीन प्रकारहि यांत उल्लेखिला आहे. (३) रायाराऊ याचा महजर.

— ३६ —

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ५ ले. ९५०. महजरनामा.

सु. १०३२ जिल्काद १; श. १५५४ ज्येष्ट शु. २; इ. १६३२ मे ११ शुक्रवार.

प्रथम फार्सी मजकूर मराठींत दिला आहे.

[आ] तपे कानदखोरे पैकी व किले तोरणा यापैकीं मौजे वेले बुा – धानेबु – कानंद – पासली या चार गांवच्या शिवेचा निर्णय.

[इ] बिहुजूर हजीर मजालसी किले कोंढाणा मुजाफती किले तोरणा व तपे कानदखोरे.

×अबर अबदुल—हवालदार (सिका फा.)
हनबरीदास नाईकवाडी किलेमा (सिका फा.)
×खोजी नाईकवाडी (सिका)
(प) दाजीराऊ ,, (सि. म. अस्पष्ट)
— ,, ,,
नाईक (चि. ?)
कनाक कोडनाकगस्ती (हसगीव लहानकाठी ?)

सबनीस किलेमार
जथे सेकर तिमाजी नाईक (ष. अ. शि.)
जथे—नाईक (सीका).
जथे—नाईकवाडी (अ. शि.)
जथे— ,, (?)
जथे खेमजी मुरारी नाईकवाडी शिका.
बलवंतराऊ नाईकवाडी किले तोरणा
(अष्ट० सि.)

ता कानदखोरे—खासनीस, देशकुा विंझर, अत्रोली, कानद व वेले बुा व इतर मिळून ४ मोकदम; २ धानेबु व कानदचे वीर्तीकार. एकूण सुमारें २२ सभासद.

[ई] (१) गाय बरोबर घेऊन वीर्तीकारानें शिव चालून दाखविली. (२) भाषा फार्सी प्रचुर आहे. (३) २२ मंडळीपैकीं १२ लष्करी पथकापैकीं आहेत. (४) देशमुखानें प्रथम तकरार केली आहे. (५) निवाड्याकरितां किल्लाहून मुनसिफदार दिले आहेत.

— ३७ —

[अ] **संकीर्ण.** माहाजर; रवा दिव्याचा.

श. १५५४।५५ इ. १६३२।३३.

[आ] हिरोजी व इतर सरगर मंडळी आणि तानाजी व इतर गायकवाड यामध्यें मौजे पाथरीपाामाण येथील मोकदमीचा कर्कशा लागला. वतन विभागणी केली कारणं दोघासहि रवा लागला.

[इ] काा आटपाडी पाा माण दहिगाऊ......विहुजूर.

हवालदार, मुजमदार, हुद्देदार.

ढाणदार, मोकदम सेटफल.

देसक (३३)

—सरदेसाईकाामाार देशकुाा नाईकवाडीकाामाार सेटेकाामाार मौजे—निंबोडे, दिगंची, पळसखेल, सेटफल, तडवले, धाणद, घरणिकी, गांवचे एकूण १२ मोकदम व पाटील; २ तेली व पोतद्दार काा माार.

देसाई १, काा माार पो २ पाटील, १ चौगुला व १ कुलकर्णी व १ सरसेटिया मौजे ब्रह्मपुरी, नेलकर्डे, आवलाबी, वेवल खुाा वगैरे गांवचे ७ मोकदम; १ चौगुला; १ मेटेकरी; मेहतरी माळी काा माार व कुंभार २

एकूण ३८ सभासद.

[ई] (१) मोकासाई याजकडे प्रथम तकररी केली होती. (२) देशकांत कोणाचा अंतर्भाव होतो हें या महजरावरून चांगलें समजतें. (३) दिव्य महत्त्वाचें आहे.

— ३८ —

[अ] **म. इ. सा. खं. २० ले. १८६.**

सु. १०३४ मोहरम ११; श. १५५५ आषाढ शु. १३ मंगळवार; इ. १६३३ जुलै ८.

नकल, महजराच्या अखेरीस गोही असून एकूण १३ ब्राह्मणांच्या सह्या आहेत.

[आ] धर्माधिकारी विाा जोईसी यामध्यें काा कोल्हापूरच्या धर्माधिकरणाचा वाद.

[इ] ब्री हुजूर हाजीर मजालसी यानी अजमहाल पाा कोल्हापूर. अगा अजम अगा सफउ नेबगैवत; ठाणेदार, मजमूदार. व डबीर (फा. सही).

सरगुऱ्हो व नाईकवाडी यानी (१५).

१ सरगुऱ्हो (वली इभ्राईम), २ सरनाईकवाडी, ३ नाईकवाडी (१ मुसलमान), ९ नाईक (नांवें—लंबकरणे, लंबतुरे, अहीरे, खासने इत्यादि).

याशिवाय कर्याती हवेलीचे (६)—३ देसाई, १ देशकुाा, १ नाडगौडा, १ हशमनीस. प्रथम पथकाचीं नांवें व नंतर हीं नांवें आहेत.

कसबे कोल्हापूर (२३)—१ पटेल, २ कुलकर्णी, १ सेटिये, १ महाजन, १ चौगुला, ४ रया; ४ नाईक चोरगस्ती, २ मुजमली, २ नाईक चाटे, ५ वैदिक.

एकूण ४८ सभासद, त्यांपैकीं ३ मुसलमान व ते प्रमुख अधिकारी आहेत.

[ई] (१) कामारच्या चावडीस निर्णय होऊं शकला नाहीं. “त्यावरी हे खबर ठाणामध्यें (= ठाणे पामार) मालूम जाहाली. मग जोइसी······व धर्माधिकारिणी मजकुरास बोलाऊन आणिले. त्यावरी हरदोजणापासून हारिंजिंतीचे कतबे घेऊन मुनसिफी 'कामारचे पाटील याचे हवाला केली तेहि श्रीमहालक्षुमीचे देवीचे देउळी सभा करून······ बोल मनासी आणिले.” (२) सदरहू निर्णयावरून ठाणे पामारच्या राजसभेनें हा महजर दिला आहे. (३) कतब्याप्रमाणें गुन्हेगारी ५० व सीर्णी २५ होन घेतली आहे.

— ३९ —

[अ] **म. इ. सा. खंड १५, ले. ४१८; महजर, क्रयपत्राचा.**

श. १५५५ आश्विन शु. १२ शुक्रवार; इ. १६३३ आक्टो. ४.

शेवटास देशमुखाचे 'निशाण' व मोर्तबसूद.

[आ] जिवाजी बिन खेलोजी भोसले यानी मौजे **निरगुडे** का बायडे किले फतेमंगल येथील मोकदमी विकत घेतली त्याबद्दल देशमुख व देशकुा का बायडे किले फतेमंगल यांनीं हा महजर भोसल्यास दिला आहे.

[इ] —बिहुजूर हाजीर मजालसी.

मोकदम हमशाही, मौजे लाजफल १, मौजे सिरसोफल ३; मोकदम देहाये का बायडे.
का बायडे, मौजे असुर्णे, लाकडी, लाहासुरणे २, कलद, झिकू या गांवचे मोकदम.
एकूण १२ सभासद.

— ४० —

[अ] **शि. च. सा. खं. २ ले. ३४१.**

स. १०३७ रविलाखर ११; श. १५५८ भाद्र. शु. १२ शुक्रवार; ई. १६३६ सप्टं. २.

मूळ फारसींत सुमारें २८ शिक्के आहेत.

हे फारसी सिके ज्यांचे, त्यांचीं नांवें त्यांच्या शिक्याजवळ एंकाच लेखकानें फारसींत लिहून ठेवलीं आहेत. नंतर त्याखालीं मोडींत त्या त्या अधिकाऱ्यांनीं आपल्या सह्या केल्या आहेत. कारण सहीचें अक्षर वेगवेगळें आहे. सह्यांच्याजवळ बारीक अक्षरांत ब्रित रेघेनें कोणी सह्या कराव्या त्याबद्दलचे नुसते हुद्दे दिले आहेत. अखेरीस फा. शि. आहे. जोडावर दोन निरनिराळे फारसी सिके आहेत. एके ठिकाणीं भोंक होतें तेथें कागद लावून त्यावरहि दोन शिक्के केले आहेत.

[**आ**] अंतो पाध्ये बिन दामो पाध्ये व नारो पाध्ये बिन अनंत पाध्ये गोळवलीकर धर्माधिकारी व जोसी विाा कृष्ण जोसी काा संगमेश्वर. धर्माधिकरण व जोसी वतन काा संगमेश्वर व बाजे महाल या विषयीं वाद. पाध्ये यांनीं जोसी भांडतात म्हणून किल्यास महजर मागितला आहे. जुनीं पत्रें पाहून तो देण्यांत आला आहे.

[इ] माहाजर मामले मुजफराबाद व किले खिलणे हाजीर मजालसी.

—×माहामद कासीम हवालदार
मामलेमाार व किले माार

मामले माार

मजमदार, हेजीब, नाडिगौडा, सबनवीस, ×दबीर, सरदेसाई २, देशकुलकर्णी १, चिटणीस, ×दबीर, सराफ, ×मोकदम १, ×सरगुऱ्हो १, नाईकवाडी ८.

×काजी अह्ली मामलेमाार

किल्ले माार

मजमदार, निघावन, सबनीस, कुलकर्णी, व पोता, ×सरगुरो २, नायेकवाडी ६.

एकूण ३६ सभासद, पैकीं ८ मुसलमान अधिकारी.

[ई] किल्याहून महजर दिला आहे.

– ४१ –

[अ] **श्रीसांप्रदायाचीं कागदपत्रें विभाग १ रा; लेखांक ४२२.**

सु. १०३७ जमादिलावल १; श. १५५८ आश्विन शु. २ बुध.; इ. १६३६ आक्टो. २१.

तालीक.

[**आ**] नारो माहादेऊ कुलकर्णी मौजे बाहे ताा वाळवे यासी माहादोवा वा खंडोवा, बिन तुकोवा कुलकर्णी मौजे मजकूर (बाहे) यानी आपले कुलकर्ण निमे तकसीम वाटून विकत नारो माहादेउवासी दिले. ले. ४२१ मध्यें क्रयपत्र आले आहे व त्याचा हा महजर आहे. कुलकर्ण निमें विकण्याचें कारण कोनेरी गोळकानें वृथा तक्रार केल्यामुळें वतनाची मुनसफी करून दुबाला करण्याकरतां दिवाण देणें होन ५० खंडोबास द्यावें लागलें. त्यामुळें हलाकी झाली.

[इ] बी हुजूर हाजीरानी तमे वाळवे.

कारकुनानी—ठाणेदार मुजमदार
निघेवन सबनीस

नाईकवाडीयानी—३ मुसलमान, ४ हिंदू.

देशमुखानी—देसाई देशकुाा, नाडगौडा.

सेटिये महाजन—बसवलिंग महाजन, २ सेटे, १ नाईक.

मोकदमानी देहाये—कसबा, उरुण, कामेरी, कुंडल, खेड, बाहे. सुमारे ३६ मंडळी आहेत त्यांत कुलकर्णी, चौगले, जोसी, पाटील, रया, कुंभार इत्यादि प्रमुख आहेत. बहुतेक सर्वत्र मोकदम, कुलकर्णी व चौगुला आहे.

एकूण ५४.

[ई] (१) "निमे तकसीम विकत खंडून दिले ते खबर ठाणेसी दाखल जाहाले मग साहेबी हुजूर बोलावून तश्रीफ देऊन सेर्णी देणे म्हणवून रजा फर्माविले मग अपुले बाबे देंसकानी तपे मजकूर इलतमस केले जे नफर मजकुरापासी सेर्णी घेऊन माहजर वा मिसली करून देणे म्हणऊन बराये मालुमाती खांतिरेसी अगऊन······"

– ४२ –

[अ] भा. इ. सं. मं. त्रै. मा. व. ६ अं., १ ते ४ पृ. ७०.
स. १०३८; श. १५५९; इ. १६३७.

[आ] गोपाळभट पुजारा जगदंबा सतसिंग वणी विा भोपे पुजारे; पुजेचे तक्षिमेविषयीं वाद, गोपाळभट खरा झाला.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी किले अहिवंत...बी हुजूर.

×काजी पाा ऊणी दिंडोरी (फा.मजकूर व सि.)
×हवालदार पाा ऊणी (फा. सि.)
सबनिस किले मार बाो ॐ
देसमूख व कुलकर्णी पाा ऊणी ४
देसमूख व कुलकर्णी काा ऊणी २

×हवालदार किले मार.
मजमुदार पाा ऊणी.
किले मजकुरास नाईकवाडी व नाईक मिळून १५ असामींचें पथक आहे (१० नाईक + ५नाईकवाडी) कांहींच्या नांवापुढें फा.सी. आहेत.
नाईकवाडी ठाणे पाा ऊणी ३
नाईकवाडी पाा ऊणी १

याशिवाय, जोसी (बा. सही), सराफ, सेटे काा ऊणी, सोनार, सेटिया कासार, सुतार, मामन सुकूतमुला, सेटिये सिंपी, तेली, लोहार अशी सुमारें १० मंडळी आहेत.

एकूण सुमारें ४० व्यक्ती आहेत.

[ई] (१) हुजूरुन किल्यास खुर्दखत झाले कीं निर्णय करणें. (२) भोपा हजर राहिला नाहीं. गोपाळभट्टाजवळ कागद होते. ते पाहून निर्णय दिला आहे. (३) त्या भागांतील येवढाच महजर उपलब्ध आहे.

– ४३ –

[अ] म. इ. सा. खं. १७ ले. ७.

सु. १०३८ रमजान २०; श. १५५९ माघ व. ७ शुक्रवार; इ. १६३८ जानेवारी २६.

[आ] बाहूजी बिन कान्होजी हैबतराऊ व ह्बाजी बिन बाबाजी हैबतराऊ व बाळाजी बिन रुद्राजी हे ताा गुंजणमावळचे देशमुखीविषयीं भांडण होतें. भाऊपणाचा वाद.

[इ] दादाजी कोंडदेऊ सुभेदार नामजाद व कारकून किले कोंढाणा व महाल निहाय (फा. सि.).

देशमूख व देशक—

तपे खेडेबारे
२ देशमूख (एकाचा शि. व दुसऱ्याचा नां.)
१ देशकुाा, १ अजहति देशमूख
ताा कानदखोरे
१ अजहती देशमूख ताा माार
देशकुाा ताा २, मोकदम १

ताा मोसे खोरे
देशमूख ताा माार
देशक व कुलकर्णी
३ व्यक्ती
देशक ताा गुंजणमावळ
वांगणी, जांबुली अशा ३ गांवचे ३ मोकदम व १ खासनीस

एकूण १६.

[ई] (१) 'साहेब व गोत मिळुनु येणेप्राो निवाडा केला.' (२) या महजरावरून देशक म्हणजे गांवचे गावकीचे वतनदार असा अर्थ दिसतो. देशक संस्थेचा अधिपती देशमूख असें दिसतें. (३) शिवाजीमहाराजांनीं हा निवाडा अप्रमाण करून पुढें नवीन वांटणी केली आहे (म. इ. सा. खं. १७, ले. १० पहा).

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[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. १ ले. २६; माहाजर–रवा दिव्याचा.

सु. १०३८ मोहरम २५; श. १५६० ज्येष्ठ व. १२ बुध.; इ. १६३८ मे ३०.

[आ]. बाबाजी मोकदम नेलेकर मौजे कोढीत प्राा पुणे यानें आपली मौजे कोढीतची निमे मोकदमी जनाजी खैरा यास दिली. हेतू इतकाच कीं गांवाची व्यवस्था रहावी. परंतु तसें झालें नाहीं म्हणून बाबाजी रुद्राजी जाधव म्हणून नवीनच एक इसम आपल्या मदतीस आणून त्यांनीं दोघांनीं मिळून खैरा यास घालवून देण्याचा प्रयत्न केला व तसें झाल्यास त्याचा विभाग जाधवानें घ्यावा असें ठरलें. मोहरी येथें खैरानें दिव्य केलें व तो खरा झाला. तेव्हां दादाजी कोंडदेवानें वतन निमेनिम करून विभागून खैरास निमा भाग व उरला निमा भाग जाधव व बाबाजी नेलेकराचा पुतण्या कृष्णाजी ह्या उभयतांस दिला. वडिलकीचे हक कृष्णाजीस दिले.

[इ] महजर हाजीर मजालसी काा खेडेबारे.

—दादाजी कोंडदेव सुभेदार — कोंढाणा (सिका फा.)

देशमूख व देशक माहाला निहाये
देशमूख ताा खेडेबारे (नां.)
देशमूख ताा कानदखोरे (नां.)
देशमूख ताा कर्या. मावळ (नां.)
देशमूख ताा गुंजणमावळ ३ [बापूजी हेबतराव १ (नां.) बाबाजी हैबतराव व बाजी नाईक २ (नां.)]
देशमूख ताा वेलवंड खोरे १
मौजे—निगडे, केतकवले, दिवडी कांबरे ताा खेडेभारे, ४ मोकदम (नां. प्रत्येकाचा)
मौजे—हिवरे, गराडे, परींचे प्राा पुणे, ३ मोकदम (नां. प्रत्येकाचा)
एकूण १४ व्यक्ती.

[ई] (१) "दिवाण व गोत उदंड जाले परंतु खैरा झडेच्चना मग दिवाणे गोते दिव्य नेमून······" (२) दिव्य महत्त्वाचें आहे. (३) या महजरावरून देशक म्हणजे महालांतील सर्व मोकदम असें दिसतें.

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[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ३ ले. ६३२.

१५६१ श्रावण व. ५ गुरुवार; १६३९ ऑगस्ट ८; (छ १६ रबिलावल = १६३९ जुलै ८; आषाढ व. ३ सोमवार.

[आ] येलोजी व जवाजी वागमोडे मोकदम मिरासदार मौजे बोरी पाा इंदापूर विाा बिरोजी मोकदम मौजे लासुर्णे. मौजे बोरीच्या मोकदमीचा वाद. वतन निमेनिम विभागलें आहे.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी पाा इंदापूर.
देशमूख पाा माार २
सेलगाऊ, जांबू , लाकडी, चिखली, दहिगाव, वरकुटे या भोंवरगांवचे ८ मोकदम.

[ई] (१) "गोत मजालसी मिळोन निवाडा केला कीं मिराशी मोकदम तोडूं नये व बिरोजीचा माल वेचक आहे. मोकदमी राखिली आहे त्यास तोहि तोडिता नये,······ दोठाई खाऊन सुखी असणे."

— ४६ —

[अ] म. इ. सा. खं. १८, ले. ७.

सु. १०४० जमादिलावल ६; श.१५६१ भाद्र. शु.८ सोमवार; इ. १६३९ ऑग.२६.

[आ] मालजी भोइटा मौजे रावेत पाा पुणे विाा भिलोजी मालजीचा दायाद भाऊबंद. मौजे रावेतच्या पाटिलकीचा वाद. भिलोजीचा पक्ष खरा ठरला असें दिसतें. गोतानें निवाडा केला आहे.

[इ] व्हिजूर हाजीर मजालस.

दादाजी कोंडदेऊ सुवेदार नामजाद किले कोंढाणा.

२ देशमूख ताा खेडेबारे ×मुजावर कसबे पुणे

देशमूख ताा मोसेखोरे

मोकदम मौजे खडकवासले; व अंजनगाव. कुलकर्णी मौजे माण, चौगुला मौजे. लोणी काळभार.

एकूण ९, मुसलमान १.

[ई] (१) तक्रार सुभेदाराकडे गेल्यावर—“साहेबांची रजा सादर जाली······दरींगाव सरंजाम होय मालूम जाले तरी पाा मजकुरीचे दाहा गावाचे मोख्तेसर पाटील व गावीचे कुणबी व बलुते आणून······निवाडा करणे गोताचा माथा सत्या घालून ज्याची पाटिलकी होईल त्यास देवणे म्हणऊन रजा सादर जालियावरी······” उभयतास आदबखान्यांत ठेवले व कतबे घेतले “जे साहेबी हमशाही गावीचे मोकदम व आपले दाईज बापभाऊ व बलुते······त्यास पुसोन निवाडा केला पाहिजे. **स्वगोताच्या** निवाड्यास··· राजी असे.” यावरून ‘गोत’ म्हणजे कोण तें दिसून येईल.

– ४७ –

[अ] **शि. च. सा. खं. ७, ले. ३१.**

सु. १०४१; श. १५६२ माघ शु. १३ गुरुवार; इ. १६४१ जाने. १४.

[आ] भिकाजी बिन नाईकजी डिमले मौजे सिवरे ताा खेडेबारे विाा नाईकजी बिन तान्हाजी डिमला मौजे कल्याण, ताा खेडेबारेच्या सरमोकदमीविषयींचा निर्णय. भिकाजी खरा ठरला.

[इ] हजीर मजालसी······दादाजी कोंडदेऊ सुभेदार नामजाद किले कोंढाणा.

हवालदार तर्फ खेडेबारे मजमूदार ताा खेडेबारे

२ देशमूख ,, मुद्गल देशकुाा ,,

काा खेडेबारे ३–मोकदम, सेटे, महाजन मोकदम मौजे–खोदी, नसरापूर, कासुर्डी,

वर्ये, करंदी, व केलवड्याचे मिळून मोकदम ३. मालेगाव, वेळू मिळून ५ मोकदम.

एकूण १७ व्यक्ती.

[ई] (१) उभयवाद्यांस साहेब हाजीर मजलसीस मान्य आहां काय असें प्रथम विचारलें व राजीनामा घेऊन मग निर्णय केला आहे. (२) साहेब हाजीर मजलसीनें देशमुखाच्या माहितीप्रमाणें निवाडा केला आहे.

— ४८ —

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. २, ले. २९४।२९५.

सु. १०४२ रजब १२; श. १५६३ आश्वि. शु. १५; इ. १६४१ आक्टो. ८.

दीड ओळ फार्सी नंतर द्वादशदली फा. सि.

(ले. २९४ मध्यें का। नाशीक येथील मजलस दिली आहे. ले. २९५ मध्यें महजर आहे दोन्हींच्या तारखा एकच आहेत. महजरहि कातील मजलसीनेंच दिला आहे. तेव्हां दोन्ही लेखांक एकत्र वाचण्यास हरकत नाहीं. ले. २९५ त मजलसीचा उल्लेखहि आहे.)

[आ] सोनप्रभु बिन कोंडप्रभु धर्माधिकारी व त्याची बायको का। नाशिक वि। गणशुक्ल. गणशुक्लानें सोनप्रभु कोंकणांत गेला असतां शूद्राच्या हातचें अन्न खादलें म्हणून त्यास अपंक्त (वालीत) ठरविले. प्रायश्चित्त घेऊन त्यानें शुद्ध व्हावें असें गणशुक्लानें मजलसी समक्ष सांगितलें. जवारास थोर ब्राह्मणांनीं प्रायश्चित्त दिल्याचें सिद्ध झाल्यानें सोनप्रभूस मजलसीनें पंक्तिपावन केलें आहे.

[इ] हजीर मजालसी ठाणे मामले गुलसनाबाद.

×मीर अहमद रजा अमीन
देशमूख पा। मा।र
हेजीब देशमूख
—यारदी
मोकदम पाटील कुलकर्णी
इत्यादि ५

भया बलभद्रदास सेखदार (फा. सि.)
भयाभूपतीराय कारकून (फा. सि. व नांव आडवे)
देशपांडे ३; पाटील का। नाशीक १
वेंकाजी गोपिनाथ वकील तरफ जवार १
सेटे महाजन ३

एकूण १९ व्यक्ती, पैकीं १ मुसलमान.

[ई] (१) "का। मा।र हा हुजूर येऊनु फिर्याद जाली कीं·········हे हाजीर मजालसी मनास आणून आपणास खरे खोटे केले पाहिजे."

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[अ] चौल अधिकारी दप्तर (रामदास रामदासी) ले. १३; महजरनामा, दिव्याचा.

सु. १०४२ जिल्काद २२; श. १५६३ माघ व. ८ शनिवार; इ. १६४२ फेब्रु. १२. नकल.

[आ] मौजे झिराड तपे झिराड मामले चेऊल व मौजे सारळ तपे अष्टागरू या दोन गांवच्या शिवेचा निर्णय (दिव्य महत्त्वाचें आहे. कोंकणांतील शिवेच्या निर्णयाचा हा एकच महजर उपलब्ध आहे).

[इ] बी हुजुरु बीा ता।.

बाळाजी भास्कर अजहत देसाई (सही) १

नाईकवाडी दडदुर्ग १
पटेल मौजे जेवुरवे १
मौजे असुले; माहात्रा २
दारनाक १

ठाकूर आधिकारी (सही) १
वर्तक व प्रजामहाल आन्हास २
मौजे साथी माहात्रा १

×देसाई देशकुा ता। झिराड व
अष्टागरु १
माहातरे व प्रजा मौजे बेकवडे १
मौजे महागौ
राऊल १, हुदेदार १, भानजी १,
बाजे समस्त प्रजा खोत १

एकूण १६ व्यक्ती.

— ५० —

[अ] म. इ. सा. खं. १८, ले. ८; महजरनामा.

सु. १०४३ रविलावल ९; श. १५६४ ज्ये. शु. १० रविवार; श. १५६५ ज्ये. शु. १० गुरुवार; इ. १६४२ मे २९; इ. १६४३ मे १८.

श्री नकल.

[आ] बाजी बिन बानजी विा कृष्णाजी बिन सिदोजी रणनोवरे. मौजे मलद प्रा। पुणे येथील मोकदमीचा निर्णय.

[इ] बहुजूर हाजीर मजालसी.

काजी अवदुल बिन काजी महमद हकीमशरा
व काजी सदर बिन काजी इस्माईल नेब काजी
प्रा। पुणे

दादाजी कोंडदेव सुभेदार
मजमुदार प्रा। पुणे
कुरकुंब व वरवड्याचे मोकदम २

हवालदार प्रा। पुणे

सितोळे देशमूख प्रा। पुणे २, वढाणे व राजेगाऊचे मो। २

एकूण ११ मंडळी हजर.

[ई] (१) "बानजीचे व सिदोजीचे विभाग पूर्वीच जाहाले आहेती. विभाग जालिया उपरी विभागाची धणीन सिदोजीची पत्नी पुताई, ते विभाग आपण भक्षू अथवा पालक पुत्रास देऊ अथवा आणिकास देऊ ए अर्थी बानजीस समंध नाहीं एदर्थी वचने याज्ञवल्क्य, 'पत्नी दुहितरः............' (वृद्धमनु, बृहत्‌मनु व मिताक्षरा) ऐसी वचने शास्त्रीची असे ती." (२) महजराचें लेखन मुद्देसूद आहे. व्यवहारपद्धति महत्त्वाची आहे.

— ५१ —

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. १, ले. २७; महजर असल बा। नकल.

सु. १०४३ रविलावल १२; श. १५६४ ज्येष्ठ शु. १४ बुधवार; श. १५६५ ज्येष्ठ व १३; इ. १६४२ जून १; इ. १६४३ मे. २१. (रविलावल २ वेळा आहे).

[आ] वाल्हे बिन येका कुंभार विा साऊ बिन काऊ कुंभार. का पुण्याच्या कुंभार वतनाचें वडिलपण व मेहतरकीचा वाद. मेहतरकी व वडिलपण वाल्हेस मिळालें व बाकीचे हक विभागले गेले.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी मुा कसबे खेड.

काजी आबदुला बिन काजी महंमद व काजी
सदर बिन काजी इस्माईल नैब काजी प्राा पुणे
(पारसी खाली)
हवालदार प्राा पुणे (खाली सीका)
२ देशमूख प्राा मार (२ सिके)
—देशमूख गुंजणमावळ
का पुणे ७—मोकदम, सेटे, महाजन (पेठ
शहापूर) जोसी विा पाठक; गुरव, न्हावी, महार.

दादाजी कोंडदेव सुभेदार (सिका)
मजमूदार प्राा पुणे
देशमूख ताा खेडेबारे २
सेटे महाजन का पुणे २
सेटे पेठ सूर्तजाबाद १
सुतार का पुणे २
परीट ,, १
मोकदम, मौजे लोणी व दिघी २

एकूण २५ मंडळी हजर.

[ई] (१) का मजकूरच्या बलूत्यांच्या गोहीनें काजिया तोडला आहे.

— ५२ —

[अ] म. इ. सा. खं. १८, ले. ९.

सु. १०४३ रविलावल २०; श. १५६४ ज्ये. व. ७ गुरुवार; इ. १६४२ जून ९.
श्रीशंकर.

[आ] मिराजी बिन मियाजी विा अमन बिन चांद मोकदम मौजे कातरज पाा पुणे. मौजे कातरजचे मोकदमीविषयीं निर्णय. वतन व्यवस्था लावून विभागणी केली आहे.

[इ] हजीर मजालसी मुा का खेडेबारे.

काजी अबदुल‥इस्माईल काजी नैब पाा पुणे २
—हवालदार पाा पुणे
—देशमूख ,, २

दादाजी कोंडदेव सुभेदार
—मजमूदार पाा पुणे
मौजे, अतीत, चिकिली, मिर्जे या गावचे
४ मोकदम.

एकूण ११ मंडळी.

[ई] (१) लेखनपद्धती मुद्देसूद आहे. (२) मजलीस वरील महजराप्रमाणेंच आहे. फक्त मोकदम बदलले आहेत. (३) "भांडत हुजूर आले."

– ५३ –

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ७, ले. ३२.

सु. १०४३ जिल्हेज ११; श. १५६४ फा. शु. १३ मंगळवार; इ. १६४३ फेब्रु. २१.

श्रीनकल.

[आ] झुंझारराव बिन संभाजी देवकाते विाा बहिरजी मुगुटराव बिन सिदोजी मुगुटराव. मौजे मेखलीच्या मोकदमीचा वाद. झुंझाररावांचें वतन खरें झालें.

[इ] हुजूर हजीर मजालसी बी ताा; दादाजी कोंडदेव सुभेदार नामजाद किले कोंढाणा महाल निहाये दफाते.

×बहिलिमखान हवालदार काा बारामती प्राा सुपे १

देशमूख देशकुाा काा बारामती प्राा सुपे २

प्राा सुपे पैकीं मौजे—सिरसोफल, खांडज, मालगांव, वागत, तांदुलवाडी, कटफल, मळद, कनेरी, सांगवी, कोटेली गांवें १० सुमारें १५ मोकदम आहेत.

×मूनसूरखान आा देशमूख १

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२०

मजमूदार काा बारामती नाईकवाडी काा

×इतबारखान १

देशकुाा १

पाा सुपे पैकीं मौजे—सोनगांव, गोजेबावी, लोणी, कोल्हाळे, पारवडी, मळद, काबलेस्वर, देऊलगांव या गांवचे सुमारे १३ मोकदम सेटे, चौगुला, काा बारामती २

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१९

एकूण ३९ मंडळी हजर, त्यांपैकीं ३ मुसलमान आहेत; २८ मोकदम आहेत.

[ई] (१) “मोकदमीबदल भांडत हुजूर आले यावर साहेब व देशमूख व गोत बसोन मनसुबी मनास आणिल्यावर……”

– ५४ –

[अ] म. इ. सा. खं. २०, ले. ५३.

श. १५६५; इ. १६४३।४४.

[आ] तिमाजी पुरुषोत्तम व रामाजी विठ्ठल यांमध्यें पाा सिरवळच्या देशकुलकर्ण व गांव कुलकर्णाचा भाऊपणाचा वाद लागला. वांटणी केली आहे.

[इ] हाजीर मजालस दिलेली नाहीं.

[ई] (१) “निवडलेप्रमाणे जो वर्तेना त्याणे दिवाणांत होन पांचसे देणे हा महजर सही.” (२) दादाजी कोंडदेवानें हें वांटणीपत्र केलें. त्यानंतर रामाजी विठ्ठलानें जिजाऊ

साहेबांकडें जाऊन गोतमुखें निवाडा करण्याची मागणी केली. ती मान्य झाली. व त्याप्रमाणें दादाजी कोंडदेव यानें हवालदार पा सिरवल यास गोतमुखे सदरहू वादींचा निवाडा करण्याविषयीं पत्र लिहिलें. त्यांत दादाजीनें स्वतः शिवापूर येथें केलेल्या वांटणीच्या या वरील महजराचा उल्लेख केला असून तो रद्द केला असें म्हटलें आहे. यानंतर तो मृत्यु पावला व पुढें निवाडा झाला. हा वाद छ. शाहू राजे यांचे वेळीं संपला. शि. च. सा. खं. १ ले. ८२ पहा.

– ५५ –

[अ] **पेशवे दप्तर विभाग ३१, नं. १७; महजरनामा.**

फसली १०५४ जिल्काद ५; श. १५६६ पौष शु. ७ बुधवार; इ. १६४४ डिसें. २५.

नकल, वाटोळा फा. सिका.

[आ] दावल बिन शाबुद्दीन विा रंभाजी नाईक ठाणा पारनेरचे नाईकी वतनाचा वाद. मलिकंबरच्या काळांतील वहिवाटीवरून दावल खरा झाला.

[इ] महजरनामा हाजीर मजालसी पा पारनेर बी हुजूर.

तुलोजी दादजी हांडे देशमूख सा जुन्नर देशपांडे सा जुन्नर
(मोहर) (दसखत)

पा पारनेर पो पुढील गांवचे मोकदम पाटील व कुलकर्णी.

मौजे—वरसिदे, वडजी, निघोज, खांबे, टाकली ढामढेर, भोंदरे, म्हैसगाऊ, गोरगाऊ, घोतरे, दरडी, टाकली, भालवणी, सातगाऊ, निंबगाऊ घार, दहिठाणे, पिंपळगाऊपिसा, हिवरे, पानोली, जवळे, सोलके, केडगाऊ, टाकली, पिंपळगाऊ, साकरे, आसदगाऊ, करंजवणे बुा, साकरेआडबई, पलवे बुा, वाघोड, जातेगाऊ, घाणेगाऊ, लोणी, पिंप्रीब्राणा, कुप बुा, जांबगाऊ, भायरपवार, धवलपुरी, म्हसणे, अवरंगपूर, गारगुड.

एकूण ४१ व्यक्ती हजर.

[ई] (१) "गोत दाही देत नाहीं. म्हणौन फिर्यादी उभा राहिला होता. मग आम्ही (= गोतानीं) थांबऊन यासी महजर करून दिधला."

– ५६ –

[अ] **शि. च. सा. खं. २, ले. २९७.**

फसली १०५६; श. १५६८; इ. १६४६.

फारसी सिका व दोन ओळी मजकूर.

[आ] दतदेऊ व सोनप्रभु व माहादप्रभु व हरदेऊ वगैर धर्माधिकारिणी का नासीक विा सिऊभट बिन धोंडीभट क्षेमकल्याणी का मार; धर्माधिकारी वतन व सोनार जाती-

मधील विवाहविषयक वृत्तीचें भांडण. क्षेमकल्याणी सोनाराचा केवळ आश्रीत आहे, त्याला हक्क मिळूं शकत नाहींत असें ठरलें.

[इ] विहुजूर हाजीर मजालसी ठाणे मामले गुलसनाबाद.

×काजी सैद अशरफ हकीमशरा
देशमूख मा मार २
पाटील १
हेजीब तरफ मोनाडी ३

गुमास्ते अमीन विसाजीराम
गुा आमीन १
देशपांडे पा मार ३
कुलकर्णी का नाशीक १
सेटे महाजन २

सेकदार करोडी १
पाटील मो का नाशीक १

एकूण १६ व्यक्ती.

[ई] (१) हिंदूंच्या (ब्राह्मणांच्या) धार्मिक हक्कांचा निवाडा काजीनें हाजीर मजालसीमार्फत केला आहे. (२) क्षेमकल्याणी हा एका सोनाराचा आश्रित असून, त्या सोनाराच्या लग्नांतच हा वाद निघाला. (३) धर्माधिकाऱ्याचे लग्नांतील हक्कांची नोंद. (४) 'गोहीभासं' चालूं असतां उभय वाद्यांना आदबखान्यांत ठेवलें होतें.

— ५७ —

[अ] **शि. च. सा. खं. ३, ले. ४५४.**

सु. १०४८ रविलाखर १; श. १५७० वै. शु. २ शनिवार; इ. १६४८ एप्रील १५. नकल.

[आ] नरसजी पानसरा व येसाजी पानसरा महाल आवटबोलावी का आकोले पा आकोले विा देऊजी व रतनजी नाईकवाडी पा मजकूरचे पानसरीपणाचे वतनाचा वाद.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी सदर ठाणे पा आकोले. विहुजूर तपसील;

काजी व खत्री हकीमशा २
×काजी हकीम पा मा बमोहर १; खतीब पा मार १ बमोहर
देसमूखानी पा मार २ (मोहर १; नां. १)
का आकोले
मोकदम ३ (नां.) सेटिये २ (तराजू)
नाईकवाडी पा मार ४० (कव्यार)
मोकदम गावगना १

हवालदार व कारकून ३
हवालदार बमोहर १ मजमूदार का मार १
सेख—बमोहर १ लग ०
देशपांडे पा मार (कोरी जागा)

एकूण २० व्यक्ती.

[ई] (१) हुजूरच्या निवाड्याच्या खुर्दखताप्रमाणें महजर दिला आहे. (२) मजलस महत्त्वाची आहे. (३) "देशपांडे महाजर लिहिला आहे." पृ. ६५. (४) भाषा फार्सीमिश्रित आहे. (५) त्या भागांतील येवढाच महजर आहे.

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[अ] **कारी व आंबवडे जेधे देशमुख (रामदास रामदासी) लेखांक १५.**

श. १५७१ भाद्रपद व. २ बुधवार; इ. १६४९ ऑग; १२.

श्रीनागनाथ. महजर महत्त्वाचा आहे.

[आ] कान्होजी नाईक जेधे देशमूख यांनीं आपल्या पांच मुलांत आपली ता॥ रोहिडखोऱ्याची देशमुखी विभागली. तिचा महजर.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी बीहुजूर राजश्री कोन्होजी नाईकजी नाईक देशमुख ता॥ भोर किले रोहिडा व कारकून व हशम व देसक, व बाराबैते ता॥ मजकूर या विदमान.

कारकून व हशम–कान्होजी देशमूख (सीका) १, पेशवे खासनीस बी 'दस्तूर' (=शाई निराळी) गु॥ प्रभु देश कुलकर्णी २. हेजीब १, कारभारी १ व इतर १२ एकुण १७.

देशक व बारा बैते—भोंवर २० मौजेचे ३७ मोकदम व पाटील. आणि कुलकर्णी २; एकूण देशक ३९.

ता॥ मा॥र व मौजे आंबवडी व कारीचे बाराबैते—जोशी १, मेहतरी हजाम २, परीट मेहतरीये २, गुरव २, पोतदार १, महार ४, सेटिये ३, ढाकूर ३, सुतार १, कुंभार, २, एकूण बाराबैते २१.

एकूण ७७ मंडळी हजर आहेत.

[ई] (१) महजर शिस्तवार लिहिला आहे. आरंभ,–'याविदमाने महजर' (२) देशकुलकर्ण्याच्या वतीनें त्याच्या पेशव्यानें 'दस्तूर' केलें आहे. तो गैरजर दिसतो. (३) सभा महत्त्वाची आहे. (४) देशक=भोंवरगांवचे मोकदम व पाटील.

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[अ] **शि. च. सा. खं. १ ले. ४१.**

सु. १०५० जिलकाद २९; श. १५७१ मार्ग. शु. १ शनिवार; इ. १६४९ नवंबर २४.

शेवटास गोही घातली आहे.

[आ] केशजी बिन नागोजी काटकर व इतर काटकर आणि गोंद गांवडे या उभयतानीं दिवाणचें देणें झालें म्हणून सुपे खु॥ पा॥ सुपे ची मोकदमीची तिसरी तकसीम नीलकठ राऊ यास दिली. प्रत्येकानें एकमेकास पत्र लिहून दिलें. त्यांत हें पत्र काटकर यांनीं नीलकंठ राऊ यास लिहून दिलें. त्याप्रमाणें इतरांचीं पत्रें पाहून सदरहूविषयींचा हा महजर ठाण्याहून देण्यांत आला आहे.

हजीर मजालसी.
—काटेदेशमूख २
—देशकुाा २
नाईकवाडी ५ (१ मुसलमान)
मौजे माजगाऊ, वागज, लाढे,
रटर्ण, वाकी, लोणी या गांवचे
मोकदम व चौगुले मिळून सुमारें ८

हवालदार
सेटिये
मोंवरगांवचे मोकदम

[ई] (१) महजराची मजलस नीट लिहिलेली नाहीं. (२) निलकंठराऊ; काटकर; व गोंदगावडा अशा तीन तक्षिमा मोकदमीच्या झाल्या. पूर्वी दोनच होत्या. तिघांनीं परस्परांस पत्रें लिहून दिलीं. “ यैसे तिघानीं परसपरें येक येकास लेहोन दिधले तिघाची लिहिली ढाणियास आणिली. ढाणा खातिरेस आणून सदरहूप्रमाणें महजर करून दिधला आसे.”

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[अ] भा. इ. सं. मं. त्रैमासिक. व ७ पृ. १०६.
श. १५७३ इ. १६५१.

[आ] सावाजी पासलकर विाा धर्माजी पासलकर; ताा मोसेखोरेच्या देशमुखीच्या वाटणीचा महजर.

साहेबी आपणास हुजूर गोत बैसऊन
मनसुफी मनास आणली.

देशमूख व देश कुाा पाा पुणें
देशमूख ताा मुठेखोरे
,, ताा कानदखोरे

देशमुख ताा पोडखोरे
,, हिरड्स मावळ
,, गुंजण मावळ
,, बेल्हवंडखोरे २

८ देशमूख, १ देशकुाा = ९

[ई] (१) भांडण हुजूर दाखल झालें. साहेबी स्वतः गोत नेमिलें. (२) सभेंत सरकारी कारकून नाहीं. (३) सर्व ‘ परगण्याचे अधिकारी ’ आहेत.

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[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ३, ले. ६३७.
सु. १०५२ सफर २५; श. १५७३ माघ व. १२ मंगळवार; इ. १६५२ जाने. २७.

[आ] जाखो निलकंठ व साबाजी महादेऊ कुलकर्णी काा खानापूर व इतर खेडीं विाा तिमाजी नरसिंह व इतर भाऊ कुलकर्णी काा खानापूर व इतर गांव; काा खानापूर वगैरे गांवच्या कुलकर्णांचे तकसिमीविषयीं भाऊपणाचा वाद.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी मामले मूर्तजाबाद.

×काजी अबदुकादीर हकीमशरा
×हैबतखान बजाहती
×मुतावली
×हसनशा हवालदार
×मुतावली रोजे बेहतरीन
×अलेहुम अलस कवतवासलाद
×सैद माहामूद
×मीर होकारी
(= ८)

कारकुनानी वा हुदेदारानी (१४)

ठाणेदार
सरनोबत
निघावन
मजमदार
हेजीब
सबनीस
नाजीर वा निघावन
माहालनीस
निसीदापोता
निसीदाभटी कोठार इमारती बिा
×मलिक दबीर
हरकारे
निसीदा आंबरखाना
,, जरातखाना

खुर्द सालगानी वा सरगुरो वा नाईकवाडी यानी वा देसकानी (३०)

खुर्द सालगानी ३
(तिघेहि मुसलमान)

सरगुरोयानी २ (दोघे मुसलमान)
(एकाचा फारसी सी. व एकाचा खंजीर)

नाईकवाडीयानी १७

त्यांपैकीं सात नाईकांच्या नांवाखालीं फा. शि. आहेत, एकाच्यापुढें कट्यार आहे. ३ मुसलमान आहेत व बाकीचे १४ हिंदू आहेत. शिकेदार नाईक सर्व हिंदू आहेत.

देसकानी ९

अमीन १
×खान १ (फा.सि.)
देसाई १
देसाई (म.शि.)
सरदेसाई १
देसाई २
देशकुा २

पटेलानी व सेटे महाजनानी कसबा (१९)

पटेल १ (नां.)
चोगुला १
मेहतरी तेली १
मेहतरी माली २ (खुरपे)
सेटी (तागडी) १
मेहतर तेली १
मेहतर कुंभार २ (चाक)
सेटिये २
मेहतर अहिनीगार वा दुरोदेगार ३
मेहतर हटीगार १
महाजन २
मेहतर सरोफानी बिा१
मेहतर १ (धूपार्ति)

एकूण ७२ व्यक्ती हजर आहेत. त्यांपैकीं १८ मुसलमान आहेत व ते प्रमुख अधिकारी आहेत.

[ई] (१) "......मामले मजकुराचे सदरेसी महालूम केले वरी ठाणे मामले मजकूराचे किताबती वा मिसल का खानापुराचे वा मौजे पेडचें कारकुनासी वा हुदेदारासी वा मोकदमासी घेऊन गेलेवरी तेथील मशरुलअनाम जिवाजी पंडित नामजाद का भिलवडी वा देहाये वा कारकुनानी वा पटेलानी वा सेटे महाजनानी का खानापूर यानी तपे ताळवेचे स्थळासी......पाठविले वरी......तपे मजकुरीचे कारकुनानी वा......माहजर लेहून देऊन का खानापुरासी पाठविले. का मारीचे कारकुनानी वा......तकसिमेचे बिले करून

कागद दिल्हे विा······दिले असे. याणेप्रमाणे माहाजर मामले मजकुराचे होवे म्हणून इलतमस केले······वराये······मामले मजकुराचे कारकुनानी माहजर लिहून दिल्हे."
(२) सभा फार शिस्तवार व उत्तम लिहिली आहे. महजर सभेच्या दृष्टीनें महत्त्वाचा आहे. शेवटचा भाग अपूर्ण आहे.

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[अ] म. इ. सा. खं. १५, लेखांक ३०७.

सु. १०५३ जिल्काद २५; श. १५७४ अश्विन व. १२ मंगळवार; इ. १६५२ आक्टो. १९.

प्रथम महजराचा मजकूर व मजलस नंतर दिली आहे. हा प्रकार विचित्र वाटतो.

[आ] दादजी नरसप्रभु देशकुलकर्णी व गांवकुलकर्णी ताा भोर ताा उत्रोली विा बाबाजी सिवदेव सोनटके. सदरहू प्रभुकुलकर्णी याचे गुमास्ते सोनटके यानीं महजरावर खोटाईने विकलम करून देशकुलकर्णी आपले असें सिद्ध करण्याचा प्रयत्न केला.

[इ] बिहुजूर हाजीर मजालसी किले रोहिडा.

हवालदार (फा. सि.) हेजीब
सरनोबत, अज्याहत सबनीस, चिटणीस व कारखानीस १
सबनीस
—
६

सरगुन्हो बाजे नाईकवाडी—×सरगुरो, सरगुरो, नाईकवाडी ४
—
६

देसकानी—देशमूख ३, भोंवर ३०, गांवचे सुमारे ५० मोकदम व पाटील. सेटे महाजन (कोरी जागा), बलुते ताा उत्रोली व काा उत्रोळी व ताा भोर मिळून ६.

एकूण मजलस = ६८.

[ई] (१) शिवाजीराजे यांच्याकडे फिर्याद केली. (२) देशक = भोंवरगांवचे मोकदम व देशमूख.

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[अ] म. इ. सा. खं. १५, ले. २७१.

सु. १०५३ सफर १५; श. १५७४ पौष व. ३ गुरुवार; इ. १६५३ जानेवारी ६.
श्री; शेवटास सीका.

[आ] बाजी बिन बाबाजी पाटील काा उत्रोली विा सिरले काा उत्रोलीचे मोकदमी बाा वाद. बाजी खरे झाले.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी किले रोहिडा.

—हवालदार (फा. सि.) मजमूदार, हेजीब
सरगुरो, सबनीस चिटणीस कारखानीस १

सरगुरो बाजे नाईकवाडीयानी—×सरगुरो, नाईकवाडी ३.

देसकानी—देशमूख देशकुा = ४; भोंवरगांवचे ९ मोकदम; बलुते ३; (जोसी, कुंभार, महार ता उत्रोली).

एकूण २५.

[ई] (१) दिव्य करून खरें झाल्यावर महालदारानें महजर दिला आहे. (२) हरकी घेतलेली नाहीं.

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[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ३; ले. ६३५.
सु. १०५५; श. १५७६; इ. १६५४.
पहिला बंद गहाळ.

[आ] मौजे रहाटवडे ता खेडेबारे येथील मोकदमीच्या तरफा २; (१) चिटोजी चोरघा याची; (२) कोन्होजी चोरघा याची; कान्होजीस दिवाण कर्ज झाल्यानें दादाजी कोंडदेवानें त्याची तकसीम दिवाणांत घातली. यामुळें चिटोजीस राग येऊन तो परागंदा झाला. बापूजी मुदगल देशकुलकर्णी यानें रदबदली करून चिटोजीस गांवावर आणलें व त्याकरवीं त्यानें कान्होजीचें दिवाण देणें फेडलें व कान्होजीच्या निमे हिश्याचे दोन तक्षिमा पो एक भाग चिटोजीस दिला व त्याच्या एकूण ३ तक्षिमा केल्या. या व्यवस्थेविषयींचा हा महजर आहे.

[इ] (१) पहिला बंद गहाळ त्यामुळें मजलस समजत नाहीं.

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[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ३, ले. ६३८.
सु. १०५४ सफर २१ श. १५७५ पौष व. ८ रविवार; इ. १६५४ जाने. १.
प्रारंभास फारसी मजकूर.

[आ] तुकोजी बिन हमराजी धनगर पटेल मौजे पेड मामले मूर्तजाबाद विा केदारजी झांबिरा पटेल डोंगरसोनी पा कागल. मौजे पेडच्या पाटिलकीचा वाद.

[इ] बहाजीर मजालसी (माहामदापूर).

रायाजी रो पंडित मजालसी माहामद हुसेनी दबीर जमारिकाब.
बराती······दार. निघावन

मजमूदार.
×सैद मियाजीखवास जमा.
रिकाब हवाले महाल रातीब. १
दप्तरदार २
नाईक, नाईकवाडी महालरातीब.

नामजाद
सखावतखानमहालदार जमा रिकाब

एकूण १२.

[ई] (१) ठाण्यास निवाडा झाला. गोहिदार बंदिखान्यांत ठेवले होते व नंतर गोही घेण्यांत आल्या. (२) तकरीरा घेतल्यावर उभयवाद्यांस आदबखानीं राखलें. पुढें मौजे पेडहून गोहिदार येण्यास सुमारे १५ दिवस लागले.

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[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ४, ले. ६९९.
श. १५७६ वै. व. १० सोमवार इ. १६५४ मे १.
श्रीसंभूचा.

[आ] तिमाजी नामाजी कुलकर्णी मौजे लोणी बिा नरसो खलदेउ कुलकर्णी कोकराले पाा खटाउ. मौजे लोणीच्या कुलकर्णाचा वाद. तिमाजी खरा जाहला.

[ई] महाजर स्वस्ती श्री शके
.........हाजीर मजालस स्थळ पाा खटाऊ.

राजमुद्रा

हवालदार पाा खटाव (फा. को.).
विठल कृष्ण निसीदा खाना शाहापूर.

मजमूदार पाा माार (बिा *मजमदार)
दफ्तरदार

देसकानी

कोरी जागा लागले नाहीं. (शि.)
नायकवाडी ३ (निशाणी कट्यार).
केसोया नाईक दस्तूरे (कसोबा नाईक)
सेटिया काा माार (नि. तागडी.)
बकालू कामाार
म्हेतरेया ,, (नि. कातरी.)
बकाल ,, (नि. तागडी)

देश कुाा पाा माार
पटेल ३ (नि. नां.)
पटेल कुलकर्णी दरुज
दतोबा मीरगा काा माार
महाजन काा माार (तागडी)
शेटी ,, (,,)

एकूण २२ व्यक्ति.

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*सही करतांना सहीवाला जर राजमुद्राधिकारी असेल तर तो प्रसंगीं आपल्या नांवापुढें नुसता हुद्दाच लिहून तशी सही करी.

[ई] (१) "साहेबी व हाजीर मजालसी गोत नाईकी महजर करून दिधला." (२) साहेब व गोत नायकी कतब्याप्रमाणें हारी व जिंती घेतली आहे.

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[अ] म. इ. सा. खं. १७, ले. १०.

सु. १०५७ जमादिलाखर १५. श. १५७९ चै. व. २ शनिवार, इ. १६५७ मार्च २१.

प्रथम शिवाजीचा सिका. महजर अनेक प्रकारें महत्त्वाचा आहे.

[आ] हबाजी बिन बाबाजी हैबतराऊ सिलंबकर, बापूजी बिन कोन्होजी हैबतराऊ सिलंबकर, बाळाजी बिन रुद्राजी नाईक सिलंमकर. तपे गुंजाणमावळचे देशमुखीविषयीं भाऊपणाचा बाद.

[इ] हाजीर मजालेसी सदर राजश्री सिवाजी राजे साहेबु मुकाम का पुणा.

काजी अबदुल बिन काजी महंमूद काजी नायबकाजी पुणें
दोन ओळी फारसी व शिका.

रखतखाना

सामराज नीलकंठ पेशवे
(शिका श्रीशिव······)
सोनाजी डबीर
बाळाजी नाईक पुंडे मजालसी
मानकोजी दाहातोंडे सरनोबत (फा. सि.)
×नूरबेग सरनोबत पाऊलोक (फा. सि.)
आबाजी महादेव हेजिब (सिका)

वासुदेव बाळकृष्ण मजमूदार
महादाजी सामराज सुरनीस.
बाळाजी हरी मजालसी
रघुनाथ बलाल सरसबनवीस
सामराज पद्मनाभी सबनीस
पाऊ लोक

दफाते············(कोरी जागा)···

प्राा पुणें
कारकून २
नामजाद ताा हवेली मजमूदार
(सिका)
देशमूख
सितोळे २, देशकुा ३ सहीकरतां एक नांव-दोनदां लिहिलें आहे.

याशिवाय पाा शिरवळ २; ताा खेडेबारे ३, ताा हिरडसमावळ ३; ताा पौड २, ताा मोसेखोरे २;
ताा मुठेखोरे २; ताा कानदखोरे २; ताा वेल्हवंडखोरे २.

एकूण १८ देशमूख व देशकुा. आहेत.

ताा गुंजण मावळ—देशकुा व दसरखासनिा देशमूख २

सरखोत १

याशिवाय भोंवरगाव, सोंडे, मोहरीबुा, आडऊली, पाखडी, तळे, कोदलवाडी, बोराले, आंबोणें;चे सुमारे ११ मोकदम हजर आहेत.

एकूण ५० मंडळींची मजलीस.

[ई] (१) दादाजी कोंडदेवाने यापूर्वी हा वाद तोडला होता. (ले. ७ पहा). तथापि भांडण मिटलें नाहीं. कारण हबाजी बिन बाबाजी याला आपल्या चुलतभावास नांगर तकसीम देणें पसंत नव्हतें (पृ. २१ प्रारंभीच्या कांहीं ओळी पहा.) (२) शिवाजी, हबाजी व बापूजी या दोघांमध्यें वडिलपण व नांगर यांचे हक्क दादाजी प्रमाणेंच सारखे विभागतो. व शिवाय बाळाजीसहि त्यांच्या बरोबरीचें स्थान देतो. दादाजीच्या निवाड्यानें बाळाजीचा अंतर्भाव हबाजीमध्येंच केला होता. त्यास आतां स्वतंत्र बापूजी व हबाजीचें बरोबरीचें स्थान मिळालें आहे. (३) हरकी अथवा गुन्हेगारी घेतली नाहीं. (४) रख्तखान्याचा उल्लेख सुलतानींतील राज्यघटनेच्या दृष्टीनें विचाराई आहे.

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[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ७, ले. ४३; महजर रवा दिव्याचा.

श. १५७९ ज्ये. व. १४ मंगळवार; इ. १६५७ मे ३१. ख. ज. प्रो २९ साबानला मंगळवार आहे व तिथी आषाढ शु. १ आहे. तेव्हां तिथी जमत नाहीं.

या महजराची नकल पेशवेकालीन आहे. महजर अपूर्ण आहे; श्री, मार्तंड.

[आ] माहादनाक बिन भिकनाक वृतीकार विा नागनाक बिन केरनाक व तुकनाक बिन दादनाक रणपिसे काा सासवड. मेहतरकी व गुरवाचा शिरा व खुरखुराविटा, व होळीस पोळी व तश्रीफ व नाईकी ढाणाची व वाजंतर याबदलचा वाद लागला.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी कर्यात सासवड. हवालदार मजमुदार.

देशमुख देशकुा २.
मोकदम २
नाईकवाडी २
सेटिये २, महाजन १
माली मेहेत्रा १, मेहत्रा तेली १, मेहत्रा रंगारी १
सेटेतांबोली ३, धनगर २, परीट ३,
पुरंधरे जोशी २
गुरव ३ महार २

चौगुला १
मेहत्रा रंगारी कसबा. १
सेटेकाामाार १
मेहत्रा साली १
सेटिये कासार १
तांबट ३
मेहत्रा कोष्टी १
सुतार २, लोहार १, चांभार ४, कुंभार ३, मांग ३

कसब्याची सुमारे ५१ मंडळी हजर आहेत.

[ई] (१) ढाण्यास महजर झाला आहे. "ढाणा देशमूख मोकदम व समस्त हरदोजणास समजावीत···" (२) दिव्याचें वर्णन महत्त्वाचें आहे.

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[अ] ऐ. सं. सा. खं. १, पृ. ११४, ले. ११६.

सु. १०५८; श. १५७९ माद्र व. १ रविवार; इ. १६५७ सेप्टें. १३.

महजर अपूर्ण.

[आ] बापदेऊभट गवांदे वगैरे साो जुन्नर विाा त्रिंबकभट व हरभट गवांदे. जुन्नरचे उपाध्येपणाचा वाद.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी स्याहार जुनेर.

बेहुजूर मिया वक्तार कोतवाल स्याहार जुन्नर; आपाजी पंडित मुश्रीफ.

हांडे देशमूख; कृष्णाजी नानो देशपांडे; मोरो बिठ्ठल महाजन स्याहार जुन्नर.

[ई] (१) "हुजूर दिवाणसाहेबापासी उमे राहिले यावरुनु हुजुरुनु मिया वक्तार कोतवाल स्याहार माा यानी फर्माविले की यांचे तकरीरा घेणे तेणे प्रमाणे गोही आणोनु निवाड करणे यावरुनु हरदोजणवादी यांचे तकरीरा घेतलिया......प्रमाणे तकरीरा दिधलियावरी (कोरी जागा) पाठवून यांचे गोही आणविले ते गोही घेऊनी आले (कोरी जागा) घालुनु लिहिले तीहि तकरीरा लेहोनु दिधलियां बीताा." (एकूण ५ गोहीच्या तकरीरा आहेत.)

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[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ७, ले. ४४.

श. १५७९ आश्वीन शु. १ सोमवार; इ. १६५७ सप्टेंबर २८.

श्री मार्तंड भैरव.

[आ] तिमाजी खंडेराऊ कुलकर्णी मौजे कोल्हाले बुाा प्राा सुपे विाा विसाजी व व रामाजी रखमांगद उंडा पणदरकर. मौजे कोल्हाले बुाा पाा सुपेचे कुलकर्ण व जोतिषाचा वाद. तिमाजी खरा झाला.

[इ] विहुजूर अजरख्तखाने सिवाजीराजेसाहेब

देशमुख पाा पुणें २
पाा सुपे
हाकीमशारा
काटे देशमूख पाामाार
मोकदम मौजे कोल्हाले व इतर सुमारे ४ व्यक्ती

देशकुाा पाा पुणें २
धर्मातकारिणी २
देशकुाा पाामाार व कााम्ाार ४

सुमारें १७ मंडळी हजर.

[ई] (१) पणदरकराच्या बापाकडून तिमाजीनें २० होनांस दुष्काळामध्यें वतन विकत घेतलें. पणदरकर बंधूंनीं दुष्काळ संपल्यावर संभाजी मोहिते हवालदार पाा सुपे यास वतन परत मिळावें म्हणून ७५ होन (४५ होन व एक घोडा) लाच दिली व तिमाजीस तुरुंगांत

घातलें. तीन महिन्यांनीं त्याला २० होन वतनाची किंमत देऊन सोडलें व कागद लिहून घेतला. तेव्हां तिमाजीनें शहाजीकडे तक्रार केली व मग शाहजींचे खुर्दखताप्रमाणें शिवाजीनें निर्णय केला. निर्णय महत्त्वाचा आहे. (पृ. ६९ पहा.).

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[अ] **शि. च. सा. खं. ३, ले. ६३९;** रवा दिव्याच्रा महजर.

श. १५७९ मार्ग. व. १३; इ. १६५७ दिसें. २२ मंगळवार.

श्री; नकलेची नकल; महजर महत्त्वाचा आहे. सभा उत्तम आहे.

[आ] आलोजीराव बिन जसोजीराव व येमाजीराव मुसलमान कांदाटकर विाा तानाजीराव बिन चंद्रोजीराव व धारोजीराव बिन दादाजीराव कांदाटकर, मौजे सालसीच्या तकसिमेचा वाद.

[इ] महजर व तारीख······मोकदम स्थळ कसबे बामणोली ताा कांदाटखोरे व ताा तांबी हाजीर मजालस.

देवस्थान—ताा तांबी, मौजे मोरणी, परवत, काा बामणोली येथील ४ देवतांचीं नांवें.

सुभा जावली—सुभेदार, नामजाद सुभेदार, महाजन, आरवा (कट्यार) सेटे, सोनार (हातोडा), एकूण ६.

कारकून समस्त बामणोली—हवालदार मज़मूदार २.

किले वासोटे—किले सातारा, देसाई २.

ताा बामणोलीचे गांव देशक—६ व इतर व्यक्ती (भोंवरगांवचे मोकदम) ७; मार्ग आकलपे २; **देशक ताा** तांबी–९ मोकदम भोंवरगांवचे.

मुकासीयानी— यांत ४ व्यक्ती आहेत. एकाचे चि. सिकेकट्यार बाकी तिघांचें कट्यार आहे.

याशिवाय **भोंवरगांव**–अहिरे, फळणी, कास, माथावलवण, कोलधर, ताा कांदाटखोरे, मोरणी, व मोकासी कांदाटखोरे, मोकदमानी कांदाटखोरे, संमत सोनाट सोलसा, कर्जत आठेगांव, धनगरदेसगावडे, विरतीकर महार इत्यादि शीर्षकाखालीं मिळून सुमारें ६३ व्यक्ती दिल्या आहेत. एकूण सुमारें १०१ मंडळी हजर आहेत.

[ई] (१) सुमेदार हाजीर मजालसी हुजूर यांच्यापुढें वाद सांगितला आहे. (२) दिव्य महत्त्वाचें आहे.

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[अ] **शि. च. सा. खं. २, ले. ९८.**

सु. १०५९ मोहरम १५; श. १५८० आश्वि. व. २; इ. १६५८ आक्टो. ३.

निवाडपत्र, मजलीस महजराप्रमाणें.

[आ] लुमाजी बिन तेजजी पा बोतरे मोकदम मौजे पारगांव माळा प्रा पुणे वि कोंडाजी बिन लखमोजी ताकवणे मोकदम मौजे पारगांव माळा ता पाटस प्रा पुणे. मौजे पारगांवच्या मोकदमीचा वाद.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी मुा मौजे सुपे खुा बिहुजूर.

राजमुद्रा—हवालदार व कारकून महाल निहाये सभासद नामजाद किले कोंढाणा.

जमीदारानी देहाये—काटे देशमूख व देशकुा २, नाईकवाडी ५ (एक मुसलमान).

देसकानी मुकादमानी देहाये—माहालाये समस्त पाटीलानी प्रांत पुणे व सुपे, ता कऱ्हेपठार येथील सुमारे ६५ व्यक्ती.

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[ई] (१) शिवाजीमहाराजांच्या आज्ञेनुसार हवालदारानें गोत जमा करून निवाडा केला. (२) ताकवण्यानें बोताऱ्याचे खून केले म्हणून त्यांच्याकडून २०० होन गुन्हेगारी घेतली. (३) गोताचें धोरण शक्यतों उभयपक्षीं समेट व्हावा, असें सर्वत्र दिसतें. (४) महजराचा अखेरचा भाग मननीय आहे.

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[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. २, ले. ३५६.

सु. १०५९ रविलाखर १५; श. १५८० पौष व. १ गुरुवार; इ. १६५८ डिसें. ३०.

महजराच्या अखेरीस फा. मोहर आहे. जोडगिरीवर १ वाटोळा महालदाराचा, १ उभा बदामी हुदेदाराचा, व १ अष्ट. को. देसायाचा असे ३ फा. सी. आहेत. महजर महत्त्वाचा आहे.

[आ] का अथणी येथील लिंगायत व जैन यांजमधील वादाचा निर्णय. सरकारचे कारकून व समस्त गांवकऱ्यांनीं लिंगायत व जैन यांचा गुरु आला असतां त्यास सामोरा जावें वा जाऊं नये याविषयीं वाद. लिंगाईताचे गुरूस सामोरे जातात असें ठरलें.

[इ] बिहुजूर हाजीर मजालसीयानी (पा जंबखंडी); कारकुनानी वा देसकानी माहलदार वा मख्तसर सेटियानी हुजुरात.

शंकराजी महालदार (फा. सि.)
हुद्देदार मौजे सोली
गगीसेटी पेठ जोहारपूर
(कानडी अक्षरांची एक सही)
सेटी २

सेटीकार पेठ जोहरपूर
(कानडी अक्षरांची एक सही)
सेटी २

कारकुनानी वा अथणी

×पीरमिया हुद्देदार
(फा. उभा बदामी सि.)

पंडितनिसीद
देसाई वा पटेल का अथणी २

देसकानी पाा जवखंडी (फा. अष्ट. शि.)
देसाई (फा. वा शि.); देशकुाा विाा सिदगौडा चौधरी
एकूण = १७.

[ई] (१) कारकून व देशक पाा माार यांनीं हुजूर साहेबिणीचे खुर्दखताप्रमाणें हा महजर दिला आहे.

– ७४ –

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. २, ले. २१८.

सु. १०६१ साबान १४; श. १५८३ चै. शु. १५ गुरुवार; इ. १६६१ एप्रील ४.

महजराचा पहिला भाग उपलब्ध नाहीं त्यामुळें मजालस अपूर्ण आहे.

[आ] बाजी सर्जाराऊ फर्जंद कान्होजी नाईक जेधे देशमूख ताा भोर विाा संभाजी फर्जंद कान्होजी नाईक जेधे देशमूख किले रोहिडा. उभयतांमधील भाऊपणाचे वाटणीचा हा महजर आहे.

[इ] **मजलसीचा प्रारंभ उपलब्ध नाहीं.**

देसक व बारा बैते तपे मजकूर
भोंवरगांवचे सुमारें ३७ मोकदम; आणि ताा माार व मौजे आंबवडेचे बाराबैते.

सेटी २, ठाकूर ३, सुतार १, कुंभार १, माहार २, जोसी २, मेहतरी या हजाम २, परीट मेहतरीया, गुरव २, पोतदार १.

एकूण १७.

[ई] (१) महजराचा शेवट—"यास आनसारिखे करील तो वडिलापासुनी जाला नाहीं. वडिलाची आज्ञा मोडुनी महजराप्रमाणें न चाले तो वडिलाचा व गोताचा अन्याई बी दस्तूर येकोजी कृष्ण पेशवे खासनीस" मोर्तब (फा. मो. ष. को.) "हरसाला खुर्दखताचे उजूर न कीजे तालीक लेहून घेऊन असल परतोन दीजे" (ष. को. सी.) मोर्तब. (२) देशक = मोकदम भोंवर गांवचे.

– ७५ –

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. १, ले. ४९.

श. १५८३ आश्विन व. १० सोमवार; इ. १६६१ आक्टो. ७.

महजराचे अखेरीस शिका आहे. व मोर्तब म्हणून वेगळ्या अक्षरांनीं लिहिलें आहे. जोडावर मोर्तबाचे सिके आहेत.

[आ] सोमाजी बिन आबाजी पाचपुते विाा माहादाजी बिन वडजोजी रणदिवे. मौजे भवाली पाा सिखलच्या पाटिलकेचे सहावे तकसिमीविषयीं वाद. सोमाजीचीच सहावी तकसीम असल्याचे कागदपत्रांवरून ठरलें व त्याचा हा महजर करून दिला आहे.

[इ] मजलस अपूर्ण आहे. राजश्री राजे पालकर सरनोबत सुभेदार यांनीं निर्णय केला आहे.

[ई] (१) 'सेरणी होन बारा खंडून महजर करून देणे म्हणवून फर्माविले.'

— ७६ —

[अ] **शि. च. सा. खं. ४; ले. ७३०.**

फसली १०७१ जमादिलावल १; श. १५८३ पौष शु. ३ शनिवार; इ. १६६१ डिसें. १४.

१२ ओळी फारसी मजकूर व ३ शिके, महजराचा प्रकार महत्त्वाचा आहे.

[आ, ई मिळून] शाहाजादीये सुलतान खुरुम.

×अमीन सेकदार
फौजदार कारकून

" महजरनामा बी हुजूर व हजीर मजलस चौत्रा पाा येदलाबाद सुाा कारणे महजरनामा यैसा साहेबी कसबे मजकूरचे मोकदम कालीकर व पांढरकर हुजूर बोलाऊन फर्माविले जे महादेव नायेक देशमुख पाा माा मयेत जाला त्याचे घर देशमुखीमधे अथवा देशमुखी आधी यैसी पुरसीस केली कदीम अल यात हवेली व दुकान आहे.............. तेरीख......बीकलम नारोजी दादो निसीदा कामाार "

" गोंही येसा पाा व घोडेसेटी व कालीकर व पांढरीकर व समस्त परजा कामाा

— ७७ —

[अ] **सनदापत्रें प्रकरण ४ थें, ले. ९.**

श. १५८५ आश्विन शु. २ बुधेतदिने लिखित निर्वाहपत्र इ. १६६३ सप्टेंबर २३.

[आ] सावजी बिन सूर्याजी मोकदम विाा नेताजी बिन धारोजी मोकदम कसबे तळबीडच्या मोकदमीचा वाद.

[इ] सिंह महाबळेश्वर, महादेव.

स्वस्ति श्री शके......लिखित निर्वाहपत्र, महजर बतारीख......हजीर मजालसी ब्राह्मणसभा व राजसभा बितपशील.

ब्राह्मणसभा—एकूण ४ ब्राह्मण (मीमांसक १, पुराणिक १, जोशी १, इतर १).

राजसभा—नेताजीराजे सरनोबत सुभेदार राजे महाडीक
मकाजी आनंदराऊ राजे पालकर
देशकुलकर्णी ताा खेडेबारे

याशिवाय, परगणे मोरगीर पाटण, इदापूर, ताा सातारा, सुभा जावली परगणें

सौंगल, तर्फ तारळे, परगणे वाई इत्यादि ठिकाणचे सुभेदार, मजमूदार, देशमूख, देशकुा, सेटिये, अशी सुमारे २५ मंडळी हजर आहेत. या पंचवीसांत ४ मुसलमान आहेत. त्यांपैकीं ३ ‘ लष्करी ’ असून १ ‘ मिरुस्वार ’ आहे.

एकूण ३४.

[ई] (१) “ राजश्री नेताजी पालकर यांच्या सुभ्यामध्यें बहुत बोभाट खटला आहे व राजश्री नेताजी पालकर वृत्तीचे निवाडे दूर दृष्टीनें विचार करून करितातीं ” (२) “ सदरहू ब्रह्मसभा व राजसभा मुकाम पार नर्जीक जाउली. ” (३) निवाड्याची पद्धती महत्त्वाची आहे. (४) “ यावरीं सभासदीं **विज्ञानेश्वरीचा** शास्त्रार्थ पाहिला. तेथे आज्ञेने धाकटा होऊन वृत्तीस कस्त करून रक्षील तरी त्यासहि भाग द्यावा आणि समजावीस करावी. या विचारें धर्मता वरहक्क हरदोवादी यांचा निवाडा केला.”

– ७८ –

[अ] **शि. च. सा. खं. ३, ले. ४३९.**

सु. १०६४ मोहरम ८; श. १५८६ श्रावण शु. १० शुक्रवार; इ. १६६४ ऑगस्ट २२.

[आ] सूर्याजी नाईक बिन तुबाजी नाईक देशमूख पा कुडाळ यास बापूजी पा बिन रतनोजी नाईक देशमूख पा मार यानें का कुडाळास येथील वतनी जमिनीपैकी १५ बिघे दिवाणचे वतनसंबंधे देणें झालें म्हणून विकली दर बिघ्यास १ होनप्रमाणें, त्याचा हा महजर आहे. याचप्रमाणें सूर्याजी नाईकानें बापूजीसहि असाच एक महजर लिहून दिला आहे.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी यानी प्रा का कुडाळ स्वस्तीश्री

×सर गुन्हो किले
चंदन (कट्यार)
बाणकरी (एकनि.)

×हदेपार
(शि. फा.)
सरगुरोसा देहाये
कुंडल (फा. सि.)
सेटी का बुधण
(तागडी)

साबाजी
कोनेजे (शि. फा.)
पिसालदेसाई पावाई
सेटिगा (खंजीर)

रायाजी पंडित
कनोजा (कट्यार)
देशमूख ता खडेबारे.
×खानजी बिन चिमन-भाई (खंजीर).

देशकुा २ पाटील, नाडगौडा, चौगुला का मार ३
२ सेटी, महाजन १; आंबाजी का मार (एक चि.); पटेल मौजे आवसरा (कात्री)
मेहतर दरजी (कात्री) खेते;
सालवी कुंभार कामार; मेहतरीया दुलाई (कुंचला),
भडजी १ राऊत २ जोसी, ठाकूर, चांभार २.

एकूण ३३ व्यक्ति हजर.

[ई] (१) “ हाजीर मजालसी या हुजूर लेहून दिल्हे माहाजर येसे जे ”

— ७९ —

[अ] **म. इ. सा. खं. १७, ले. १२.**

सु. १०६६ सफर १४; श. १५८७ श्रावण व. १ बुधवार; इ. १६६५ ऑग. १६.

[आ] ता॥ गुंजण मावळ पैकीं मौजे वडगांवची मोकदमी उघडी पडली. ता॥ गुंजणमावळचे देशमुखाची ती मिरासी असल्यानें त्यानें बाळाजी बिन येसाजी यास तें वतन बहाल केलें आहे. त्याचा हा महजर आहे.

[इ] महजरनामा हाजीर मजालसी······बिहुजूर देशमूख व देशकुलकर्णी व देशक

ता॥ गुंजणमावळ

देशमूख देशकु॥ ता॥ मा॥र २. (फा. सि.)

देशक

चोरघे सर खोत ता॥ मा॥

मोकदम हतवे बु॥ २

खासनीस दि॥ देशमूख ता॥ मा॥र

याशिवाय भोंवर पांच गांवचे

सुमारें ७ मोकदम

१२

मोकदम मौजे मोहरीबु॥

चौगुला मौजे बोरले

हेजीब ता॥ मा॥

याशिवाय ४ मोकदम

महार १

पुरोहित १

सुमारें ९

एकूण सुमारें २१ मंडळी.

— ८० —

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ८, ले. ५८.

श. १५८९ इ. १६६७

नकल

[आ] यादवभट बिन अनंतभट व विनायकभट बिन नारायणभट घोडे सो॥ का॥ पुणें यांची इनाम जमीन देहाये प्रा॥ मजकूर व तेल बदल चिराग श्रीकेदार दररोज एकशेर. आणि मौजे कडेगाऊ प्रा॥ पारनेर येथील जोशीपण असें वतन होतें. मौजे मजकूर येथे दरवडा पडला तेव्हां त्यांत सदरहू वतनाच्या सनदा नाहींश्या झाल्या. वतन सदरहू जोशी यांचें होतें हें या महजरानें सिद्ध केलें आहे.

[इ] हाजीर मजालस बीहुजूर.

×काजी इभराईम
(सि. गोल)
गु॥ सुरुनवीस

येकवालपनाह
फौजदार
(सि. चतु.)

अमानतपनाह
अमीन
(सिकागोल)
शेखदार

हुकुमतपनाह
मुकुटपप करोडी
(सिकागोल)

(सि. गो.)
देशमूख पुर्णे ३
(सिके २)
शेटे–मूर्तजाबाद मोकदमा का मा

व कारकुन १ (सिका)
रुजू गोपाळ बाजी कारकून
देशपांडे पुर्णे ३
सेटी. महाजन का मा (तागडी) शेठ व महाजन पेट शापूर

एकूण १९ व्यक्ति

[ई] (१) शिवाजीमहाराज दिल्लीस कैदेंत असतांना पुर्णे प्रांत शाहिस्तेखानाच्या ताब्यांत गेला होता. त्यावेळीं हा महजर लिहिला गेला आहे. (२) महजरानें वतन सिद्ध केलें आहे.

– ८१ –

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ८, ले. ७०

सु. १०६७ रजब २९; श. १५८८ माघ शु. १ मंगळवार; इ. १६६७ जानेवारी १५

[आ] अनाजी बिन लखमोजी व पिलाजी व कमाजी बिन कोंडजी महिगुडे मोकदम मौजे पसर्णी संमत हवेली प्रांत वाई विा बाजी गणोजी रिकामे व कृष्णाजी बिन चापजी व तुलाजी नरसोजी बिन येवले. मौजे पसर्णीच्या मोकदमीचा वाद. महिगुडे खरे झाले.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी पा वाई

कारकुनानी (९) हावालदार
×निघाबन, दप्तरदार, सबनीस
पारसनीस

मजमूदार
दप्तरखास सरनोबत
चिटणीस

सरगुरो नाईकवाडी व देसाई व सेटे महाजन

शि. च. सा. खं. ५ ले. ८३६ पहा.
क्रमांक ९ पहा.

देसाई प्रा मार; सेटे ३ व चौधरी १

भोंवर॰गांवचे सुमारें २३ मोकदम व पटेल

[ई] (१) न्यायप्रक्रियेच्या दृष्टीनें महजर महत्त्वाचा आहे (२) गोतांचे अधिकार स्पष्ट केलेत. दिवाण व गोत यांच्या परस्पर संबंधाच्या दृष्टीनें महजर अतिशय महत्त्वाचा आहे.

– ८२ –

[अ] म. इ. सा. खं. १६, ले. २२ महजरनामा.

सु. १०६७ साबान ९; श. १५८८ माघ. शु. १० गुरुवार; इ. १६६७ जाने. २४

[आ] बाबाजी जुंझारराऊ देशमूख ता कानद खोरे विा मलोर्जी पतंगराऊ. भाऊपणाचे वाटणीचा वाद.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी गोत व मातुश्री.

आवाजी स्थळ मुा धानीब ता कानदखोरे.

मातुश्री आउसाहेब
देशकुा ता २
खासनिस दीा देशमूख ता १
तकसीमदार २, सरखोत ता १

वेदमूर्ती मामले राईर व धानीबा मिळून ४
नाईक २
तकसीमदार
मठपति १
सेटे १

याशिवाय भोवर १४ गांवचे मोकदम सुमारें २०

भगत कोली १
तेली मेहतरीया १
न्हावी मेहतरीया १

गुरव मेहतरीया १
सालवी कुंभार मेहतरीया २
परीट मेहतरीया २
महार वृतीकार २

एकूण सुमारे ४८

[ई] (१) सर्व गोत मंडळी हजर आहेत. (२) गांवीचे गोताचें स्वरूप समजण्याच्या दृष्टीनें महजर उपयुक्त आहे.

– ८३ –

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. २, ले. ९९.
श. १५९०; इ. १६६८.

[आ] काा पुण्याचे दिवाण देण्याविषयीं महजर.

[इ] महजर·········मजालसी पाा पुणा.

×काजी ईभराईम हकीमशरा पाा मार
फा. मजकूर दोन ओळी व फा. सी.
×अमीन पाा मा
देशमूख पाा मार
मोकदम मुंजेरी काा पुणे

गुा सरदेस पाा मा
देशपांडे पुणें २
सेटिया पाा पुणे

– ८४ –

[अ] म. इ. सा खं. १८, ले. १६.
श. १५९०; इ. १६६८.
अपूर्ण.

[आ] गोंदसेटी हुलवला पेठशापूर काा पुणे विा गणसेटी. घराविषयीं वाद. **गोंदसेटीचा मुलगा हुलबा हुलबला याचें घर असें मजलसीनें ठरविलें.**

[इ] सेटिये का पुणे व महाजन.

सेटि कसबा
सेटी पेठ मूर्तजाबाद

कदम मुंजेरी का वाळदूर

– ८५ –

[अ] **म. इ. सा. खं. २०, ले. २१७.**

सु. १०६८ साबान १५; श. १५८९ माघ व. १ सोमवार; इ. १६६८ जाने. २०. महजर अपूर्ण आहे.

[आ] आरावे बिाा ताटे थिटे. क्षेत्र पंढरपूरचे जोतीस व कुलकर्णाविषयींचा वाद.

[इ] बिहुजूर हाजीर मजालसी यानी.

मोकासाई क्षेत्र पंढरपूर का कासेगाऊ
पा माण दहीगाऊ
माहादभट अग्निहोत्री क्षेत्र नरसीहपूर ('स्वहस्त पुढें तेंच नांव) हरकारे; रखतखाने–हंबीरराई; सराफ–शहापूर (स्वहस्त); गोडसे सेकिन शाहापूर (स्वहस्त)
—
६

हरकारे पातशाही
हेजीब रखतखाने घोरपडे
सरदेसाई पा अंकलकोठे; हंबीरराई;
गोडसे सौदागर शाहापूर (स्वहस्त) २
क्षीरसागर रखतखाने स्वहस्त गोडसे
—
८

एकूण १४ व्यक्ती.

[ई] (१) यापूर्वी कांहीं महजरांत बिाा करून पुढें तेंच नांवें आलें आहे. येथें 'स्वहस्त' घालून तेंच नांव घातलें आहे. (२) माहास्थल आहामदनगरच्या निवाड्याप्रमाणें निवाडा केला आहे. (३) पुढील स्थळांचे उल्लेख आहेत; आंबेजोगाई परिंएंडे, रायबाग, राहीचे बोरगांव. (४) रखतखान्याचे उल्लेख विचारार्ह आहेत.

– ८६ –

[अ] भा. इ. सं. मं. अहवाल १८३४, पृ. ५६; महजर मिरासपत्र.

श. १५९१ ज्ये. शु. ७ शुक्रवार; इ. १६६९ मे. २८.

(जंत्रींत गुरुवार आहे, षष्ठीची वृद्धि आहे.)

आरंभास 'अलीफ', श्रीप्रमाणें. नंतर फा. मजकूर.

[आ] त्रिंबक जोसी बिन मोरजोसी का भिंगार यास मौजे कविठे पा नीवास सा अहमदनगर येथील कुलकर्ण ६०१ रुपयास 'समस्त दाहीजण' मिरासी करून देतात.

[इ] देशपांडे देशमूख.

मोकदम ३, चौगुले ३ व समस्त दाहीजण मौजे कविठे······मिरास पत्र लेहोन

दिघले ऐसे जे······हे मिरासपत्र लिहून दिघले सही. अर्धा पैके घेतले मग महजर लेहून दिघले हे सही. नांगर. बिा जनार्दन यादव कुलकर्णी. मौजे चांद पाा माार.

गौही—यांत एकूण ३९ व्यक्तींचीं नांवें आहेत. एक मुसलमान आहे. पाटील, मोकदम, बलुते इत्यादि मंडळी आहेत, मौजे भिंगार मौजे चांद, मौजे कविठें या ठिकाणची मंडळी आहेत.

महजराचा शेवट—"सदरहू समाकुल मौजे मजकूर वगैरे कुलकर्णाचा हक सुदामत प्रमाण यासी मुकरर केला असे बाा ताा···कुलकर्ण हकाचे मानपान······यास कोणी नवदगीर करील त्यास आपले पूर्वजाची आण असे आनी आपले कुलस्वामीची आण आसे हे महजर लिहिले सही."

[ई] (१) गांवकीच्या व्यवहाराच्या दृष्टीनें कागद महत्त्वाचा आहे. (२) यांत सरकारी अधिकारी नाहींत. (३) महजराच्या प्रारंभीं 'देशपांडे', 'देशमूख' या क्रमानें सदरहू जोडीचा निर्देश केला आहे. नेहमीं प्रारंभास देशमूखाचा उल्लेख असतो. महजराचा विषय कुलकर्ण आहे त्यामुळें कदाचित् असा फरक असूं शकेल.

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[अ] **बावडा दप्तर विभाग १ ला, ले. ९**; महजर–मिरासपत्र.

श. १५९२ मार्ग. शु. ८ शुक्रवार; इ. १६७० नोव्हें. १०.

तांदलेस्वर माहादेऊ. महजर फारच उत्तम लिहिला आहे.

(१) लिहिण्याची पद्धत या दृष्टीनें महत्त्वाचा आहे. प्रत्येक मोकदमाच्या नांवापुढें त्याचा नांगर आहे. व पुढें खालीं लगीच 'दाा कुलकर्णी' असें आहे. (२) "रायाजी अढाऊ मोकदम हाजीर नाहीं" असा स्पष्ट उल्लेख आहे. यावरून नांवें आलेलीं सर्व माणसें हजर असावींत असें दिसतें. शि. च. सा. खं. ३, ले. ४२७ मध्यें हा महजर छापलेला आहे. तेथें आरंभीं "श्री तांदलेस्वर साहेबु" असें आहे.

[आ] मौजे तांदली ताा रांजणगाऊ पाा जुन्नर येथील गांवकरी व बारा बलुते यांनी सदरहू गांवचे कुलकर्ण व जोतिष १५० होनास निळो सोनदेव व आबाजी सोनदेव यांस मिरासी करून दिलें त्याचा हा महजर आहे.

[इ] महजर मिरासपत्र······हाजीर मजालसी मौजे तांदली नाा टाकली.
तरफ रांजणगाऊ पाा जुन्नर श्री याचे देउली बी हुजूर;

मौजे मजकूर

बलुते (२४)—२ मुलाणा, उमर अनु. ६०, २०; निाा सुरी
१ परीट अजहती निाा मोगरी;
सुतार उमर २५ निाा किकरे
चांभार मिरासदार (३)—
२ मेहतरी उमर ३०, ७५;

२ मोकदम कोंकणगांव पाा कडेवळीत निाा नांगर;
२ न्हावी उमर ७०; लेक २; निाा आरसा;
२ गुरव, उमर अनु. ३०, २० निाा मादल;
२ मोकदम व १ कुलकर्णी मौजे वाडगाऊ पाा कडेवलीत;
मांग उमर २० निाा मागभाली
—
१५

१ मेहतरी उमर २५ निाा टिंगा
सोनार उमर ८० निाा हातवडा
महार विर्तिकार मिरासीदार (३)–
२, उमर ५०, ४५; १ महार ७५ निाा इलादोर;
१ कुंभार निाा चाक
—
९

कुलवाडिये मिरासीदार (१५):—

उमर वर्षे–७५, ३०, ६२, ७०, ११५ (सलाबत खानाचे वेळे उपजला) २७, २५, ६०, ४०, २०, २२, ३०; ३५, मेहतरी तेली ७० निाा पहार, ३०. एकूण १५.

पुढील भोंवरगांवचे मोकदम व कुलकर्णी (२५)—घोडेगाऊ पाा रासीन, देऊलगाऊ, नीरथडी, कोलगाऊ पाा कर्डे, रांजणगाऊ तााकर्डे, सुरगाऊ, कतकवले ताा खेडेबारे, रांजणगाऊ साा जुन्नर, हाडीगाऊ, निंबवी पाा कर्डे, ढोर ताा रांजणगाऊ, मिळून सुमारें २१ व्यक्ती व तीन मिरासदार व एक चौगुला एकूण २५ व्यक्ती हजर आहेत.

एकूण सुमारें ६४ व्यक्ती हजर आहेत.

[ई] (१) "देशमुखाचे सीके व देशपांडियाचे दस्कत करून देऊन. जरी कोण्ही मिरासीदार कुलकर्णासी अगर जोतिसास उभे राहील तरी आम्ही **मोकदम व बाराही बलुते व समस्त बापभाऊ व मिरासीदार कुणबी यैसे** त्यास निवारून……"

— ८८ —

[अ] म. इ. सा. खं. २०, ले. ५४; दोन महजर आहेत त्यांतील महजर पहिला.

१५९४ विरोधीकृत ? श्रावण शु. १; १६७२ ऑगस्ट १५ सोमवार; सुाा सलास सबैन आलफ या सुहुर सनास शक १५९४ येतो; परंतु संवत्सराचें नांव परिधावी आहे.

नकलेची नकल.

[आ] विठोजी बिन गोरखोजी व बापूजी बिन बाजी व बखाजी बिन अपाजी व लखमाजी बिन आपाजी निगडे देशमूख पाा सिरवळ "आपआपणामधे वृत्तिबदल भांडण होते."

[इ] ते दिवसी वांटणी जाली ऐसे जे बिहुजूर तपसील कारकून प्रांत मजकूर.

—हवालदार
मजमूदार

देशकप्राा मजकूर

देशमूख प्रांत मार १
देशकुलकर्णी प्राा मार
जोसी काा मार २
आजहती देशमूख

सेटे महाजन का मार ४
पाटील ३
नाईकवाडी प्रां मार २
पाटील २ व इतर १
= १९.

[ई] (१) "हे आपआपणामधे वृत्तीबद्दल भांडत होते ऐसीयासी हुजूर जाऊन राज्ञश्री साहेबाचे बंदगीस आपली हकीकत कुल सांगून साहेबी मनास आणून आपणास कारकुनाचे नावे खुर्दखत देऊन महालास पा। माहाली कारकून व गोत श्री देव याचे देवळी बसीन समजावीस केली त्याप्रा। आपण चालावे......बि।।"

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[अ] **सनदापत्रें प्रकरण ४ थें, ले. १५.**

सु. १०७४ रजब १५; श. १५९५ आश्वि. व. १ गुरुवार; इ. १६।१०।१६७३.

[आ] "शिवाजीचे लष्कर हावसबावीसी जातां वेळें कसबे (कागनेल) मजकुरासी आग लाऊन तमाम घरे जळून गेली ते वखती गुरुनाथभट जोसी याचे घर आग लागून जळून गेले. आजी सबब मिरासीचें कागदपत्र तमाम जळून गेले" हें खरें म्हणून महजर दिला आहे.

[इ] संमत कांगीनेला मामले बंकापूर......बहुजूर हाजीर मजालसीयानी.

कारकुनानी

हवालदार संमत् मजकूर
हुद्देदार का कांगीनेला
मजमदार संमत् मजकूर

देशकानी

मुतालीक देसाई सा मार
मुतालीक नाडगौडा
मुतालीक देसाई मामले मार
खोत जकायती सा कांगीनेला
२ कुलकर्णी का मार
मुतालिक देशकु सा मार
मुतालिक नाडकर्णी
मुतालिक देशकु मामले
पटेल २ का मार
नाईक (तलवार) का मार

एकूण १५ व्यक्ती.

[ई] (१) सर्व सभासद कानडी आहेत. (२) पटेल 'गौडा' आहे.

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[अ] **रामदास रामदासी वर्ष ६, अंक ६३।६४ श. १८४२; महजर, पाली एथील रवा दिल्याचा.**

सु. १०७६ जिलकाद २६; श. १५९७ माघ व. १३ मंगळवार; इ. १६७५ फेब्रु. १.

श्री मार्तंड भैरव व नंतर छत्रपती शिवाजीराजे यांचा शिका.

एकोणीस बंद जोडलेला असा हा निवाडा असून मागील बाजूस प्रत्येक जोडावर ‘ लेखनावधि मुंद्रा ’ असा कोयरीचा सिका आहे. मधून मधून कोरी जागा सोडली आहे. तीवरून कांहीं व्यक्तींच्या सह्या घेणें राहिलें असावें. महजरचा शेवट मोर्तबसुद ‘मर्यादेयं विराजते ’ असा आहे. मोर्तबसुद हें अक्षर वेगळ्या वळणाचें व तुटक आहे. पुढें मुद्रा आहे.

[आ] खंडोजी व इतर खराडे विाा नागोजी काळभार व गोरे. मौजे पाली पाा कऱ्हाडच्या पाटिलकीविषयीं वाद. काळभार गोरे खरे झाले.

[इ] स्वस्तीश्री नृप……तेदिने महजर व तेरीख……बीहुजूर हाजीर मजालसी सभास्तान श्री देव मोकाम मौजे पाली पाा कऱ्हाड.

राजमुद्रा एकूण व्यक्ती १५—हुजरती:

हरजीराजे महाडीक (सीका)
रघुनाथ नारायण
मोरो त्रिमाल पेशवे (सीका)
दत्ताजी त्रिमल वाकेनीस
नागोजी गुजर (सीका)
दादाजी काकडे, संताजी जगथाप

निराजी राऊजी
नारो नीलकंठ मजमूदार
शामजी नाईक पुंडे
आनंदराऊ
खंडोजी वाघ (सिका)
जैतजी काटकर, सोमाजी नाईक बंकी

कृष्णाजी नाईक बंकी.

महालती एकूण १२

सुभा किले सातारा—४; मजमूदार १, नामजाद १, हवालदार १ व आणखी एक मजमूदार व नामजाद ‘परभु’ असून नांवें वेगळ्या अक्षरांत व शाईत आहेत.

कारकून—८ ताा उंबरज, ताा पाली, व तमे तारळे मिळून; तारळ्याच्या व पालीच्या हवालदाराचे शिके आहेत.

हकजवार समस्त गोतानी एकूण सुमारें २११ (२०९ गांववतनदार + २ कारकून) व्यक्ती (मध्येंच २ कारकून काा नाणेघोल खाली आलेत)

किले सातारा—(७):— देशकानीं या शीर्षकाखाली देशमूख देशकुाा यांचीं नांवें नंतर “ गांवगना मोकदम ” असें सदर असून पुढें सुमारें दोन विती कोरी जागा सोडली आहे; **किले परळी (२)**—देशकांचीं नांवें व नंतर “ मोकदमानी गांवगना ” हें सदर व पुढें सुमारें पांच बोटें कोरी जागा; **किले पनाळा विलातचिं गांव (८)**:—देसाई, पटेल, कुलकर्णी गांववार नांवें; **परगणें दंतागीर पाटण (५)**:—देशमूख देशकुाा; **पाा वाई (१)**— देशमुखाचें नांव व सिका, पांच बोटें कोरी जागा; **पाा कऱ्हाड (४)**:—देशकानी २ व सरगुरो (मुसलमान) १ व नाईकवाडी १; **कसबे कऱ्हाड (१०)**:—सेटे महाजन मोकदम मिळून १०; **गांवगना पाा कऱ्हाड (५५)**:—भोंवर १६ गांवचे मोकदम,

पटेल, कुलकर्णी व चौगुला यांचीं नांवें. बहुतेक त्या सर्व गांवास चौगुला आहे. याशिवाय अखेरीस ३० गांवांचीं नुसतीं नांवें आहेत. त्या गांवच्या व्यक्ती हजर होत्या काय हें न कळे; का। नाणेघोल (११):—कारकून दोन, देशक ३, गावगना ६; तपे तारळे(३८):—देशक ५, नाईकवाडी, १ मोकदमानी कसबा व भोंवर ७ गांव मिळून ३२ व्यक्ती; मौजे (पाली) मजकूर (७०):—मुंजेरी २५; मोहतर्फ २८; यांत बकाल, फुलाई, दर्जी, पेंढारी, तेली, कासार, सोनार, जिनगर, तुतारी, मोमीन, खाटिक यांचा समावेश आहे; बैलुते १७; जोसी, चांभार, घडसी, कोळी, सुतार, कुंभार, महार वगैरे.

एकूण २३८ व्यक्ती हजर आहेत. त्यांत २०९ गांवकीचे वतनदार आहेत. व बाकीचे २९ सरकारी अधिकारी आहेत.

[ई] (१) न्याय प्रक्रियेच्या दृष्टीनें महजर उपयुक्त आहे. छत्रपतींनीं स्वतःच धर्मसभा बोलाविली आहे. दिव्याचें वर्णन महत्त्वाचें आहे. (२) 'गोत' व 'देशक' या शब्दांच्या अर्थ व्याप्तीच्या दृष्टीनें महजराची सभा उपयुक्त आहे. 'हकजबार समस्त गोतांनी' या शीर्षकाखालीं अनेक मंडळींचा अंतर्भाव करण्यांत आला आहे. त्यांत बरेच 'देशक'हि आहेत. ही गोष्ट विचाराई आहे. (३) सभेंतील मौजे पाली या सदरांखालील सभासदांचा उल्लेख तत्कालीन ग्रामरचनेच्या दृष्टीनें लक्ष्य आहे. (४) परगणे कऱ्हाड, का। नाणेघोल व तपें तारळें या तीन गांवांस नाईकवाडी आहे. परगणे कऱ्हाडास एक सरगुऱ्होहि आहे.

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[अ] **शि. च. सा. खं २, ले. २८१**

सु. १०७६ रजब ३०; श. १५९७ का. शु. २ रविवार; इ. १६७५ आक्टो १०.
म. इ. खं. १८ मध्यें, ले. २१ हाच महजर छापला आहे. ती नकल अपूर्ण आहे.

[आ] शिवाजी महाराजांनीं आपलें पाटिलकीचें वतन मौजे खामगांव का। मावळ हे बकाजी फर्जंद भोसले यास त्याच्या एकनिष्ठ सेवेबद्दल बहाल केलें त्याबद्दलचा हा गोताचा महजर आहे.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी बितपसील

महादजी सामराज सुभेदार ता। मावळ
—हवालदार का। मावळ
—करंजवणे देशमुख का। मावळ
सरमजुजमुदार ता। मावळ
मजमुदार का। मावळ
देशकु। का। मावळ

व कर्यात मावळ पैकीं निरनिराळ्या गांवचे सुमारे ३२ मोकदम पाटील इत्यादि हजर आहेत.

[ई] (१) हुजूरच्या खुर्दखताप्रमाणें हा महजर गोतांनीं दिला आहे. (२) शिवाजीराजे यांनीं सप्टं. १३ स वतनाचें खुर्दखत भोसल्यास दिलें (ले. २७५) व १० आक्टों.

त्यांच्या पत्राप्रमाणें हा महजर झाला आहे. (३) हुजूरचें खुर्दखत व गोताचा महजर दोन्ही कागद झाल्याशिवाय वतन सिद्ध होत नसे हें यावरून स्पष्ट होतें.

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[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ४, ले. ६९२; महजरनामा मिरासी पत्र.
श. १५९८ अधिक श्रावण व. ५ बुधवार; इ. १६७६ जुलै १९.
फारसी मजकूर; व सिका.

[आ] आंताजी व रायाजी त्रिमाळ सब्नीस पाा संगमनेर वस्ती मौजे हिंगणगाऊ पाा मार यास मोकदम व पाटील व समस्त दाहीजण लहान थोर मौजे देहुणें पाा नीवासे यानी १२५ रुपये घेऊन सदरहू आंताजी यास मौजे देहुणेचे कुलकर्ण मिरासी करून दिलें आहे. कुलकर्णी नव्हता म्हणून नवीन आणला आहे. त्याचा महजर.

[ई] हाजीर मजालसी पाा मौजे घिवरी पाा सेवगाऊ बिहुजूर गोत.

मोकदम मौजे घिवरी; मोकदम मौजे मोहज बुा; मोकदम व पाटील मौजे ढोरचांदेगाऊ पाा २ मौजे घिवरी; खाटारी साा औरंगाबाद; मोकदम हिंगणगाऊ.

"दाा नरहरी गोविंद मुगटराऊ कुलकर्णी मौजे घीवरी वगैरा, याविदमान……महजरनामा मिरासी पत्र लेहोन दिधले यैसेजे……महजरनामा सही येकुन चालीस रास.

मोकदम २ (नांगर).

गौही

मौजे हिंगणगाऊकर
४
बलुते मौजे मार; गुरव १ (कोरी जागा)

मायेवत मौजे मजकूर
(कोरी जागा)
महार २ निा विळादोर."

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[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ७, ले. ५७.
श. १५९८ भा. शु. १३ आदित्वार; इ. १६७६ सप्टें. १०.

[आ] दस पाटील बिन येल पाटील व याचे पुतणे जानोजी व खंडोजी बिन येस पाटील मालवदकर मोकदम मौजे जेजुरी पाा पुणे विाा सूर्याजी बिन आदोजी मालवदकर. मौजे मजकूरच्या मोकदमीचे वडिलपण व नांगर याविषयींचा वाद. दस पाटील व त्याचे पुतणे खरे झाले.

[इ] श्री सके……ते दिसी हाजीर मजालसी मुकाम पेठ नारायणपूर किले पुरंधर.

×काज़ी महमद बिन काजी इभराईम
×हकीमशरा व काजी कासीम बिन

राघोबलाल सुभेदार माहालानिहाये
व मजमूदार सुभे मजकूर

काज़ी सिलेमान नेब काजी पाा पुणे (फा.सि.)
सरहवालदार व मजमूदार पाा पुणे
(सरह्वालदाराचा म. वा. सि.)
हवालदार व कारकून ताा कन्हेपठार पाा पुणे
(अ. म. शि. अ. को.)
हवालदार व कारकून कर्यांती सासवड
(अ. म. शि. कु.)
लस्केरी लोक जमातीदार ४
देशमूख पाा पुणे २; देशकुाा पुणे ३,
देशकुाा पाा सुपे १
चंद्रचूड गुमास्ते देशपांडे साा जुनर १
देशमूख देशकुाा काा सासवड २
सेटे व महाजन पेठ नारायणपूर २
—
२२

(सुभेदाराचा म. वा. शि.)
हवालदार व कारकून ताा निरथडी पाा पुणे
हवालदार व कारकून ताा पाटस पाा पुणे
हवालदार व कारकून काा ? पाा पुणे
सरनोबत किले पुरंधर (अ. म. शि.)
भोंवर १४ गांवचे सुमारे १६ मोकदम;
माळी, कोळी, माहार, हजाम, कुंभार,
घडसी इत्यादि मिळून सुमारें १२
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३४

एकूण ५६ मंडळी हजर.

[ई] (१) गोत्यांच्या गोहीनें वादाचा निर्णय केला आहे.

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[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ७, ले. ६०.

सु. १०७९ जमादिलावल १७; श. १६०१ ज्येष्ठ व. ३ सोमवार; इ. १६७९ जून १६.

[आ] वेट पाटील याचे प्राा चेऊल पैकी मौजे भंगारे व खारी व कोट व मौजा इत्यादिचे पाटिलकी वतनाचे "कागदपत्र हरपले" परंपरा चालली पाहिजे म्हणून समस्त जमीदार प्राा मारच्या रुजू मोझ्यानें हा महजर करून दिला आहे.

[इ] "महजरपणे मुकादमी पातशाई सन·········काजीव जमासुदील व काजी निजामुदील व वाघोराम देशमूख व लक्ष्मण ठाकूर आदिकारी व समस्त जमीदार प्राा चेऊल ऊर्फ मूर्तजाबाद·········" महजराच्या अखेरीस एकूण ७ साक्षी आहेत. त्यांत एक मुसलमान आहे. ते बहुतेक सर्वजण पाटील आहेत. महजराचा प्रारंभ वरीलप्रमाणें आहे. मजलस स्वतंत्र दिलेली नाहीं.

[ई] (१) चेऊलच्या भागांतील पाटिलकेचे दिवाण दस्ताचे दृष्टीनें महजर महत्त्वाचा आहे.

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[अ] **म. इ. सा. खं. २०, ले. ५४**; यांत दोन महजर आहेत, पैकीं दुसरा महजर. श. १६०२ मार्ग. व. ८ शुक्रवार; इ. १६८० डिसेंबर ३.

[आ] अपाजी बिन मलजी निगडे देशमूख विाा विठोजी बिन गोरखोजी निगडे देशमूख. पाा सिरवळच्या देशमूखीचें वडीलपण.

[इ] हाजीर मजालस स्थळ कसबे हरणस ताा वेलवंडखोरे.

पुरोहित जोसी ताा मार ३
देशकुाा ताा वेलवंडखोरे
खोत मौजे म्हलवडी
कुलकर्णी प्राा पुणे

अढळराऊ देशमूख ताा मार
देशमूख ताा गुंजणमावळ २
मोकदम मौजे बाबुर्डी ताा पारनेर
प्रात जुन्नर

[ई] (१) "देशमुखानी उभयतास पुरसीस केली कीं तुम्ही दिवाणांत जावे ऐसे नाहीं. आम्ही व गोत बसोन हे स्थळी तुमची समजावीस करून त्यास रजावंद असिलेस तरी राजिनामे लेहून देणे." उभयतांचा विचार रायगडास थोरले स्वामी यांच्याकडे जावें असा होता; परंतु ताा गुंजणमावळच्या देशमुखांनीं वरीलप्रमाणें विचार काढला म्हणून पुढें मौजे हरणस येथें गोतांत निवाडा झाला.

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[अ] **शि. च. सा. खं. ५, ले. ७९८.**

फसली १०९० मोहरम १५; श. १६०२ माघ व. ३ बुधवार; इ. १६८१ जाने. २६.

प्रारंभास फारसी १० सिके, व फा. मजकूर. महजर लिहिण्याची पद्धत महत्त्वाची आहे. अखेरीस ५ मोहरा आहेत.

[आ] मौजे कोंले कानडी पाा आंबेजोगाई हा गांव दासोपंत गोसावी काा आंबेजोगाई यास इनाम होता. त्याच्या भोगवट्याविषयींचा महजर.

[इ] महजर हाजीर मज्यालस बीहुजूर,

देशमूख व देशपांडिये
देशमूख
देशपांडे

राघोजी सिवदेऊ कारकून दो पाा मार
×आबदुल्ला देशमुख
रामाजी बलाल देशपांडे

मोकदम व महाजन व कुलकर्णी काा मार

महाजन
प्रल्हादजी व्येकोजी कोनरू
निशान तराजु

मुकदम २
मोहर.
कुलकर्णी १

[ई] (१) "फकीर मजकुरे तमाम सनदा नेऊन पातशहाजींचे खिदमतीस जाहीर केल्या त्यावरून पातशहा मेहरबान होऊन गांव इनाम देऊन फर्मान करून दिधला आहे तो फर्मान मदारुलमहामी अमानतखानजी दिवाण त्यास दाखऊन तेहि नजरेस पाहून बरहुकूम फर्मान आपला परवाना करून दिधला त्यावरून गोसावी मजकूर मौजे कोलेकानडी पा॥ मार बा॥ निजामशाहा तागाईत पातशाही अलमगीरे देह इनाम काबीज मुतसरफ आहेत तेरीख १५ माहे मोहरम "

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[अ] **संकीर्ण.**

श. १६०३ ज्येष्ठ; इ. १६८१ जून, जुलै.

[आ] माणकोजी बिन नांवपाटील चिंचवडे मोकदम मौजे चिंचवड प्रा॥ पुणें बि॥ केरोजी पाटील.

मौजे चिंचवडच्या मोकदमीचा वाद. माणकोजी खरा ठरला.

[इ] श्रीसके…… **गोत** जमा पांढरी मौजे चिंचवड ता॥ हवेली प्रा॥ पुणें……

हाजीर मजालसी बि तपसील.

अजहत सितोळे देशमूख प्रा॥ पुणें २
मोकदम हडपसर
,, पिंपरी ता॥ हवेली
,, पिंपले ,,
,, थेरगांव ,,

देशपांडे प्रा॥ पुणे
जोसी कुलकर्णी मौजे बोरीब्याल ता॥ पाटस
मौजे ताथवडे, आकुर्डी,
जांबे या गांवचे मोकदम.

[ई] (१) देशमूख व देशकु॥ पा॥ पुणे यांस नीलकंठ मोरेश्वर प्रधान व रामचंद्र नीलकंठ सचीव यांचें सदरहू वादा बा॥ आज्ञापत्र सादर झालें कीं गोतांच्या साह्यानें निवाडा करणें. तदनुरूप गोतांनीं हा निर्णय केला आहे. (२) गावींचे चौगुले व थळकरी व बाराबलुते यांची गोही घेतली आहे. व तीवरून गोतांनीं निर्णय केला. साक्षीदारांचीं षयें दिलेलीं आहेत. (३) तत्कालीन कार्यपद्धतीच्या दृष्टीनें महजर महत्त्वाचा आहे.

— ९८ —

[अ] म. इ. खं. १५, लेखांक $१०\frac{१}{२}$; क्रय पत्राचा महजर.

सु. १०८३; श. १६०४; इ. १६८२.

पहिल्या ओळी गहाळ.

[आ] संताजी बिन भिवजी चव्हाण यानें महादजी बिन सुलतानजी जगदाळे यास दुकाळच्या आपत्तीमुळें आपली मौजे कोणेगाऊची पाटिलकीची तकसीम अन्न मिळेना म्हणून २० होनांस विकली, त्याचा महजर.

[इ] राजमुद्रा देशक ब गोत.

भोंवर गांवपैकीं पांचसहा गांवच्या मोकदम कुलर्ण्यांचीं नांवें आहेत.

[ई] (१) "याचें क्रयपत्रक देसक व आपले बापभावांचे साक्षीनें करून दिल्हे असे व ठाणा राजमुद्रा व देशक व गोत यांचा महजर करून द्यावयाची शर्त आहे म्हणोन साहेब व सदर व देसक पाा माार व गोत या पाशीं आलो (पृ. ३८)" असें संताजी म्हणतो. यावरून अशा प्रकारच्या महजराचें स्वरूप लक्षांत येईल. या महजराबद्दल जगदाळे यास पुढील खर्च पडला–' सरसुभेदार यास हरकी बाा होन १००;' देशमूख व सरदेशमूख होनु ५०'; 'देशकुलकर्णी होन २५ '; "याखेरीज गांवकरी यास व परगणियाच्या पाटिलास तश्रिफा दिल्ह्या होन सेंभर येणें प्रमाणें महजर जहाला (चव्हाणाकडून राहिलेला एक चावरहि ३० होनास घेतला), 'याखेरीज त्याचा पोट खर्च जहाला असे एणेप्रमाणें महाजर जाहाला सही"

— ९९ —

[अ] **कारी व आंबवडे जेधे देशमूख, ले. २२.**

श. १६०४ श्राा शु. १० शुक्रवार; इ. १६८२ ऑगस्ट २.

नकल मोडी.

[आ] सूर्याजी व कृष्णाजी मांडरे मौजे आबेपुरी विाा दुरगोजी व इतर मांडरे वऱ्होलीकर. मौजे आमेपुरी संमत् मुऱ्हे प्राा माार या गांवच्या पाटिलकीच्या तकसिमीविषयीं व बापभाऊकीबद्दलचा वाद. दुरगोजी खरा ठरला.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी **राजमुद्रा गोत** प्राा वाई.

हलीकमावीस सुभा ताा जाऊली.

राजमुद्रा (६):—नेताजी राजे पालकर (सिका)

मजमदार, हवालदार ताा जोर व जांबुळखोरे, कासी रंगनाथ सुभेदार, फडणीस सुभा माार, मजमदार ताा जोर व जांबुलखोरे.

देसाई व देशकुाा पाा माार (२):—देसाई १ (सिका); देशकुाा १.

मोकदमानी गावगना (२४):—मोकदम व पाटील १४, कुलकर्णी ६, सेटिये ४.

एकूण ३२ सभासद.

[ई] (१) "निवाडियाबदल देशमुखाच्या घरास आले. देशमुखांनीं गोत बसवून हरदोजणाचा आहावाल तमाम मनास आणून······पुसिले कीं गोत करतील त्यास राजी असाल तरी श्री कृष्णेची आंघोळ करून येऊन 'इमान' देणे कीं गोत करतील तेणेप्रमाणे वर्तावे." (२) "सेरणीबदल नाणे होन २५ जमा सुभा जाऊली ते सदरहू तीन ठायीं वाटून घ्यावे." (३) पाा वाईचा मोकदम मुसलमान आहे.

— १०० —

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ९, ले. ६६.

सु. १०८६; श. १६०७–०८; इ. १६८५–८६.

महजरनामा नकल $\frac{१}{४}$.

[आ] सूर्याजी विसाजी प्रभु वस्ती तपे अस्टमी विा जिवाजी प्रभु व निलाजी प्रभु व गोजोबा प्रभू. तपे अस्टमी येथील वाडीविषयीं वाद. सूर्याजी प्रभूनें वाडी खरेदी केली होती हें खरें ठरलें.

[इ] महजरनामा हाजिर मजालिस बी हुजुरु.

राजश्री बजाजी महाले दिमत त्र्यानबंक हुजरी लोक
अंताजी सिवराव कवस राजमंडळ
प्राा येसाजीराव दरेकर सुभेदार हशमपावलोक
माा बहिरजी पवार सुभेदार हशमपावलोक
दताजी विठल प्रभू सितावराव पनवेलकर
कारकून इमारती खांदेरी व कुलाबा व सरसगड:–
मजमदार १ हवालदार तट २
देसाई मामले चेऊल १ अधिकारी १
देशमूख तपे अस्टमी:–
देसाई १ अधिकारी १
नाईक व सेकीन २ बस्ती आगर चेऊल
बकाल:–
चौधरी १ बकाल २
—
१८

सुभा महाल निहाये मामले चेऊल:–
सुभेदार चेऊल मजमदार चेऊल
प्रभु हवालदार चेऊल
सुभेदार हशमपावलोक २
मजमदार जंजिरे राजकोट
देसाई व देशकुाा मामले चेऊल व अधिकारी तपे क्षिराड व अस्टागर.
याशिवाय ८ व्यक्ती इतर.
—
१६

एकूण सुमारे ४४.

[ई] (१) राजश्री पंत न्यायाधीश रायगड यांच्याकडे तकरार सादर केल्याचा उल्लेख या महजरांत प्रथम पहावयास मिळतो. पुढें राजीक सुरू झाल्यानें मामले चेऊल येथें सुभेदारानें मनसुफीकरितां नेमलेल्या बजाजी महाले यासमोर निर्णय झाला आहे. (२) सुभेदाराकडे मनसुभी सांगितली त्यांनीं बजाबा माहाले दिाा त्र्यनबंक हुजरी लोक यास फडशा करावयास सांगितला त्यांनीं हाजीर मजालिसी बैसऊन मनसुबी आरंभिली. (३) 'राजमंडळाचा' उल्लेख लक्ष्य आहे.

– १०१ –

[अ] **शि. च. सा. खं. ५, ले. ८००.**

श. १६०८; इ. १६८६.

श्री; आसल बमोजीब नकल.

[आ] देवराव लोमटे व रविराव मुकादम कसबे आंबे जोगाई यामध्यें भावकीचा कजिया लागला. मह्जर अपूर्ण आहे. तारखेची निश्चिती नाहीं.

[इ] "बमोहर सिकंदर बातशाह ता। सुभे दारुलज्याफर विजापूर दरबार गौदरगा मह्जर हजर मजालीस बनाम खुदा दावदीयान व कारकुनान व कानगोयान वे देशमुखान व देशपांडियान व पाटलान व पटवारियान बा। देवराव लोभटे……" याप्रमाणें प्रारंभ आहे. मजलस नाहीं.

– १०२ –

[अ] **म. इ. सा. खं. १८, ले. ३१.**

फसली १०९७ रविलाखर ५; श. १६०९ माघ शु. ७ रविवार; इ. १६८८; जाने. २९.

प्रथम मजकूर व नंतर भोंवरगांवच्या १८ मोकदमांच्यां सह्या; कागदाच्या उजव्या बाजूस ९ व डाव्या बाजूस ९. कागदाचा कांहीं भाग फाटला असल्यानें मोकदमीचा गांव कोणता हें समजत नाहीं.

[आ] गवरोजी बिन बाबजी लोहकरा विरुद्ध बनाम बकाजी फर्जंद. गवरोजी यास दिवाण दक्षण यांनीं मोकदमीचा मह्जर करून दिला आहे. राजीकाचा फायदा घेऊन बकाजीनें मोकदमी बळकाविली होती.

[इ] मह्जरनामा……बहजूर शर……देशमूख व देशपांडिये ता।……पुणा हालीमवाली मु॥ तुलापूर लस्कर.

[ई] (१) औरंगजेब बादशहा याच्या लष्करांतून हा मह्जर दिवाण दक्षण यानें दिला आहे.

– १०३ –

[अ] **शि. च. सा. खं. ५, ले. ९५८; येजीतपत्राचा मह्जरनामा.**

सु. १०८९ मोहरम १२; श. १६१० कार्तिक शु. १२।१३ भृगुवासरे; इ. १६८८ आक्टों. २६.

प्रारंभीं फारसी शिका आहे. लेखनपद्धतीच्या दृष्टीनें हा मह्जर फारच महत्त्वाचा आहे.

[आ] गंगाजी शंकर व गिरमाजी झुंगो देशकुलकर्णी यास समस्त थिटे पाा वाई यानी लिहून दिले येजितपत्र जे, परगणे वाईचे देशकुलकर्ण व गांव कुलकर्ण कसबा देखील खुम व बावधण व संमत मुऱ्हे व बाजे कुलकर्ण यासी आपला संबंध नाहीं वतन तुमचे खरें असें.

[इ] **महजरनामा·····हाजीर मजालसी पाा वाई.**

हाकीम ६:—×नाहारखान गोरी फौजदार पाा मार माहाये
हरकारा पाा मार; शेरीफ गुमास्ते; ×जान महंमद गोरी शेखदार; कारकून
(फा. सि.) (फा. सि.)
×बुऱ्हान खान गोरी हवालदार माा सेरी कसबा व विलाती पाा मार
एकूण ३ हिंदू व ३ मुसलमान आहेत.

देशमूखानी पाा मार व माानिहाये ३८:—वाई–पिसाळ १ (मु.); हिरडस-मावळ–बांदल २ (मु.); कुडाळ–शिंदे २ (मु.); मेढे–चिमकणे व भणगे ४ (मु.२); शिरवळ–'यशवंतराऊ' निगडे २ (मु.); उत्रोली–खोपडे ३ (मु.२); रोहिडखोरे-जेधे १ (मु.); रायगड–गायकवाड५ (मु.); सातारा–घोरपडे व गाढवे५ (मु.२); वंदन अंगापूरकर ३; फलटण–निंबाळकर ५ (मु.) यांच्या वतीनें यांच्या दोन गुमास्त्यांच्या सह्या आहेत; परेली–गुजर ५ (मु.). सहा '**हाकीम**' व वाईचे देशमूख यांची नोंद एकाच हस्ताक्षरांत आहे. बाकीच्या देशमुखांची नोंद वेगवेगळ्या १४ हस्ताक्षरांत आहे. बहुधां देशमुखांचीं नांवें देशपांडे लिहितात. देशमुखाच्या खालीं अथवा समोर कागदाच्या डाव्या बाजूस देशपांड्याचें नांव येतें. या कागदांत कांहीं देशमुखांनीं आपणास देसाई संबोधलें आहे व तसेंच देशपांड्यांनीं देशकुलकर्णी असें लावलें आहे. कर्नाटकांत व कोंकणांत देसाई देशकुाा ही जोडी प्रामुख्यानें दिसून येते. बहुधा प्रत्येक देशमुखाच्या मुद्रेचें, स्वतंत्र वैशिष्ट्य दिसून येतें. शिरवळच्या देशमुखांच्या मुद्रेंत नांगर दाखविला आहे. जेथें दोन मुद्रा आहेत त्या तरफेस दोन देशमूख आहेत असें समजावें. देशमुखांचीं उपनांवें दिलींत. तशीं देशकुलकर्ण्यांचीं दिलीं नाहींत. परळीतर्फेच्या देशकुााचे नांवापुढें मात्र 'धारराऊ' अशा उल्लेख आहे व तसेच नेहमीं-प्रमाणें तो उल्लेख देशमुखाच्या डाव्या बाजूस नसून उजव्या बाजूस आला आहे. वाईच्या देशकुलर्ण्यांचा उल्लेख नाहीं. कारण ते कजियांतील वादी आहेत आणि वादी प्रतिवादी यांचा उल्लेख मजलसींत कधींहि येत नाहीं.

मोकदमानी व सेटिये महाजन पाा मार ६४:—एकूण २३ गांवचे मोकदम कुलकर्णी हजर आहेत त्यांत संमत मुऱ्हेपैकीं ३ गांव व संमत निंबपैकीं एक आहे, बाकी सर्व गांवें समत हवेली पाा वाईपैकीं आहेत; तीं पुढीलप्रोाः–काा वाई, काा बावधण, सेंदुरजने, बोरवळ, परवंदी, लोहारे, चांदक, गुळंब, वेलू; केंजळ, सिदनाथवाडी, कविटे, सोनगीरवाडी, धावडी मुऱ्हे, पसर्णी, येसकर व कुसगांव साा मुऱ्हे, मांढरदेऊ, पांडिये, सुरूर, वोपगाऊ, निंब, गोवें साा निंब. याच सदरांत काा बावधनच्या खालीं 'दफाते' करून दोन सेटे व एका चौगुल्याचा

उल्लेख आहे. तसेंच 'पांडिये' गांवाखालींहि एका चौगुल्याचा उल्लेख आहे. बाकी सर्व मोकदम व कुलकर्णी आहेत. देशमूख देशपांड्याच्या जोडीप्रमाणेंच हीं मोकदम पाटील, कुलकर्णी यांचीं नांवें लिहिल्याचें दिसतें. मोकदमाचें चिन्ह नांगर आहे. वाईचे पाटील मुसलमान आहेत त्यांच्या नांवापुढें नांगर नाहीं व मुद्राहि नाहीं. हें महत्त्वाचें आहे. मौजे लोहारेचे निमे मोकदम हजीर नाहींत त्यांचा तसा उल्लेख आहे. कित्येक गांवीं दोन पाटील आहेत. तसेंच दोन गांवचें कुलकर्णहि एकाच घराण्याकडे असल्याचें दिसून येतें. मौजे गुलंब व वेळू पहा. उभय गांवच्या पाटिलाच्या नांवाखालीं त्यानें आपलें त्रिकलम केलें आहे. एकदोन ठिकाणीं कुलकर्ण्यांच्या जागीं त्यांच्या मुतालिकांची नोंद आहे. कांहीं ठिकाणीं कुलकर्ण्यांच्या नांवापुढें "बिा ॐ" असें लिहिलें आहे.

यानंतर पुढें बरीच मोकळी जागा आहे व १७ गृहस्थांचीं नांवें आहेत त्यांत कांहीं सराफ आहेत. त्यापुढें **'वैदिक अग्रारी'** या सदरांत एकूण ५६ ब्राह्मणांचीं व ४ गुरवांचीं नांवें आहेत याप्रमाणें सुमारें १८५ मंडळी हजर आहेत.

[ई] (१) लेखनपद्धतीच्या दृष्टीनेंहि हा महजर महत्त्वाचा आहे. यांत एकंदर ९७ हस्ताक्षरें आलीं आहेत. एकूण ६२ ब्राह्मण 'ब्राह्मण मंडळीं'त आहेत. त्यांत ६० हस्ताक्षरे आहेत. म्हणजे दोघांनीं; धर्माधिकारी व रामभट थिटे यांचीं नांवें लिहिलीं आहेत. यजितखत लिहिणारा १; हाकीम व वाईचे देशमूख (= ७) हस्ताक्षर १, इतर देशमूख वगैरे (= ३७) यात हस्ताक्षरें १४; एकूण पाटील कुलकर्णी मिळून ६४ त्यांत हस्ताक्षरें २०; ४ गुरवांचें हस्ताक्षर १; = ९७ हस्ताक्षरें व हजर व्यक्ती एकूण १८५. मजलसीचे अखेरीस थिटे मंडळींतील दोघांनीं " मुकाम मौजे चांदक, लेखन मौजे माभलेस्वर" असें सहीच्या पुढें लिहिलें आहे. यावरून महजर करते वेळीं हजर असलेल्या परंतु महजर लेखनसमयीं दूर गांवीं गेलेल्यांच्या सह्या मागून आणीत असें दिसतें. महजराचा कच्चा खर्डा सभेचें वेळीं करीत असतील असें वाटतें. (२) "दिवाणचा गुन्हेगार व ब्रह्मसभेचा अन्याई" हें अवतरण ब्रह्मसभेच्या दृष्टीनें विचारार्ह आहे.

— १०४ —

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ३. ले. ४०३.

फसली १०९८ रविलावल ९; श. १६१७ पौष शु. ११, रविवार; इ. १६८८ डिसें. २३.

नकल.

शि. च. सा. खं. १ ले. ९१ मध्येंहि हा महजर असाच छापला आहे. तो असल आहे. प्रथम पांच फारसी शिक्के व २० ओळी फार्सी मजकूर आहे. नंतर " दाा देसपांडिये पाा मार," " दाा नाहरखान देशमूख पाा मार," (फा. शि. अक्षरें नाहरखान गोरी. नांगराचें चित्र; १०९८······) माहादजी जानदेऊ हारकारे नामजाद हुजूर ठाणे वाई,

ही तिन्ही नांवें फारसी मजकुराच्या उजव्या अंगास आडवीं लिहिलीं आहेत. वरील नकलेंत हीं नांवें महजरच्या अखेरीस दिलीं आहेत.

[आ] मनाजी शंकर नीलकंठ राऊ याचा इनाम व अंबराई गांवगना परगणे खालीं होती. त्याविषयीं हा महजर राजीकानंतर नाहरखान गोरी यानें नफर मजकूर त्याच्याकडे आला तेव्हां त्यास दिला आहे. राजीकांत पूर्वील कागदपत्रें लुटली म्हणून हा महजर दिला आहे.

[इ] महजरनामा बी हुजूर हाजर मजालसी प्रांत वाई.

" विलायती सुभे दारुजफर महजरनामा केला जे······सदरहू इनाम व आंबराई आहे कारकीर्द निज्यामन मुल्क······सिवाजी भोसले······यांच्या सनदा होत्या तेणेंप्रो······खात होता···ऐसियास नफर मा।र गनिमाकडे होता त्यावेली······नाहारखान गोरी ईहि कौलं देऊन आणिला तो सिरवलास आला······वाटेस येतांजास्वलींचे घाटी गनिमानें कुल बिसाती लुटुन नेली नफर (मा।र) जाहीर केलें कीं त्या बिसातीमधें सनदा होत्या त्या गनिमानें लुटून नेल्या येसियास याचे भोगवटीयाचें गोही " गांवगना मोकदम व बाजे लोक या नजीक मनास आणिता गोही दिल्ही ती बी ता।"—तर्फ नीर थडीपैकीं गांव हरगुडे, परींचे, किकवी, चांबळी ता। करे पठार; या चार गांवचे ७ मोकदमानी, " आपणांस दाखल असें सदरहू सनदाहि मा।र मनाजीला होत्या हें आपल्या वडिलांचे जबानी ऐकले होते म्हणऊन सदरहू पाटील व कुलकर्णी याहि गोही दिल्ही हा मजर सही " अखेरीस नाहर खान गोरी देशमूख प्रा। मा।र ठाणें वाई व देशपांडे हरकारे यांचीं ३ नांवें आहेत.

— १०५ —

[अ] **श्री सांप्रदायाचीं पत्रें विभाग २, ले. ४२३;** महजरनामा.

श. १६१० माघ शु. ५ बुधवार इ. १५८९ जाने. १६.

[आ] मौजे सेवरे पा। टेंभूर्णी गांवची कीर्दी अन्नादानी व्हावी म्हणून परगणे टेंभूर्णी सुभा परांडा येथील देशमूख व देशपांडे यांनीं मौजे नालगाऊ पा। हवेली येथील सुभानजी कळारे यास हा मजहजर दिला आहे. पूर्वांचा मोकदम मिरासीदार परागंदा जाहला होता, तरी त्याची अर्धी मिरासी राखून अर्धी कळारे यास दिली आहे.

[इ]

कागदाच्या प्रारंभास	कागदाच्या प्रारंभास "
उजव्या बाजूस	डाव्या बाजूस
गोही	ढेखदार (फा. सि.) अमीन (फा. सिं.),
देशमूख मामले परांडे	अमीन (फ. सि.) दिवाण (फा. सि.)
(नि. नां.) दोन देशमूखांची नांवें.	

यानंतर फारसी २ ओळी.

नंतर महजरांतील मजकूर व अखेरीस सिका व गोही आहे.

त्यांत एक देशमूख देशपांडे यांची जोडी व भोंवर ६ गांवचे ६ मोकदम आहेत.

[ई] (१) देशमूख व देशपांडे पाा टेंभूर्णी या उभयतांनीं हा महजर वतन आवादानी करतां पूर्वील मिरासदाराचे हठ राखून दिला आहे. (२) देशमूख व देशपांडे उभयतांची मालकी परगण्यांतील बुडीत मोकदमीवर चालते काय तें न कळे.

— १०६ —

[अ] **सनदापत्रें प्रकरण ४ थें, ले. २६. महजरनामा.**

जुलूस ३२, रजब १५; फसली १०९८ रजब १५ (?); श. १६११ वैशा. व. २ शुक्रवार; इ. १६८९ एप्रि. २६.

[आ] मौजे ल्व्हाले तर्फ कर्याती मावळ परगणे मार हा गांव नरसिंगराऊ व गोविंदराऊ सितोळे देशमूख यास कदीम इनाम असल्याविषयीं हा महजर दिला आहे.

[इ] "महजरनामा आज करार……३२ जुलूस……बहुजूर शरा शरीफ परमहकमे कसबे पुणे……सुभे खुजस्तेबुनियाद सबब आंकी……" या प्रमाणें आरंभ.

[ई] (१) सदरहू गांव हजूरच्या शिरस्तीयांमध्यें दसरीं कांहीं काळ लागत नव्हता त्याचें कारण या महजराद्वारा देण्यांत आलें असून शरा शरीफनें महजर दिला आहे. (२) मजलस नाहीं.

— १०७ —

[अ] **पेंशवा दप्तर विभाग ३१ नं. १८५;** सुरत महजर.

जुलूस ३३ जिल्हेज २५; श. १६११ अश्विन व. १२ सोमवार; इ. १६८९ सप्टं. ३०.

आरंभीं तीन बंद **मजकूर** फारसी. नं. ४७ मध्येंहि हा महजर असाच छापला आहे परंतु तेथें शिवाजीचें निर्णयपत्र गाळलें आहे. त्या महजराचा प्रारंभः—

फारशी मजकूर; फारसी सहा शिके
—पायगुडे देशमूख काा मावल
—करंजवणे देशमूख काा मावल
—देशपांडे पाा खेडेबारे
—देशमूख पाा खेडेबारे (फा. शि.)

पुढें तीन बंद फारसी मजकूर व नंतर नं. १८६ प्रमाणें महजराचा प्रारंभ (जोडावर करंजवणे व पायगुडे देशमुखांचे शिके)

[आ] मोरो विठ्ठल व बाबाजीराम होनप देशपांडे पाा पुणें विाा आपाजी बिन

नामाजी लांडे (गुमास्ते). ताा कर्यात मावळच्या देशकुलकर्णाचा वाद. होनप मजकूर खरे झाले.

[इ] मराठी तर्जुम्यांत मजलीस दिलेली नाहीं.

"सुरत मजलसी अजकरार ब तारीख......मुकाम लस्कर जफर असर मौजे तुलापूर दरकिनारे लबी आब भिवरा वाके अस्त बहुजूर शरयेत......काजी मह्मद पाा पुणें व जमीदारा व रयां आ व पटवारीयानी ताा कर्याती मावल मुतालीके पाा मार इ जाहीर साख्त की देसपांडेगिरी......" याप्रमाणें आरंभ आहे. अखेरीस "सुरत मजलसी व मह्जर सही" असें आहे.

[ई] (१) "आपाजी हाजीर होता त्यास कर्याती मावलचे देशमूख व मोकदम व पटवारी म्हणो लागले की येसर जमिनेत पातशाहा ये जिल्हे येऊन मुक्काम जाला दक्षण प्रांतींचे जमीदार जमा जाले आहेत. गरीब व बख्तावर बरोबरी आहेत......कोण्हावरी मुलुक जाजती होत नाहीं होनपासी वाद सांगोन......खाणे" (२) शाहादीनाम्यानुरूप दरबारांतून हा देशपांडेपणाचा मह्जर करून दिला आहे. (३) याच मह्जरांत, शिवाजीराजे यांचे पुढें सदरहू वादाचा निर्णय झाला त्याचेंहि पत्र आलें आहे. तें अनेक दृष्टीनें मह्त्वाचें आहे.

– १०८ –

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ५, ले. ८२४ (२); सुरत मह्जर.

फसली १०९९ रबिलोवल ५; श. १६११ पौष शु. ६ रविवार. इ. १६८९ डिसे. ८.

मह्जराच्या प्रारंभीं वा. फा. शि. व मजकूर आहे.

आरंभ—'सुरत मह्जर अज करार'

[आ] मुरारी खंडेराऊ जुनारदार सेकिन मौजे जेजुरी ताा कऱ्हेपठार यास मौजे मार येथें एक चावर जमीन इनाम होती. गाजदीखान यानें गनिमावार मौजे मजकुरास हाला केला असता मार निलेच्या सनदा कागदपत्रें भोगवट्याचीं गहाळ झालीं म्हणून काजी व देशमूख देशपांडे व हालीमवाली पाा पुणें यांनीं हा मह्जर दिला आहे.

[इ] मह्जराचा शेवट—'ये गोष्टीस कोणी शाहिदी असतील ते अपलिया मोहरा व दसकते करतील हा सुरत मह्जर बयान वाके असे'

शितोळे देशमूख पाा पुणें २. देशपांडे पाा पुणें २

दोन सिके मराठी.

[ई] मह्जराची भाषा पूर्णपणें फार्सी आहे.

– १०९ –

[अ] **पुणें नगर संशोधन खं. २ रा, ले. ९४.**

फसली ११०२ सवाल १४; श. १६१४ आषाढ व. २; इ. १६९२ जून २०.
श्री. महजर अपूर्ण आहे.

[आ] मात काली दरवडा आणि कान माली यामध्यें का। पुणें येथील कांहीं मिरासी हक्काविषयीं वाद लागला.

[इ] "महजर अजकरार व तारीख······

······विहुजूर······महमद काजी का। पुणे·····सैद महमद जाफर नायेब खान वालाशान ज्याहाबाज खान फौजदार पा। पुणे व हुकुमतपन्हा हदुखान नायब सेख अहमद करवडी······बालाजी बाजी जागीदार व मालोजी नरसिंगराऊ व गोविंदराऊ सितोळे देशमूख व होनप देशांडिये पा।मा। व हाली मवाली का।मा। या हुजूर"

[ई] (१) फार्सी मिश्रित भाषा.

– ११० –

[अ] **आठल्ये घराण्याचा इतिहास, प्रथम खंड पृ. २२, ले. ९.**

सु. १०९३ मोहरम ६; श. १६१४ भाद्रपद शु. ८ गुरुवार; इ. १६९२ सप्टंबर ८.
श्री; ईभराईम अदलशाह; ३/५ येकून पांच बंदरास.

[आ] पांडुरंगभट बिन त्रिमलभट व इतर आठल्ये बंधु उपाध्ये का। देवळें ता। मा। कसबेचें व तर्फ मजकूरचें उपाध्येपण इनामती शेत व गावगन्नालारी १४० यांविषयींचा महजर आहे. पूर्वील कागदपत्रें भालेरावींत जळालीं म्हणून माहालाहून हा महजर करून दिला आहे.

[इ] माहाजर······मुकाम कसबा देवले तर्फ मजकूर.

मुजाफ्ती किले विशालगड बेहुजूर हाजीर मजालसीयानीं हदी आसामी.

रायाजी मुरार हवालदार ता। मा। (म.शि.)	सरदेसाई किले विशालगड १
व तपे मजकूर (फा. सि.)
सरदेसाई किले विशालगड ता। मा। १

७

बी।। सरदेशकु।। १	पोतदार किले खिलणे १
कुलकर्णी तपे मार १	खांडेकर सरखोत १

याशिवाय मौजे भडकंबे, भौडे व देवडे या गांवचे ३ सेट आहेत. किल्ले विशाळगडचा नाईकवाडी १, व तपे मजकूरचा ज्योतिषी १ व पुढील १८ मौवरगांवपैकीं १८

व्यक्ती हजर आहेत; तिवरकर (तिवऱ्याचे ?); कोंडगाऊ, घाटिवले, मुर्सी, हंसोले, कोदले व वडगाऊ; चोरवण, दाभोळें, साकरपें, कुरचंब, पुरीये, दरवीण; तळवडे, वाडीकोलो, मेघी, सालपे, कनकाडकर (कनकवडीचे ?). याप्रमाणें एकूण ३० मंडळी हजर आहेत. एकूण ३० व्यक्तींपैकीं १६ जणांनीं आपल्या सह्या मोडींत केल्या आहेत. ७ ही कारकून मंडळीच्या सह्या मोडींत आहेत. बाकीच्या १४ सह्या बालबोधींत आहेत.

[ई] "आबाजी पाटोळे याची स्वारी आली······घरास आग लाविली तेव्हा ते घर जळाले त्यामध्यें पुस्तकांचे पेटारे व वृत्तीपत्रे होती ते जळाली यैसे यास पुढें वृत्तीसी आधार पाहिजे त्यासी तुम्हास आमची आवघी वृत्तीपत्रे होती ते ठावकी होती व पूर्वापार चालत आले आहे तेहि ठावके होते त्याप्रमाणें आम्हास येक माहाजर करून दिधला पाहिजे······"

— १११ —

[अ] ऐ. सं. सा. खं. ६, ले. ९; महजरनामा.

मु. १०९४ साबान २६; श. १६१६ चैत्र व. १३ गुरुवार; इ. १६९४ एप्रील १२.

हू. बाबा शाहा बदरीदन निज्यामशाहा, अदि(ल)शहा सिवाजी.

[आ] दरगाह पीर मौजे साकसे ता पेण याच्या मुजावरास हा महजर दिला आहे. शंकराजी नारायण सचीव यानीं पेणवर स्वारी केली असतां सदरहू मुजावराचें घर लुटलें गेलें व त्यांत पीराविषयींचीं कागदपत्रेंहि लुटलीं गेलीं म्हणून हा महजर दिला आहे.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी मुकाम राजमाची.

दामाजी नारायण हसहजारी लस्कर
(लंब व. दोन ओळी आडवी मु.)
केशो बाजी सभासद
(पांच ओळींची उमट व. मु.)
×देठखान व ×दाऊदखान बुवेर अधिकारी
(मुद्रा)
अधिकारी ता नसरापूर
(मु.)

महादाजी बाबाजी सभासद
रंगोराम सभासद दिा सरसुभा बहिरोत्रिमल
अधिकारी ता संदीव ता तुगरातन
बावा सैदअली, बावा फैतअली, बावा इसुफअली, बावा खिजमतअली, बावा इस्माईलअली, बावा अबदुलअली

एकूण १४ व्यक्ती हजर, त्यांत ८ मुसलमान आहेत.

[ई] 'सभासदांचे' उल्लेख लक्ष्य आहेत.

– ११२ –

[अ] **म. इ. सा. खं. १५, ले. ३३.**

श. १६१६ श्रावण शु. ९ शुक्रवार; इ. १६९४ जुलै २०.

[आ] महादाजी विन सुलतानजी जगदाळे वि॥ यादव. मसूरपरगण्यापैकीं ५७ गांवचें देशमूखी वतन जगदाळे यांचें. त्यापैकीं २० गांवांचे वतनाविषयीं बाद.

[इ] थळ मौजे किवळ ता॥ मसूर हाजीर मजालसी बेहुजूर गो॥.

मौजे किवळचे गोत १९:—पटेल ३, कुलकर्णी २, चौगुला १, जोतिषी १, रया २, सुतार (तासणी) १, महार (विळादोर) २, गुरव (धुपारीती) १, परीट (बगणी) १, चांभार (रापी) १, इतर ३, कुलकर्णी नि॥ रुद्राजी चंदो १.

[ई] "जगदाळे देसमूख······याची देशमुखी······बुनादी होती ऐसे आपणास ठावके आहे व आपले वडिलांनीं सांगितले आहे······यादवानी जगदाळी यासी कथळा करावया गरज नाहीं···" (२) जबानीसारखा महजर आहे.

– ११३ –

[अ] **बावडा दप्तर विभाग १ ला, अनुक्रमांक ३५.**

सु. १०९४ जमादिलावल २१; श. १६१६ माघ शु. ४ मंगळवार; इ. १६९५ जाने. ८.

[आ] रामचंद्र नीलकंठ भारद्वाज गोत्री उपनांव भिवडीकर यास तर्फ आजीरें पैकीं ९७ गांवचें कुलकर्ण वतन पूर्वील मिरासदार निपुत्रिक झाल्यानें उघडें पडलें होतें तें राजपत्र सनद करून दिलें त्याचा हा गोताचा महजर आहे.

[इ] माहाजर···बीहुजूर हजीर मजालिस थान घर जागा का॥ जाबोटी ता॥ खानापूर.

राजमुद्रा ५:—सुभा महालानिहाय प्रा॥ कोल्हापुर (सिका) १, सुभेदार प्रा॥ अजिरे (शि.) १, सुभेदार महाला हाये प्रांत तारळे (शि.) १, सुभेदार प्रा॥ कोल्हापूर (शि.) १, सुभेदार प्रा॥ बेलगाऊ (शि.) १.

सभा नाईक हजीर मजालीस बी॥—देशमूख.

अजहती देशमूख पा॥ हुकेरी (सि. म.) १

परगणे हुकेरी ८ः—देसाई देशकुलकर्णी व भोंवर ६ गांवचे पटेल; **ता॥ रुदगड** ७:—देसाई ४, देशकु॥ १, माहाजन १, सरनाडगौडा १; **का॥ नूली** ३:—सेटी देसाई १, चौंडो वेंकटाद्री देशकु॥ १, नाडगौडा १, कानडी नांवें; **का॥ कापसी** २:—देसाई व देशकु॥; **किले रांगणे ता॥ खानापूर** १२:—सरदेसाई २, देसाई ४, पटेल ५, व देशकु॥ १; **देशक पा॥ वाई** ६:—देसाई देशकु॥ व कुलकर्णी ४ यांत 'परशराम त्र्यंबकांचा' उल्लेख आहे; **परगणे कागल** २:—देसाई देशकु॥; **तपे आजिरे** ६६:—सरदेसाई १, सरमोकदम देसाई १,

देसाई३, त्यांतील एक 'हजीर नव्हता' असें लिा आहे; नाडगौडा१, देशचौगुला१, नाकुल्या१, यानंतर तपे आजिरेपैकीं ३२ गांवच्या ३२ पटेलांचीं नांवें आहेत. 'मोकदम' असें संबोधिलेलें नाहीं. कुलकर्णी ३, जोसी ४, सेटे महाजन ४, सरनायकवाडी १, नायकवाडी ४, नाईक २, मठपति १, राजे मलिक मूक १, तेली १, कुंभार १, गुरव १, गावकर (महार ?) ३.

बहुतेक सर्वत्र देसाई, सरदेसाई यांच्या नांवापुढें सिके आहेत.

एकूण सुमारें ११२ मंडळी आहेत.

[ई] (१) सदरहू देह ९७ चें कुलकर्ण पूर्वीं सिधाचें होतें. त्यानें तें विठ सेणवी यास दिलें. पुढें त्याचें नकल झालें. महजरांत "निपुत्रिकाचे मिरास ते दिवाणीचें" असें म्हटलें आहे. (२) महजराच्या अखेरीस 'शके १६१५ श्रीमुखनामसवछरे' असा उल्लेख आहे. मुसलमानी तारीख वर दिलीच आहे. दोन्ही तारखा वेगळाल्या आहेत.

– ११४ –

[अ] म. इ. सा. खं. २०, ले. २१६.

सन हजार ११०६ मोहरम १६; श. १६१८ श्रावण व. ३ बुध.; इ. १६९६ ऑगस्ट ५.

श्री विठल प्रसन.

[आ] बाळकुस्ण भट विा कोवेरीबाई भाऊपणाचा वाद.

[इ] माहाजर……क्षेत्र पंढरपूर पाा कासेगाऊ बिा हाजीर मजालसी बिा

राघोजी गोपिनाथ सेखदार
व शंकराजी जाखदेऊ कारकून क्षेत्र माार.

नारोपंत अमीन क्षेत्र माार सिका
राघोजी
महाजनानी क्षेत्र माार

महजराच्या अखेरीस गोही आहे त्यांत बडवे ५, ताटे, थिटे, आराधे, पुजारा ४.

एकूण ९ मंडळी आहेत.

[ई] (१) महजर थिटे कुलकर्णी क्षेत्र माार यानें लिहिला आहे. (२) देवाच्या तुळसीचे क्रियेचा उल्लेख आला आहे.

– ११५ –

[अ] म. इ. सा. खं. २०, ले. ३०, महजरनामा.

श. १६२९; इ. १६९७.

फा. दोन शिके, नंतर अठरा ओळी फारसी मजकूर, महजर अपूर्ण छापला आहे.

[आ] काकोजी बिन हिरोजी आटोळे विा माणकोजी बिन मेऊजी. उभयतांमध्यें पाटिलकीच्या वडिलपणाविषयीं वाद लागला.

[इ] महजरनामा अज थाने सुपे साा जुनर सुबे खुजस्तेबुनियाद ......बिहुजूर आहालीमवाली विताा;

हजरत काजी शरा
—देशमूख पाा माार
(शिका)

माहाराज राजश्री दिवाण दलसिंगजी फौजदार पाा माार
देशपांडे प्राा सुपे.

कुतवल व खंडोजी चानगुडे व मल्हारजी खैरे व काळोजी भोडवे मोकदम व महाजन सेटे काा सुपे (नांगर)

[ई] " गोत महास्थळ मौजे पिंपरी गुरोथळ " (२) गावींची सडी घेतांना घातलेलीं पातकें व दोष नमूद करण्यासारखे आहेत.

– ११६ –

[अ] म. इ. सा. खं. २१, ले. ८.

सु. १०९७ जिल्काद ५; श. १६१९ ज्येष्ठ शु. ६ रविवार, इ. १६९७ मे १६.

[आ] बकाजी घाटोरा व मानाजी घाटोरा वस्ती मौजे दलवठणें ताा माार हाली वस्ती मौजे सिंपी ताा मलवडी विाा दादजी बिन तुकोजी सावलकर व वाजी सावलकर वस्ती आंधली ताा मलवडी. ताा माार येथील पेठेच्या गावडेपणाच्या वडिलकीचा वाद लागला.

[इ] महजर......अज मुक्काम कसबे चिपुळीण मामले हमजाबाद अमाल बंदर मैमून मुस्तफाबाद बिहुजूर हाजीर मजालसी.

कागदाच्या उजव्या बाजूसः—वेदमूर्ती कसबे मजकूर-५, धर्माधिकारिणी २, जोसी १, भट २; बालाजी विश्वनाथ देशमूख मामले दंडाराजपूर प्राा सीवर्धन १, याशिवाय इतर ६ मंडळी त्यांत एक रणनोवरा व एक पटेल आहे. मौजे आलगाऊ ताा वरेंडे ३; मौजे मणरबड ताा वाई ७; मुकासाई एकूण २६ः–मोकासदार १९ व ७ काा मारचे बलुते वगैरेः–मेहतरसिंपी १, परीट २, माहाला हजाम २, सालवी कुंभार १, गुरव १.

कागदाच्या डाव्या बाजूसः—गणेश महादेव हवालदार ताा चिपुळीण १; मजमूदार ताा माार १; देसक मामले माार ३ः–सरदेसाई १, जानीब खंडोबलाल देशमूख सुभा मामलेमार १, इतर १; देसककर्यात चिपुळीण १०ः–देसाई देशकुाा २, शेटे महाजन २, पतकी २, निघावन काा माार १, जानीब देशकुाा १ व इतर २; उदीम कसबे मजकूर–६; बकाल काा माार–४; ताफे जमाती–२; ताफे कासार–३; ताफे गौबली–२; ताफे साली–३; ताफे साटे–२; ढाणगे ताा माार–२; डांग्ये जमाती चवधरी माार ५ः–डांग्ये २, डावरी १, गुरव १, महार १.

एकूण ९२ व्यक्ती हजर आहेत.

[ई] (१) जुमामसीद काा चिपुळीण येथें घाटोरानें रवा दिव्य केलें. दिव्य लागलें

गावलकर खरा झाला. (२) छ २० रज्यबला तकरीरा घेतल्या छ. १३ माहे शौवलला रविवारीं दिव्य झालें ' बाळाजी विश्वनाथ सभासद ' हे दिव्य प्रसंगीं हजर आहेत. (३) हरकी गुन्हेगारी घेऊन ती सुभास दाखल केली आहे.

– ११७ –

[अ] म. इ. सा. खं. १५, ले. ५०.

फसली ११०९ जमादिलोवल १५; श. १६२१ का. व. १ रविवार इ. १६९९ आक्टो. २९.

फा. शिका.

[आ] होननाक बिन आबनाक मांग मौजे खोडसी पा कऱ्हाड, महादाजी जगदाळे देशमूख पा मसूर यास मारण्याकरतां म्हणून सदरहू मांगास एक हजार रुपये व दोन चावर जमीन देण्याचें ठरवून गिरजोगी यादवानें रोख २०० रुपये दिले. ही गोष्ट जगदाळ्यास समजली त्यानें मांगास पकडून आदबखाना ठेविलें. एकंदर प्रकार गोतापुढें मांगानें या महजरांत सांगितला आहे व फक्त दोनसे रुपये घेतल्याचें कबूल केलें आहे. व "आपण ए गोष्टीस मन घालून तरी दिवाणचा गुन्हेगार असे व सदरहू दोनीसे रुपयाखेरीज कांहीं घेतलें नाहीं हा केला माहाजर सही वली सुमार ३४ चवतीस रास" या प्रो शेवट.

[इ] थळ कसबे मसूर······हजीर मजालस राजमुद्रा.

देशपांडे ता तारळेरुजू, एकूण भोंवरगांवचें पटेल, कुलकर्णी, शेटे मिळून १९ मंडळी आहेत. त्यांत ५ मांग आहेत, का मसूरचा ×मुल्ला आहे व अलीखान म्हणून एक आहे, इतर मंडळी पटेल व कुलकर्णी आहेत.

[ई] (१) महाजरांतून गुन्ह्यांची चौकशी सहसा पहावयास सांपडत नाहीं. त्या दृष्टीनें हा महजर महत्त्वाचा आहे.

– ११८ –

[अ] रामदास रामदासी वर्ष २१, अं. २४१; नक्कल मोडी.

श. १६२३ भाद्र. व. १४ शनिवार; इ. १७०१ सप्टं. २०

नक्कल.

[आ] मौजे सांजणी का मांजरी प्रो कागल या गांवच्या कुलकर्णाची एकंदर माहिती (कारिणा) थल मौजे बोरलें येथें मजलसी पुढें मोटाजी बिन भानजी पटेल व पटेल बिरादर मौजे सांजणी का मांजरी प्रो कागल यांनीं या महजराद्वारें सादर केली आहे.

[इ] माहजर······हाजीर मजालसी थल मौजे बोरले का वांग किले पनाळा······ बिहुजूर हाजीरानी

—देसाई काा वांगी

—देसाई काा तळवीड काा वांगी

काा वांगी—चौगुल, पारसनीस, व इतर ३.

काा वडगांव—देसाई, पटेल, चौगुला व इतर ४.

मौजे बोरले—पटेल, कुलकर्णी व इतर ३.

किले पनाला—देशकुाा, मौजे नरदे व काा अष्टेचे कुलकर्णी २, सेटिये–अष्टे.

एकूण १६.

[ई] (१) "आम्हा तिघा भावासी बोरलेचे थलास नेले तेथें सभा नाईकी बैसोन जाहाला करिणा लिहोन देणे म्हणो लागला मग आपण हें पत्र लिहून दिल्हे असे."

– ११९ –

[अ] ऐ. सं. सा. खं. १ पृ. १६६.

श. १६२४. इ. १७०२.

[आ] गिरमाजी लक्षुमण यजुर्वेदी गोतमगोत्री पुजारी उत्तरा लक्ष्मी क्षेत्र पाा कऱ्हाड यामध्यें व महादजी रायाजी यजुर्वेदी सांडिल गोत्री पसारी मौजे वडूज पाा मार हाली वस्ती मौजे कडेगाऊ पाा आउंध या उभतांमध्यें नवरीचा कथला लागला.

[आ] कागद फाटल्यानें सभा अपूर्ण आहे. एकूण ८ व्यक्ती हजर आहेत पाा आऊंद पाा बालाघाट वगैरेचे पाटील कुलकर्णी व देशमूख देशपांडे यांचीं नांवें आहेत.

[ई] (१) "उभये वर्ग भांडित पाा खटाऊ स्थलास आले तेथे महाराज साहेबु व गोत ब्रह्मसभा यापुढे उभे राहिले. उभे वर्गापासी जमान घेऊन हकीकत मनास आणली हरदोजणांचे निवाडा वाा पाा कऱ्हाड तेथें पत्र पाठविले" पृ. १६७. (२) गिझरे, क्षीरसागर, वैद्य इत्यादि "समस्त ब्राह्मण क्षेत्र पाा कऱ्हाड याने लिाा जे शास्त्री निबंध पाहून निर्णय केलाजे वधू पित्रव्याने (वधूच्या चुलत्यानें विवाह लावला) विवाह केला चार दिवस संपादिले, गोत्र निर्णये तरी वर मातुलगोत्र कास्यप सत्य पुनरुक्त विवाह करणे आशाकश्र आहे हे सही" पृ. १६८. (३) वधूचा चुलता येस पाठक यानी कन्यादान केले पाणी ग्रहण सप्तपदी ग्रहप्रवेश सांग्य विवाह झाला. वर मातुल गोत्र कास्यप पुरोहित लेहून दिल्हे सही" पृ. १६८. (४) "समस्तपत्रें मनास आणून व आपण शास्त्र व निर्णये निबंध पाहून गिरमार्जा लक्षुमण पुजारी श्री भवानी क्षेत्र कऱ्हाड यास वधू दिल्ही असे......पसारी......यास वधूस...... समंध नाहीं" यास कोणी हस्केल करील तो दिवाणीचे गुन्हेगार व गोताचा खोटा ब्राह्मणसभेचा अन्याई असे हे लिहून दिल्हा महजर सही छ. २५ जिल्हेज" पृ. १६८.

— १२० —

[अ] **सनदापत्रें प्रकरण ५ वें, ले. ३४.**

सु. ११०२ जिल्हेज ९; श. १६२४ वैशाख शु. १० रविवार; इ. १७०२ एप्रील, २६.

भा. इ. सं. मं., सप्तम सम्मेलन वृत्त. पृ. ५५ पहा. सदरहू वतनपत्रांत या महजरचा उल्लेख आहे.

[आ] शेटी विन नागनाक महार मौजे नागेवाडी समंत मुन्हे पा। वाई वि। धांडेघरकर व गोडोलीकर गुरव. महाराच्या वडिलांनीं सदरहू गुरवांस देवाच्या पुजे करितां म्हणून गांवास आणलें पुढें रहिवास होताच गुरवानें महाराच्या वडिलास मारेचुरे करून त्याची पाटिलकी बळकाविण्याचा प्रयत्न केला. वाद चालू असतां गुरव हाजीर होत ना तेव्हां गुरव गैर मिरासी असें दिसलें. गोतानींहि कदीम पाटिलकी महाराची म्हणून दखल दिल्ही तेव्हां मौजे नागेवाडीचे पाटील शेटी महार खरे झाले.

[इ] हजीर मजालस **गोत** परगणे वाई सरकार परनाळा सुभे विजापूर.

देशमूख देशपांडे प्रांत मजकूर
पिसाळ देशमूख २
जमाल पाटील मोकदम कसबे मा।र १, कसबे-
वाईचे शेटे ३ (चि. तागडी) व चौधरी१
मोकदम का। मा।र

देशपांडे पा। मा।र २
बावघनकर
मोकदम १ पाटील २ चौगुला १
मोकदम-पसरणी १

एकूण १४

[ई] (१) महाराकडे पाटिलकीचें वतन आहे (२) “ त्याणी रहिवास होताच आपल्या वडिलांचे मोरचुरे करून मिरासी घेतली. आपण महार दूर उभा राहून असो. गुरव जवळी सुस पत्र देऊन मिरासीस जडला. आपण कदीम बुनादी आहे······सिवधडे मोकदम······त्याणी सांगितले कीं मौजे मजकूरची पाटीलकी कदीम महाराची मिरास ऐसे आम्हांस दखल आहे. आमचे वडील सांगत आले आहेत ऐसी साक्ष दिल्ही······” पृ. १८४.

— १२१ —

[अ] **पेशवा दप्तर विभाग ३१ नं. १११; सुरत महजर.**

सनहजार ११११२ जिल्हेज २५; श. १६२५ वैशाख व. १२ शनिवार; इ. १७०३ मे. १.

[आ] रामाजी विठल व मोरा विठ्ठल होनप देशपांडे पुणे हेच कर्यात मावळचेहि देशपांडे होत म्हणून करंजवणे व पायगुडे देशमुखांनीं हा महजर दिला आहे. यादी नामदेव लांडे यानें राजिकामध्यें उभय देशमुखांस कैद केले त्याचाहि उल्लेख आहे.

[इ] महजराचे अखेरीस निरनिराळ्या १४ मोकदमांच्या सह्या आहेत. शिवाय उभय देशमुखांचींहि नांवें आहेत.

– १२२ –

[अ] **शि. च. सा. खं. २, ले. २६३.**

सन हजार (फसली) १११३ रविलाखर १९; श. १६२५ श्रावण व. ७, रविवार; इ. १७०३ ऑग. २२.

[आ] मातूश्री मकूबाई भोसले मोकदम का जिती वगैरे यास म्हलोजी पा मो **व समस्त दाहीजन** मौजे पिंपलगौ पिसा पा पारनेर सा जुन्नर यानीं मौजे मजकूरच्या निमे मोकदमीचा हा महजर दिला आहे. मूळ वतन शिवाजी महाराजांचें. त्यांनीं आपला सेवक बाळाजी कोनेर यास चाकरीस दिलें. पुढें धामधूम झाली तेव्हां बाळाजी कोनेर निघून गेला. मारनिले म्हलोजी निमे मोकदम मौजे मार यांनीं वतन संरक्षिलें व नंतर या महजरानें मकूबाईस पुनः वतन महाराजांचें म्हणून दिलें आहे. मकूबाईनें आपली निमी तकसीम बाळाजी कोनेरास दिली त्यासहि गोतांनीं या महजरानें संमती दिली आहे.

[इ] महजराच्या अखेरीस सुमारें १० गोही घातल्या आहेत.

[ई] (१) “मौजे मजकूरची निमे मोकदमी बाळाजी कोनेर महराजांचा चाकर करीत होते व निमे आपली आहे. यैसियासी बाळाजी कोनेर वरसे चाळीस गेले ते पुन्हां दुसरीयानें गांवावरी आले नाहींत यैसीयासी गनिमाची धामधूम फार व कितेक साले पांढरीचे काम व आपला हाल व गावचा हाल कांहीं राहिला नाहीं जैसे तसै करून आपण आजी तागाईत वतण राखिले व वतण राखिले तें कांहीं बाळाजी कोनेरचे वतन म्हणऊन राखिले नाहीं. बाळाजी कोनेरचे, महाराजांचा चाकर त्याचे वतन ते महाराजांचे वतन याबद्दल आपणांमध्यें कांहीं ताकती राहिली नाहीं. अनीक कोन्हास वतण लेहोन देऊन आपणास भाऊ करून वतण चालवावे तरी वतन महाराजांचे. याकरितां महाराजांचे वतन. महराजांच्या हवाला केले असे तुम्ही निमे मोकदमी व मानपत्र हकलाजिमे बाळाजी कोनेर यासी दिधला आहे तेणेप्रमाणे खाऊन वतन महाराजे लेकराचे लेकरी खात गेले पाहिजे” पृ. २६०.

– १२३ –

[अ] **सनदपत्रें प्रकरण २ रें, ले. ३६; महजर सनदेचा.**

सु. ११०४ साबान ९; श. १६२५ मार्ग. शु. १२ बुधवार; इ. १७०३ डिसेंबर ८.

[आ] सोमापा देसाई परगणे चिमलगा सुभा विजापूर यास बादशहानें पांच गांव नूतन दिलें त्याविषयींचा महजर बादशहानें दिला आहे.

[इ] “महजरपत्र''''''दर जागा चिमलगा सरकार पादशहा अवरंगशहा पादशहा

सुभे निसबत मोमदफजील नायब फौजदार, काजी, कोतवाल, त्रिवर्ग जमीनदार साठी किल्ले सोळा सरकार, बत्तीस महाल, अठरा परगणें, नवठाणी देशमूख देशपांडे, नाडगौडा, पाटील, पटवारी कुलकर्णी समस्त भोरगांव दारूल विजापूर इलीमवाली गुजरात सनद लिहून दिल्ही ऐसीजे."

महजराचे अखेरीस सभोवरगांवचे साक्षीदार. व नंतर थोडा मजकूर आहे.

[ई] (१) देसाई मारचे परगण्याचे देशगतीचे हक्क मोकासदारानें दिक्कत केले. देसायानें गांव मारिला सबब मोकासदार व सावनूरकर नबाबानें देसायास बेडी घातली. भिमन गौडा पटेलानें देसायाचा खंड भरून त्यास सोडविलें व उभयतांनीं मिळून बादशहाकडे भेटीस जाऊन वृत्त निवेदिलें. बादशहानें देशगतीचे हक्क मोकळे केले. व नूतन गांवें दिलीं त्याचा महजर आहे. (२) "पादशहानें नबाबास······बोलावून पारिपात्य केलें. देशगतीचे जाबते बेहुकूम करणेस तुमचे हाती पादशाही आलें कीं काय म्हणोन अवघे देशगतीचे हकदक सोडवून दिल्हे" (३) पादशहास भेटेदाखल ७००० रुो दिले आहेत.

– १२४ –

[अ] ऐ. स. सा. खं. १, ले. १३८; सुरत महजर.

सन हजार (फसली) १११५ मोहरम ५; श. १६२८ वैशाख शु. ७, सोमवार; इ. १७०६ एप्रील ८.

फारसी २२ ओळी मजकूर. उजव्या बाजूस समासांत आडव्या सह्या. यामुळें तपशीलाच्या मजकुरानेंच महजराचा प्रारंभ होतो.

[आ] देशमूख व देशपांडे पा। वणी यानीं सदरहू महजराद्वारें परगण्याची एकंदर परिस्थिती जाहीर केली आहे. बाळाजी विश्वनाथाच्या स्वारीमुळें झालेली एकंदर परिस्थिती वर्णन केली आहे.

[इ] प्रारंभास उजव्या बाजूस समासांत सह्या दिल्या आहेत. स्वतंत्र मजलस नाहीं.

[ई] (१) सुरत म्हणजे हकिकत. हकीकतीचा म्हणजे सुरत महजर होय. या दृष्टीनें महजर विचाराई आहे. सुरत महजर फारच थोडे उपलब्ध झाले आहेत.

– १२५ –

[अ] म. इ. सा. खं. २०, ले. २८३; सुरत महजर.

फसली १११७ रविलोवल २१; श. १६२९ ज्येष्ठ व. ७ बुधवार; इ. १७०७; जून, ११.

कागदाचे प्रारंभीं ठाणेदार पा। खटाऊचा शिका.

[आ] राघो सुखदेऊ व मलारबुलगो देशपांडे पाा खटाव विाा विसाजी कासी व विठल बापोजी अथर्वेदी. पाा खटावच्या देशपांडे वतनाचा वाद.

[इ] ठाणेदार पाा खटाव ह्याजीर मज्यालसील विाा तपसील सुभानजी घाटगे देशमूख काा लावगुण (सिका). माणाजी फडतरे देशमूख पाा खटाव (सिका).

[ई] (१) दिवाणांतून गोतास निवडावयास सांगितलें व श्री खिवनाथ देऊ काा रहिमतपूर येथें दसरति पंचरातीची क्रिया नेमून पाठविलें. अथर्वेदीस क्रिया लागली तिचा तपशील पहाण्यासारखा आहे. क्रियेच्या दृष्टीनें कागद महत्त्वाचा (२) "एणेप्रमाणें क्रिया लागली ते मनास आणून रुगवेदी यास व अथर्वणास रांगणियास रवाना केले असें हा सुरत महजर लिहून दिल्हा सही." (मोर्तब. फा.).

— १२६ —

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ५, ले. ९५९.
श. १६३१ फा. शु.; इ. १७१० फेब्रु.
फा. वा. शि.

[आ] खलोजी वलद माणकोजी फडतरे देशमूख व पाटील मौजे कुरोली विाा लाखोजी वलद गंगाजी फडतरे देशमूख व पाटील मौजे कुरोली पाा खटाऊ. देशमूखीची व पाटिलकीची वडिलतक्षिम याविषयीं वाद.

[इ] स्थल पाा खटाऊ··हजीर··मजालसी.

राजमुद्रा

सेखदार पाा खटाऊ (फा. अ. सि.)
तरफदार ताा वडूज
,, ताा नेर

मजमूदार पाा.
तरफदार ताा
हुद्देदार

देसकानी महालानिहाये—देशमूख पाा खटाऊ २, अजहती देशमूख १, पोतदार १, देशपाडे पाँा माार २, नाईकवाडी यांनीं ४; मोकदमानी देहाये खटाऊ–भोंवर २० गांवचे पाटील व कुलकर्णी मिळून सुमारें ५० व्यक्ती हजर आहेत, चौगुले फक्त दोनच आहेत.

सेटे महाजन महानाड का खटाऊ—सेटे ७, महाजन १, गोसावी २, याशिवाय म्हेतरे वगैरे १० आहेत बेगारीयानी—या सदरांत ४ नाईक आहेत.

सुमारें ८६ मंडळी.

[ई] (१) मळेवाडी येथें यापूर्वी राहूजी घाटगे यांनीं या वादाचा निवाडा केला त्यांतील कांहीं भाग अग्रवादीनें आपल्या तक्रीरींत दिला आहे; तो अनेक दृष्टीनें महत्त्वाचा आहे.—"···खटाऊस आले त्यांनीं मलेवाडी स्थळ देऊन वेव्हारास पाठविले तेथें राजश्री राहुजी घाटगे त्यापासी जाऊन उभे राहिले. त्यांनीं निवाडा पाठिराखोन केला·····अपले

आजे रवलोजी बाजी बोलिले जे तुम्ही गोत थोरलोक होऊन निवाडा कैसा केला त्या (वर) राहूजी घाटगे बोलिले की जे वेल खाली पडला तो वेल मांडव चढविला आहे बलावलियावरी आपणच फेल करील बाजी हा निवाडा मंजूर (!) होणारे नाहीं तुम्हस पांढरीवरी जगावयांसी बद+चार रोज दरगुदर केली आहे. राखेवरी इमारती शास्वत ना(हीं) तैसा हा निवाडा रुजू नाहीं तुम्हांस देवानें व पांढरीने हाती+धरीलियावरी निवडून घेणे अजी रास्ती दोनाई निवडून देतो जैसा तुमचा गुमास्ता जिवे मारिला गेला तैसे मारले जाल मग तुमचे वतन कोणे खावे. कालावरी नजर देऊन च्यार रोज जगणे म्हणौन निवाडां केला·····” पृ. २३२. (२) वडिलकीचे हक सारखे विभागले आहेत. व त्याचें कारण धाकस्यानें अनेक वर्षे वडिलकीचा भोगवटा केला असें दिलें आहे.

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[अ] म. इ. सा. खं. २०, ले. ६१; महजरावर पुढील तारीख आहे.

सु. इसने अशर मया व अलफ जिल्हेज ५; श. १६३३ पौष शु. ६ गुरुवार; इ. १७१२ जाने. ३.

महजर मजकुराच्या प्रारंभीची तारीख—१६३३ श्रावण वाा १३ सोमवार (ख. ज. बुधवार); १७११ ऑगस्ट १. मजकुरांत याप्रमाणें शक दिला आहे.

महजर अपूर्ण.

[आ] खंडोजी व जोगोजी बिन बहीरजी ईबिन बाबाजी माहाणेवार चौगुला मौजे पिंपरे खुर्द.

साखराई कोम रंभाजी बिन कान्होजी व सुभानजी बिन कोन्होजी लोणारे मो मौजे रुवी. महजर अपूर्ण असल्यानें व्यवहाराचें स्वरूप समजत नाहीं परंतु एकंदर मजकुराच्या प्रारंभावरून पाटीलकी वतन विक्रीचा हा महजर असावा.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी गोत पाा सिखल.

हकीमशरा काजीसैद महमजाफर वलद काजीसैद
अजीज काजी पाा मार फा. सि.
देसक पाा मार
देशमूख देशपांडे मोकदम मौजे अहिरे व हराली २
म. सि. ×येसवंतखान सरनाईक नाईकवाडी पाा मार
वाजी बयाजी गुमस्ते कारभारी
आा देशमूख पाा मार
—सेटी १, मोकदम मौजे नाहावी.

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[अ] **नरसीपूर सावंत, लेखांक २.**

सु. १११३ सवाल ४; श. १६३४ का. शु. ५ बुधवार, (ख. ज. = गुरुवार) इ. १७१२ आक्टों. २२.

(१) कागद एक वेटोळें असून प्रत्येक जोडावर ‘राजते लेखनावधि’ असे शिक्के आहेत. (२) महजराचा शेवट—“सुमार ११५······रास.”

[आ] तुळजाई कोम विठोजी पाटलीण सावंत मौजे नरसीपूर पाा सिराळे; संताजी वलद लखमोजी सावंत पाटील मौजे कोळ याचा मूल (वय ६) जोत्याजी यास बोटियांत घेते. बाईचें कर्ज संताजीनें फेडावें असें ठरतें. महजरानें दतविधान जाहीर होतें.

[इ] बीहुजूर हाजीर मजालस पाा सिराळे.

राजमुद्रा—श्रीनिवास परशुराम प्रतिनिधी (मु.)—कदम नाईकवाडी पाा शिराळे.

देशक व मोकदम पाा शिराळे—

देशपांडे पाा मार, पुढील भोंवर ९ गांवचे १४ पाटील व ५ कुलकर्णी हजर आहेत. मौजे—सुरळी, बाहेगाऊ, बोरगाऊ, कापुसखडी, वांबवडे, रेटरे, वोझरडे, बाहे, तांबवे.

मौजे नरसीपूर—

कुलकर्णी ३	ज्योतिषी व बलुते	
	ज्योतिषी व भट मिळून ३ (बा. सख्या)	
	परीट १	न्हावी १
	चांभार १	महार १
		मांग १

एकूण सुमारें ३४.

[ई] (१) महजराचा प्रारंभ—“या हुजूर जाहला महजर······समस्त गोत पाा मार व हकजवार याजपासी जाहीर केले.” (२) महजरांत देशमुखाचा उल्लेख नाहीं.

– १२९ –

[अ] **सनदापत्रें, प्रकरण २, ले. ४१, पृ. ४८; महजरनामा.**

श. १६३८ श्रावण शु. ५ बुधवार (ख. ज. गुरुवार); इ. १७१६ जुलै १२. वतनपत्रांत महजर दिला आहे.

[आ] दामाजी खंडेराऊ व गोविंद खंडेराऊ लिंगरस यास ‘समस्त मोकदम व चोगुले व दाहीजण बलुते’ मौजे चऱ्होली ताा हवेली पुणें यांनीं राजीनामा समापत्र करून मौजे मजकूरचें कुलकर्ण (पूर्वील कुलकर्णी, गोविंद खंडेरावाचा सासरा गणेश जनार्दन याची अवलाद बुडाली व सदरहू गोविंद लिंगरसानें, गणेशपंतास वृत्तीविषयीं समय पडला म्हणून

कर्ज दिले होते ते देतांना वतन लिंगरसाने गहाण लिहून घेतले होते.) मिरासी करून दिलें त्याचा देशमूख देशपांडे पाा पुणे यांनीं हा महजर दिला आहे. समापत्र श. १६१८ मध्यें झालें होतें.

[इ] महजरनामा……कदम नायब फौजदार……व शेखदार नायब व निंबाळकर जहागीरदार व जिल्हेदार फौजदार व हालीमवाली व देशमूख देशपांडे पाा पुणे याप्रमाणें प्रारंभ. महजराचे अखेरीस गोही जोडली आहे.

[ई] या लेखांकांत पुढील पत्रें आहेत.

श. १६०७ मार्ग. १३ चर्‍होली पाा पुणेचें कुलकर्ण वतन **गहाणखत** लिहून देऊन गणेश जनार्दन कुलकर्णी मौजे माार यानें उभयता लिंगरस बंधूंकडून कर्ज घेतलें. त्याचा पुत्र व तो उभयता मृत्यु पावले. अवलाद बुडाली तेव्हां पांढरीकडे लिंगरस बंधूंनीं पैशाबद्दल तगादा केला व **कर्जखत** दाखविलें. तदनुरूप गोतानीं राजीनामा **समापत्र** करून 'अवलाद बुडाली तरी अफलादीनें वतन खावे हे चालत आले आहे' असें ठरवून वतन लिंगरसास दिलें. तो राजीनामा समापत्र श. १६१८ भाा शुा ९ स झाला. नंतर शाहूराजे यांचेकडे वतनपत्र मागावयास जाण्यापूर्वी मल्हार गोविंदानें हा **महजर** देशमूख देशपांड्याकडून करून घेतला असें दिसतें. तदनुरूप महाराजानीं **वतनपत्र** दिलें आहे.

— १३० —

[अ] **पेशवादप्तर वि. ३१, नं. १८७.**

श. १६३९ ज्ये. ब. ८ भृगुवासर; इ. १७१७ जून २१.

श्री; वडजाई नकल $\frac{१}{७}$.

[आ] मौजे नांदेडे काा मावळ प्राा पुणे येथील पेठेचे शेटयेपण व महाजनकीचे हक्क वतन पिलाजी जाधवाचा भाऊ संबाजी बिन चांगोजी जाधव यास हा महजर करून गोतांनीं दिले आहे.

[इ] मौजे नांदेडे ताा काा मावळ बिहुजूर हाजीर मजालसी.

राजमुद्रा

हवालदार कर्यात मावळ व खेडेबारे

देशमूख व देशपांडे ताा माार (८)

पायगुडे देशमूख ४, करंजवणें देशमूख २,
लांडे देशकुा २.

कसबे पुणें व परगणेकरी (२९)

देवजी मांगल सोमवार पेठ पुणें, वेव्हारे जोसी व उपाध्ये व महाजन काा पुणें; पुढील भोंवरगांवचे ताा कर्‍हेपठार, खडकवासलें, कुडिजें, पिंरळनिलख, ताा कर्डें (?); कोर्ढें

कोथरूढ, भूकम, बाणेरे, का सिकरापूर, आगलंबे; वावधण खु व बु, कारेगांव, धायेरी, किरकटवाडी, का सासवड, मांडवी बु, अळंदी प्रां चाकण मिळून, २० मोकदम पाटील व बिरादर, ३ कुलकर्णी, १ चौगुला, २ सेटे व १ इतर अशा सुमारें २७ व्यक्ती दिल्या आहेत.

एकूण सभासद सुमारें ३७

[ई] (१) या कागदावरून वृत्तीपत्र, दुमालेपत्र, दिवाणचें पत्र, गोताचा महजर या सर्व पत्रांचा अर्थ स्पष्ट समजून येतो. (२) यापूर्वी १७११ मध्यें पिलाजी जाधवानें मौजे नांदेडची निमी मोकदमी संकराजी बिन बकाजी फर्जंद मोकदम मौजे खामगांव याजकडून विकत घेतली तिचा महजर गोतांनीं पिलाजीस दिला होता. सांप्रत पिलाजीचा भाऊ संबाजी यास मौजे मार येथील पेठेच्या शेटे महाजनकी वतनाचा हा महजर, शाहूमहाराजाचें वृत्तीपत्र सचिवाचें दुमालें पत्र पाहून देशमूख देशपांडे व गोतांनीं दिला आहे.

— १३१ —

[अ] **वतनपत्रें निवाडपत्रें. ले. १७; महजरनामा**

सु. १११९ जिल्काद २२; श. १६४० आश्वि. व. ८ सोमवार; इ. १७१८ आक्टो. ६.

(अशरीन बदल अशर वाचणें जरूर आहे.)

[आ] शिर्के बंधूंमधील मामले रायरी व मामले दाभोळच्या देशमुखीविषयीं वाद.

[इ] **हजीर मजालसी मुकाम किले सातारा;**

मुद्गलभट पंडितराव सिका.—फत्तेसिंग भोसले (सि.)

सरकारकून; उजवी बाजू—प्रतिनिधी (सि.) अमात्य, सरखेल (सि.), छंदोगामात्य, वाकनीस, गोविंदरायाजी, पंताजी शिवदेव बक्षी, चिटणीस.

डावी बाजू—प्रधान (शि.), सचीव, डबीर, न्यायाधीश, यादोगोपाळ, सेनाकर्ते, आनंदराव रघुनाथ, शंकराजी मल्हार (फा. सि. मध्यावर).

सरदार—एकूण २५; त्यांत ४ मुसलमान; दाभाडे, निंबाळकर, कदम, पवार, बंकटराव, सोमवंशी, यांचे शिके आहेत. घायभर यांची फारसी निशाणी आहे, मुसलमानांपैकीं दोघांची मोहर व एकाचा शिका आहे.

गोतहामशाई—पा वाई, शाहजी देशमूख, (शि.) देशमूख व देशकु पा मार, सेटे का वाई, व भोंवरगांवचे पाटील ३.

एकूण ५० मंडळी.

— १३२ —

[अ] **म. इ. सा. खं. ३, ले. १३५.**

महजर श. १६४१ ज्ये. शु. १ शनिवार; इ. १७१९ मे. ९

[आ] संताजी बिन बहिरोजी घारगे विाा सिदोजी बिन बहिरोजी घारगे. काा निमसोडच्या देशमुखी वतनाचा वाद.

[इ] महजर बहुजूर मजालस मुाा सातारा.

राजमुद्रा सरकारः—

प्रतिनिधी (शि.)
बाळकृष्ण वासुदेव अमात्य (शि.)
मंत्री, सुमंत
शि. शि.
रघुनाथ उमाजी किल्लेहाय (शि.)

प्रधान (शि.)
सचीव (शि.)
न्यायाधीश (शि.)
नामजाद कारकून
महाल निहाये सुभाप्रांत
खटाव मायेणी (शि.)

श्री शाहूजी राजे भोसले सरदेशमूख सुभेहाय (शि.); देशमूख व देशपांडे व मोकदम व शेटे महाजनः—

शाहूराजे भोसले देशमूख पाावाई (शि.)
३ सेटे, १ चौधरी–काावाई,

देशकुाा पाा मार.
रुस्तुमराऊ जाधवराऊ (शि.)
अजमशेख मिराजी (शि.)

गोत हकजवारी महाल निहायेः—

काा वाई—पाटील २ (एक मुसलमान चि. तांगड) व संमत निंब व संमत कोरेगांव पौ गांवचे सुमारें ९ पाटील.

[ई] (१) " राजसभा म्हणजे इंद्रसभा, धर्मपरायण सिद्धि प्रमाण मर्यादा रक्षणार " (२)" मजालसी यांनीं उत्तर दिल्हे कीं महाराजसाहेब म्हणजे हिंदुपती बादशाही ईश्वराचे आर्थी ध्यान आहेत. जे इनसाफ कराल त्यांत कुसूर ठेवूं नये म्हणजे चंद्रसूर्य आहेत तोपर्यंत कीर्त राहील. " (३) न्यायपद्धतीच्या दृष्टीनेंहि महजर महत्त्वाचा आहे. (४) प्रतिवादीचा भोगवटा बरेच दिवसांचा असल्यानें वतन विभागलें आहे. (५) " ईदलशाई दिवाणांत हक्क चौथाई इनाम तिजाईच नव्हती व गोताचेहि साक्षीनें जालें कीं इनाम तिजाई व हक्क चौथाई पडली नाही." पृ. ११७

– १३३ –

[अ] श्रीसांप्रदायाचीं कागदपत्रें. ले. ४३८
श. १६४७; इ. १७२५.
प्रारंभ व शेवट फाटला आहे.

[आ] रायाजी वाा भुतोजी मेढा विरुद्ध सूर्याजी, मामले परांड्यापैकीं एका गांवांतील एका मिरासी शेताबद्दल वाद रायाजी खरा ठरला.

मजलस कागद फाटल्यानें उपलब्ध नाहीं.

रायाजीचा बाप भुतोजी याजबरोबर पूर्वी एकदा या शेताबद्दल बहीरजी पाटील चौबला याचा वाद होऊन भुतोजी खरा ठरला. त्याचा निवाडा हाकीमखा काजी अली यांनीं केला होता. तो महजर पाहून त्याच्या आधारानें व गांवीच्या गौहीनें रायाजीचें मिरासी शेत खरें ठरलें.

[ई] (१) संपादकांनीं लेखांकाचे अखेरीस तळटीप दिली आहे. ती दुरुस्त करणें आवश्य आहे. भुतोजीकडे जें शेत मोकदम व दाहीजणांनीं पूर्वीचा मिरासदार काकडा बुडाला म्हणून मिरास करून दिलें तें सदरहू गांवच्या मोकदमीबदलचें होतें असें मजकुरावरून दिसत नाहीं. अर्थ इतकाच कीं, दाही जणांनीं; काकडा बुडाला; त्याची मुकदमी रायाजीचा बाप भुतोजीस मिरासी करून दिली नसून फक्त शेत मिरासी करून दिलें आहे. मोकदमीचा संबंध कांहींच दिसत नाहीं.

– १३४ –

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ५, ले. ९७४; गोतमहजराचा ताम्रपट.

सु. ११२५ जमादिलाखर २९; श. १६४६ फा. व. १३ रविवार; इ. १७२५ मार्च १.

फार्सी तारीख शकांतील तिथी बरोबर जमत नाहीं.

[आ] शाहूराजे यांनीं खंडोजी बिन दमाजी धावडे यास कर्यात मावळपैकीं ३६ देहाची सरपाटिलकी करून दिली तिचा हा गोताचा महजर व ताम्रपट आहे.

[इ] हाजीर मजालस राजमुद्रा व देशमूख व देशपाडिये व मोकदम ताा मार व बाजेमहाल ताा मार बिा ताा

राजमुद्रा—शामजी हरी सुभेदार प्राा मावळ १

बाळाजी अनंत अजहत सरदेशमूख प्रां मावळ १

ढमाले देशमूख ताा पौड खोरे. १—सर पाटील सरकार जुन्नर व पुणे.

वेगवेगळ्या ९ तरफांचे, २५ देशमुख हजर आहेत; व ताा काा मावळचे देशपांडे २,

मोसेखोरे—पासलकर, कड्ड ४; मोढेखोरे–मारणे–१; गुंजणखोरे–सीलीमकर १, रोहीडखोरे–खोपडे १ काा सिरवल–निगडे, (धायगुडे मुतालिक हजर) १; साा जुन्नर–हांडे १; प्राा पुणे–सितोळे २; काा सासवड– जगथाप १; काा मावळ पायगुडे व करंजवणे, २ सिके आहेत, शिवाय काा मावळपैकी ११ पायगुडे व ६ करंजवणे देशमूखांचीं नांवें आहेत. एकूण काा मावळ १३ देशमुखांचीं नांवें आहेत.

मौजे कोंढे—पाटील, कुलकर्णी, चौगुला, परीट, मेहतर, चांभार मिळून सुमारें १२

भोंवरगांवचे सुमारें २३ मोकदम पाटील; तर्फ खेडेबारेचे गोत ६; मौजे खडकवासले व इतर खेडीं मिळून सुमारें २०.

एकूण सुमारें ८० मंडळी हजर आहेत.

— १३५ —

[अ] ऐ. सं. सा. खं. ७, ले. ३२; महजर चक्रनामा.
सु. ११३१; श. १६५२; इ. १७३०.
प्रारंभीचा कांहीं भाग फाटला आहे.

[आ] रखमसेटी व रामसेटी बिन मालसेटी कुदळे सेटे का। खेड ता। खेडेबारे यांनीं (मोगलांचे धामधुमींत) राजीकाचे वेळीं बहुत श्रमसाहस केलें म्हणून पंतसचिव यांनीं एक चावर जमीन इनाम दिली. त्याची छत्रपतीचीं व सचिवांची पूर्वी इनाम दिलें तेव्हांची (१७१६ ऑग. ४) पत्रें दाखवून गोताकडून हा महजर घेतला आहे.

[इ] कागदाचा प्रारंभीचा भाग फाटल्यानें मजलसींतील फारच तर राजमुद्रा व कदाचित् कांहीं देशकांचीं नांवें गेलीं असावींत.

देशमूख ता मार—५; दोघांच्यापुढें नाईक व देशमुख असा उल्लेख आहे व त्यांचे स्वतंत्र शिके दिले आहेत. इतर तिघे बिरादर असावेत.

देशकुला—३; दोघांचीं नांवें व पुढें एकाचें बिकलम. बहुधा ते दोघे गैरहजर असावेत.

भोंवरगांवचे मोकदम व कुलकर्णी व चोगुले (१२ + ६ + ४)–२२; कसबाखेड; राहाटवडें, राजें, खोपी, आरबी, गाऊदरें, कासुर्डे, वेळू, सिवरें व कुसगांव अशीं १० गांवें; खेड व वेळूस प्रत्येकीं २ मोकदम आहेत. खेडची निमे मोकदमी मुसलमानाकडे आहे. प्रत्येकाच्या नांवापुढें नांगर आहे; सिवरे व कुसगांवचे कुलकर्णी स्वतंत्र आहेत. बाकीच्या आठगांवचे व पेठ शिवापुरचे कुलकर्ण तर्फेच्या देशकुलकर्ण्यांकडेच आहे. त्यांनीं हीं गांवें आपसांत विभागलीं असून त्यांच्या दोन ताक्षिमा केल्या आहेत व त्यानुरूप सदरहू गांवांची हजरी लिहिली आहे व पुढें बिकलम घातलें आहे. तर्फेच्या एकूण २४ गांवचे कुलकर्ण त्यांच्याकडे (नऱ्हेकर देशपांडे) आहे असें दिसतें. त्यापैकीं वरील आठगांवचे मोकदम महजर समयीं हजर आहेत. दोन ताक्षिमांतील ४ व्यक्तींपैकीं दोघांचीं नांवें महजरारंभीं देशमुखाच्या सहचार्यात एकदां आलीं आहेत. तेव्हां नांवें ६ व ४ व्यक्ती हजर मानावयाच्या. यापुढें ४ गांवच्या ४ चौगुल्यांचीं नांवें आहेत.

खूम कसबा खेड—२४; पुढील खुमांचे मेहतरी हजर आहेत. नांवापुढें धंद्याचें चिन्ह आहे. महाजन (तागडी); सोनार पोतदार (सांडस); सिंपी जामदार (कातरी); ठाकूर (कटार); आवटी (अधोली); तांबोली (आटके); कासार (तुळई) २; माळी

(खुरपें) २; जिनगर (करवत); तेली (पहार); सुतार व लोहार; ढकार जोतिषी ताा मार २; परीट (मोगरी); न्हावी (आरसा); मुलाणा (सुरी); कुंभार (चाक); चांभार (रापी); गुरव (धुपारती); माळी पुजारी; नाईकवाडी (काठी) २.

[ई] (१) राजपत्रें व जिल्हेचीं पत्रें पाह्न नंतर हा महजर गोतांनीं दिला आहे. (२) मूळ इनामपत्रानंतर १४ वर्षांनीं हा महजर झाला आहे.

पेठ सिवापूर—७; देशमूखसेटे (तागडी); महाजन (तागडी); कोष्टी (धोटे) २; सेट्या (तागडी); पानसरे (डांग); २.

महार ताा मार निाा विळादोर—१०; दहा गांवेचे.

एकूण सुमारें ६९ मंडळी.

[ई] (१) राजपत्रें व जिल्हेचीं पत्रें पाहून नंतर हा महजर गोतांनीं दिला आहे. (२) मूळ इनाम पत्रानंतर चौदा वर्षांनीं हा महजर झाला आहे.

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[अ] ऐ. सं. सा. खं. ४, ले. ३२; महजरनामा.

सु. ११३१ साबान १७; श. १६५२ माघ व. ५ मंगळवार; इ. १७३१ फेब्रु.१५.

[आ] विठोजी बिन सूर्याजी ढमाले निमे मोकदम मौजे आसवली ताा निरथडी प्राा पुणें; विाा तुलाजी बिन कृष्णाजी पाटील ढमाल मौजे मार; वडिलपण निमे मोकदमी मौजे आसवली ताा निरथडीविषयींचा वाद.

[इ] महजरनामा……दरजागा कसबे पुणें. बहुजूर हजिर मजलस बितपसील काजी इसमाईल वाा काजी इभ्राइम काजी प्राा मार (गोल सि. फा.).

“ या हुजूर विठोजी बिन……पंतप्रधानसाहेबापासी फिर्याद जाहला……देशमूख व देशपांडिये व गोतमुखे मनसुबी मनास आणौन……निवाडपत्र……दिवाणचे करून दिल्हे आहे, देशमूख व देशपांडियास आज्ञपत्र जे गोताचा महजर करून देणे……सदरहू पत्रें मनासि आणिली त्याचे मजमून—तर्फ पाटसच्या गोतामुखे झालेल्या निवाडपत्राचा तपशील वगैरे—(पृ. ८७) येणेंप्रमाणे पत्रें मनास आणिता राजश्री पंतप्रधान स्वामीनी गोतमुखे……समजाविशी केली ते बरहक केली आहे त्यावरून महजर……अनुभवून सुखरूप असावे हा महजरनामा लिहिला सही.”

(तर्फ पाटसच्या गोतामध्यें भोंवरगांवचे मिळून एकूण २२ जण आहेत; १८ पाटील, मोकदम, ३ कुलकर्णी व १ चौगुला.)

(१) या महजरावरून गोत संस्थेचें एकंदर स्वरूप स्पष्ट लक्षांत येतें. देशमूख देशपांडे हे या संस्थेचे मुख्य अधिकारी होत व कनिष्ठ घटक साधा मिरासदार होय. या दोन्हीं-मधील दुवा म्हणजे मोकदम. (२) काजीचें प्रस्थ पेशवाईतही आहे. त्याला पुढें पुढें या

गोत संस्थेंत स्थान प्राप्त झालें असें या महजरावरून स्पष्ट होत आहे. (३) ता पाटसचे गोत दिले आहेत.

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[अ] म. इ. सा. खं. २०, ले. १९९.

सु. ११३२ रविलाखर २७; श. १६५३ आश्विन व. १४ सोमवार; इ. १७३१ आक्टो. १८.

महजर दुभाषीं आहे वर फारसी आहे त्याचेच खालीं मराठी भाषांतर आहे. असल कल्याणचें देशपांड्याकडे आहे.

[आ] निलाजी साबाजी व इतर देशपांडे विा रामाजी आत्माजी प्रभु गुप्ते व इतर कसबे कल्याणचे कुलकर्णीविषयीं वाद. निलाजीचा पक्ष खरा ठरतो.

[इ] सुरत मजलस बहुजूर श्रीमंत माहाराजा कृष्णराव मा महंमदजी अल्लीजी व इमामबक्ष वाा मियाजी चौधरी प्रांत कल्याणभिवंडी सरकार तळकोंकण पंचाईतेच्या वतीनें निवाडा केला आहे पंचाइतीमधील पंचांचीं नांवें दिलेलीं नाहींत.

[ई] (१) नेहमींच्या महजराप्रमाणें हा लिहिलेला नाहीं; महंमुदजी चौधरी याची साक्ष पंचांपुढें झाली आहे; त्याचप्रमाणें समस्त रयत कसबे कल्याण यांचीहि साक्ष घेतली आहे. ‘ हिंदूने ज्ञानदेवीची शपथ व मुसलमानानें कुराणाची शपथ ’ घेतली आहे. (२) महजरांतील पुराव्याचें वर्णन महत्त्वाचें आहे.

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[अ] ऐ. सं. सा. खं. ६, ले. २५; महजर मिरासीचा.

फसली ११४३; श. १६५५; इ. १७३३.

प्रारंभास २१ ओळी फारसी मजकूर.

कागदास तीन जोड असून जोडावर तिन्ही ठिकाणीं ‘सही असल’ असें फारसी एकाच वळणांत लिहिलें आहे. महजर असल आहे परंतु महिना व तारिखेची जागा मोकळी सोडली आहे. अखेरीस फारसींत ‘वैजा’ आहे.

[आ] मगाजी वलद देऊजी ईबन आऊजी पाा ढोंके पाटील व इतर, मौजे रेडगाऊ, खुा मामले चांदवड. मोकदमी हातून वाह्वेना म्हणून मौजे मारची निमी मोकदमी सुभानजी वलद मोराजी सिवले मौजे वोंढल पाा जुन्नर यास विकून त्याला ‘ मिरासभाऊ ’ करूण कर्ज वारिलें. ही हकीकत ठाणा देशमूख देशपांडे यांस जाहीर करून सदरहू ‘ महजर ठाण्याचा ’ घेतला आहे.

[इ] महजर हाजीर मजालसी मामले चांदवड······आजम काजी व हुजूर.
समेराऊ देशमूख वीनती सिवाजी विस्वनाथ देशपांडिये दाा
काजी महमद कमरदीन हाकीमशरा विठोजी गोपाळ देशपांडिये

गणेश चिमल वकील विठोजी हरिदेऊ चिटणवीस कसबे चांदवड नाईकवाडी.

समेराऊ देशमूख मोकदम, रायाजी जाधोराऊ माहाजन, तिसमाजी विस्वनाथ सेट्टिये, कुलकर्णी (मोकळी जागा), धर्मातकारनी (मो. जागा).

[ई] (१) महजराच्या अखेरीस देशपांड्याचें दसकत आहे.

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[अ] चंद्रचूड दप्तर कला १ ली, ले. ४; खरीदखताचा महजर.

श. १६५६ का. शु. ८ गुरुवार; इ. १७३४ आक्टों. २४.

फा. सि. व एक ओळ फारसी मजकूर देशमुखाचा सिका. देशमूख व देशपाड्यांचीं नांवें कागदाच्या डाव्या बाजूस आडवी लिा.

[आ] बाजी यशवंत व गंगाधर यशवंत उपनांव चंद्रचूड आजहद देशपांडे सरकार जुन्नर यास मौजे निंबगाऊ नागाना ताा खेड साार जुन्नरचें निमें कुलकर्ण व जोतिष, म्हाळसाई कुच मल्हार रघुनाथ अत्रे गोत्र अत्री ईनें खुषखरीद २००० रुपयांस दिलें. गोतांनीं खरीदखतानुरूप भोगवट्यास हा महजर करून दिला आहे. बाकीचें निमें वतन बाईनें जावई टिल्लू यास दान दिलें आहे.

[इ] महजरनामा······हाजीर मजालसी.
काजी सयद राजमुद्रा हवालदार ताा खेड.

देशमूख देशपांडे साार जुन्नर ४.
गोत मोकदमानी ताा देहाये साार मार.

ताा पाबळ १५:—
पाटील काा पाबळ बिाा देशपांडे ताा मार २
मोकदम मौजे चांदडोहो २ बिाा देशपांडे ताा मार १
,, ,, लाखणगांव २ बिाा जोसी कुलाा मौजे मार १
,, ,, देवगाऊ १ बिाा ,, ,, १
पाटील ,, आंपटी व वोढू २, बिाा गुाा देशपांडे साार मार १
,, ,, धामणी १ बिाा गुाा ,, ,, १

ताा खेड १७:—
मोकदम चौगुले सेटे काा खेड १ बिाा देशपांडे ताा पाबळ साार मार १
,, वाफगाऊ ३ (होळकर १) बिाा जोसी कुलाा मौजे मार १
,, पिंपळगाऊ २ बिाा ,, ,, १

चौगुला ,, १

मोकदम व कुलकर्णी खरथुडी २

,, रेटलू बिा गुा देशपांडे सार मार १

,, रेटवडी बिा जोसी कुला मौजे मार २

,, कुलकर्णी बाकलवाडी १

ता आवसरी ३:—

मोकदम कुलकर्णी ३

प्रा चाकण १५:—

मौजे कालोसा मोकदम कुलकर्णी चौगुला ३

,, दावडी पाटील कुलकर्णी चौगुला ४

,, सोळू दिक्षित (मराठी सही) १

पाटील कुला प्रो मार २

मौजे सोळू पाटील चौगुले २

मोकदम का सिवले बिा गुमास्ते देशपांडे सार जुन्नर २

देशमूख ता पवनमावळ १

एकूण सुमारें ५६ सभासद हजर.

महजराचे अखेरीस—गुमास्ते देशपांडे सार जुन्नर यांचे दस्तूर.

साक्ष पांढरी मौजे मार

पाटील मोकदम शिंदे १

व त्यांचे भाऊबंद १६ आहेत

(एक राणोजी आहे)

१ वाटेकर; एकूण १८.

थळकरी कुणबी ८

बारा बलुते

देऊळकरी ३ (चि–पंचारती

गडू व घोळ)

बलुते महार ३

(चि. विळादोर)

गांवकरी

सुतार	(किकरें)
परीट	(मोगरी)
न्हावी	(आरसा)
कुंभार	(चाक)
चांभार	(इंग)
गुरव	(मांदल)
राऊत तेली ?	(माप)
७	

[ई] (१) "खरीदखत आलाहिदा करून दिधले आहे ते मनास आणून भोगवटीयास महजर करून दिधला पाहिजे." पृ. १४. (२) कुलकर्ण व जोतिषाचे अधिकार व मानपत्न दिले आहेत.

– १४० –

[अ] म. इ. सा. खं. १६, ले. ५५; महजरनामा.

श. १६५६ फाल्गु. शु. ५ इंदुवासर (ख. ज. रविवार); इ. १७३५ फेब्रु. १६; (२ माहे रमजानचे ठिकाणीं ३ सवाल पाहिजे).

श्री; धनेश्वर प्रा तालीक. महजर अपूर्ण आहे.

[आ] बावाजी बिन जावजी सेडकर विा बाबाजी बिन बाजी महादुणेकर. मौजे मळवलीच्या पाटिलकींचे तक्षिमेविषयीं वाद.

[इ] हजीर गोत ताा कानदखोरे विा ताा.

ताा मारचे देशमूख ३, सरखोत १, देशपांडे १

मोकदम—भोंवरगांवचे २३ मोकदम व ४ पाटील.

चौगुले—भोंवरगांवचे चौगुले १०.

ताा मार वाजे वतनदार १२—मठपति, पाणसरा, साळवी कुंभारमेहतऱ्या, परीट मेहतऱ्या, सोनार, सुतार, माळी मेहतऱ्या, तेली मेहतऱ्या, परीट मळवली, चांभार २, ढाणगा ताा मार, भोंवरगावची मंडळी आहेत.

महार ताा मार, ९;

सुमारें ६२ मंडळी हजर आहेत.

[ई] (१) गोत महजर या दृष्टीनें हा कागद फार महत्त्वाचा आहे.

– १४१ –

[अ] म. इ. सा. खं. १६, ले. ५७; महजरनामा.

सु. ११३९ मोहरम २६; श. १६६१ चैत्र व. १३ भौमवासर; इ. १७३९ एप्रिल २४.

श्री; धनेश्वर; शेवटास मोर्तब; गोत महजर.

[आ] शिवाजी गंगाधर व खंडो मल्हार दिवाकर दिा देशमूख ताा मोसेखोरे व ताा कानदखोरे. या महजरानें खासनिशीचें वतन गोतांनीं करून दिलें आहे.

[इ] बिहुजूर गोत्र.

ताा मोसेखोरे व ताा कानदखोरे गोतांचीं नांवें छापलेलीं नाहींत.

[ई] "……यासी महजर करून दिल्हा ऐसाजे तुमची खासनिसी पुरातन वतनी आहे. ऐसीयासी खासनिसीचा हक ताा मजकुरी चालत नव्हता कीं, पुरातन हक जाबिते होते, ते सार्वभौम या प्रांते आला होता त्याच्या राजिकांत कोण्हाजवळ राहिले नाहींत. त्यास मनास आणिता खासनिसीस हकाचा तह आहे. याजकरिता तुम्हास हक ताा……"

– १४२ –

[अ] ऐ. सं. सा. खं. ३, ले. ३०७.

सु. ११७० रबिलाखर १७; श. १६९२ श्रावण व. ४ शुक्र.; इ. १७७० ऑगस्ट १०.

श्री; फारसी मजकूर, १७॥ ओळी व गोल शिका.

सुभेदाराचा तीन वेढ्याचा वाटोळा म. शि;. महजराच्या शेवटास मोर्तब असून त्यानंतर साक्षी घातल्या आहेत, 'बिा···देशपांडे' असा साक्षीपूर्वी उल्लेख आहे. तेव्हां देशपांड्यानें हा महजर लिहिला आहे.

[आ] अपाभट बिन श्रीनिवासभट उपनाम काळे यास काा सोलापूर येथील मंगळवार ऊर्फ माधवराव पेठेचे जोतिसी वतन या महजरानें दिलें आहे.

[इ] गणेश त्र्यंबक सुभेदार दिा माधवराव बलाल प्रधान.

महजर बहजूर हाजीर मजालस······किले सोलापूर·········तदिने लिहिला महजर.
दरकदार निा पंतप्रधान ताा मार
दिवाण मजमदार फडणीस
जमीदार पाा मार—देशमूख देशपांडे पाा मार ३ (देशपांडे २)

गोही—सेटिये पेठ (तागडी), देशमूख महाजन पेठ मार (देशमूख हे पेठेचे महाजन आहेत व उभय देशपांडे हे पेठेचे कुलकर्णी आहेत.)

[ई] (१) जोतिषी वतनाचे हक्क दिले आहेत. (२) महजराचा शेवट—"···महजर सही वळी सुमार ३० सिवाय दसखत व गोही मानाच्या अलाहिदा."

– १४३ –

[अ] खरे कुलवृत्तान्त प्रकरण ४ थें, ले. ५४; महजरनामा.

सु. १२०४ मोहरम १५; श. १७२६ चैत्र व. १ बुधवार; इ. १८०४ एप्रिल २५.
श्रीशंकर सिका.

[आ] वाो विश्वनाथभट बिन त्र्यंबकभट बिन जिऊभट उपनाम खरे हेदवीकर हाली वस्ती काा त्र्यंबक. त्र्यंबकेश्वर येथें भटजी मजकुरास सरकारांतून पैसे घेऊन जमीन फरोक्त करून दिली. सदरहू जमीन्याच्या भोगवट्याकरितां हा महजर करून दिला आहे.

[इ] "महजरनामा हालकरी मजालसी गोपाळ त्रिंबक सुभेदार तालुके त्रिंबक सरकार संगमनेर सुभे खुदस्ते बुनियाद······ते दिवशीं देशमूख व देशपांडिये व मोकदम व पटवारी व सेटिये व महाजन व हाली मोवाली खाा कपेवाडी त्रिंबक याणी येऊन मजालसीस विदित केले कीं को मजकुरी सरकारी तनखियात भिवदरा यात कटक मल जागा आफतादा जमीन

भरणीची आहे ती नामे वाो······खरे हेदवीकर हाली वाा काा त्रिंबक हे या जमिनीवर उमेदवार त्याजवरून जमीनदाराचा अर्ज खातरेस आणून······”

– १४४ –

[अ] संकीर्ण

श. १४९५; इ. १५७३

तालीक शिवकालीन.

[आ] समस्त मौजे बाऊधण पाा वाई यांनीं गोविंद जोसी वा रग जोशी बिन नरस जोशी यास सदरहू महजराद्वारे बाऊधण, कण्हेरु व नागेवाडी या तीन गांवचें जोसी वतन करून दिलें आहे.

[इ] बी हुजूर पाा वाई.

सुमारें ३० मंडळी मजलसीस बसली आहेत. मजलस नकलकारानें शिस्तवार लिहून घेतलेली दिसत नाहीं.

[ई] (१) ग्राम व्यवस्थेच्या दृष्टीनें महजर महत्त्वाचा आहे.

– १४५ –

[अ] ऐ. सं. सा. खं. १ ले. ११४, सुरत महजर.

सन हजार १०८४ रमजान ५, श. १५९६ मार्ग. शु. ७ मंगळवार; इ. १६७४ नोव्हें. २४.

[आ] मोकदम मौजे मोहाडी प्राा दिंडोरी विाा जानोरकर. शेतीच्या पाटबंदाऱ्याविषयीं वाद

[इ] मजलसीं हजुर प्राा गुलशनाबाद. प्राा दिंडोरी व गुलशनाबाद येथील देशमूख, देशपांडे व मोकदम मिळून सुमारें ८ मंडळी हजर

[ई] (१) हुजुर तक्रार सादर केली. (२) काजी, दरोगे, मुश्रीफ वगैरे अधिकारी यांनीं पाटाची पहाणी करून मोकदमास अनुकूल निर्णय दिला. (३) निर्णयाच्या सनदे बरहुकूम निर्भयास्तव मजलस प्राा गुलशनाबादकडून हा महजर घेतला आहे.

– १४६ –

[अ] **ग. ह. खरे, संशोधक; भा. इ. सं. मं, पुणें खाजगी, संग्रह.**

सु. १११० सवाल २७; श. १६३१ मार्गशीर्ष व १४ शनिवार; इ. १७०९ डिसें. १८

श्रीप्रभु स्वामी.

[आ] पासपा मोघियेपा देसाई व पायेगौडा दरीगौडा नाडगौडा या उभयेतांमध्यें सप्तसागरचे इनामती व हक वर्तनाचे कसूर पडले, त्याचा निर्णय.

[इ] माहजर बतेरीख······विरोधीनाम सौवछरे मार्गसीर वदी त्रयोदसी सनिवार नक्षेत्र अनुराधा दर जागा——चे गुडी काा तेरदळ पाा माार हाजीर मजालसी बिाा

हाकीम लोकानी (५.)

सातजी राजे घोरपडे
×नबाब फौजदार पाा माार
(फा. चौ. सिका)
हरकारे पाा तेरदळ
(२ गोल फा. सिके)

×काजी पाा माार
(फा. बा. सिका.)
हरकारे पाा रायबाग.
(फा. सिका)

परविलायेतीचे जमीदारांनीं (७.)

सारदेसाई मूर्तजाबाद
(सि. मराठी)

लक्षेमवा देसाईणी पाा कोगटनूर
(फा. अ. सि.)
देशपांडे पाा कोगटनूर.

याशिवाय काा यैनापूरचा गौडा पटेल व इतर एक; हळीहाळचा नाईक व मालगाऊचा गौडा पटेल मिळून ४.

परगणे मजकूर जमीदार बिाा (२.)

(बदामी. फा. सि.) देशपांडे व ×नाईकडी पाा माार.

बलुतीयानी काा माार (१३)

सुतार लोहार पोतदार
कुंभार हजाम मठपती
भारमाचुनारी; पाडेवार २; मांग

सत्या तलवार
×दरबान हसन
मागमीणी भारमा

रैमानी काा माार व महानाड पेठ माार.

रैयानी काा माार (१३)
व कुलकर्णी काा माार (१)

महानाड पेठ माार (१५)
सराफ, चाटे, तांबोळी, सोनार
तेली, माळी, दरजी, सेटी इत्यादि.

एकूण ६० सभासद, पैकीं मुसलमान ४.

[ई] (१) सर्व हिंदु नांवें कानडी आहेत. (२) "उभयेतानी येक होऊन ढार्णेमध्यें दिवानांसी रुजू असोन आपले हक वर्तमान इनाम खाऊन सुखी असावे." (३) " यामधें नाडगौडानें देसगतीमधें हिला हरकत केलिया आपले कुलस्वामीचे—आण अस व दैवाचे अन्याई व देसाई यानें नाडगौडकीमधें हिला हरकत केलिया आपले कुलस्वामीचे आण व दैवाचे अन्याई" (४) उभयेताचे घराणेमधे जें माघील वडिल वडिल तागायेतचे कागदपत्र असतील ते बातील अस हाली महजर केल्याप्रमाणें उभयेतानीं रहाटी करून सुखी असणें हा माहजर सही "—चौ. सिका. (५) 'लक्षेमवा' या स्त्री सभासदाचा उल्लेख महत्त्वाचा आहे.

— १४७ —

[अ] **ग. ह. खरे, संशोधक, भा. इ. मं. पुणे. खाजगी संग्रह.**

सु. १११० सवाल २७; श. १६३१ मार्ग. व. १४ शनिवार; इ.१७०९ डिसें. १८.
श्री प्रभुदेवाचे गुडी.

[आ] पासपा मेधियेपा देसाई व पायगौडा दरीगौडा नाडगौडा या उभयतांमधील काा तेरदळ पाा माा पैकीं सुमारे ३१ गांवच्या हक्क इनामतीच्या वाटणीचा महजर. गांवांचा तपशील दिला आहे.

[इ] मजलसीचा प्रारंभ क्रमांक १४६ प्रमाणें.

हाकीम लोकानी—क्र.	१४६ प्रमाणें	(५)
परविलायेतीचे जमीदारानी	,,	(७)
इतर	,,	(४)
परगणे माा जमीदार विाा	,,	(२)

रैयानी ठाणे माार व दैव पेठ माार

रैयानी क्र. १४६ प्रो. (१३) महानाड क्र. १४६ प्रो. (१५)

व कुलकर्णी काा माार (१)

गावगनाचे नाईक पटेल कुलकर्णी यांनीं (८ वोटें कोरी जागा)

एकूण ६० सभासद.

[ई] " या गोष्टीस कोणाकडून अंतर पडलिया दिवाणचे गुनागार श्री—आपले स्वामीचे आण व दैवाचे अन्यो......"

— १४८ —

[अ] **ग. ह. खरे, संशोधक भा. इ. सं. मं. पुणें, खाजगी संग्रह.**

सु. १११५ जमादिलोवल ११; श. १६३७ मनमथनामसंवत्सरे वैशाख शु. १३ गुरुवार; इ. १७१५ मे १५.

फारसी मजकूर, फा. सिका.

[आ] वेंकाजी गिरमाजी व सोमाजी वेंकाजी विाा गोपाळ तिमाजी देशपांडे वगैरे भाऊबंद. मौजे हारोगेरा व॰ रसुलपुराचें कुलकर्णाचा झगडा लागला. त्याचा सभानाईक धर्मसभेचा निर्णय

[इ] दर जागा पाा तेरदळ हाजीर मजालसी बिाा.

दिवाण

जमीदार

देसाई पाा माार
(फा. सि.)

नाडगौडा पाा माार.
(नांगर)

मुतालिक देसाई पाा मार सिदो बोरमाजी.
मौजे भालगांवचा पटेल (नांगर) जोयसी पाा मार.
निाा देसाई.

मोकदमानीं देहाये (१६):—काा मारचे पाटील कुलकर्णी; मौंजे सतसागर, हारोगीरी, रसूलपूर, गुडगीवाड, या चार गावचें ४ पटेल; मौजे भिलोडीचा कुलकर्णी; काा हवेली रायबाग व इतर, परगणे मारचे; मिळून सुमारें ९ वतनदार, त्यांत एक ग्रामउपाध्ये आहे.

एकूण २२ सभासद.

[ई] (१) सर्व नांवें कानडी (२) समस्त सभानाईक यापासी तक्रीर केली. (३)…“ परगणे मजकूरचे **नाडगीर व समस्त दैव** मिळून परगणे रायेर हुबळीचे स्थळासी पाढविलें तेथील समस्त **सभानाईक व दैव** मिळून हरदोजणाचे एकदाद मनासी आणून निवाडा करून त्या सारिखे पाा मारचे **राजेसभा समस्त दैवास** उतर लिहून दिल्हे उतर आलेवरी त्या सारिखे सभानाईक बैसोन निवाडा करून……” (४) “…यास पुढे कोणी हिला हरकत करील त्यास आपले कुलस्वामीचे आण असे व **दिवाणचे व दैवाचे** अन्याई असे. हे लिहिले माहजर सही.” याप्रमाणें महजरचा शेवट.

— १४९ —

[अ] **ग. ह. खरे, संशोधक भा. इ. सं. मंडळ, पुणें, खाजगी संग्रह.**

सन ११३० रसजान २०; श. १६४२ आषाढ व. ८ शनिवार; इ. १७२० जुलै १६.

प्रभुस्वामी फा. मजकूर व फा. सिका.

[आ] अलपा विाा लिंगया व मोघेपा. श्री स्वामीच्या पुजारिपणाचा वाद.

[इ] माहाजर हाजीर मजलसी दरजागा घर सदर देसाई ढाणे: काा तेरदळ सरकार तोरगळ सुमा विजापूर बेहजूर विाा.

हाकीम लोकानी.
जमीदार व पंचाईत.

पाा मारपैकी, देसाई (सिका फा.), देशपांडे २, खासनीस निाा देसाई, नाडगौडा २; काा मारचे पटेल १ व कुलकर्णी २; याशिवाय पाा मारचे सेटी २, चौधरी १, पोतदार १, नाईकवाडी १, व इतर ३.

एकूण सुमारें, १७ सभासद.

[ई] (१)“ उभयतासी परथलासी पाढवणेचे तह करून हर दोजणापासी कट उत़ार राजिनामा बमोहर काजी व पंचाईताचे निशानसहित घेऊन हरदोजणापासी जमान

मागितले ऐसीयास उभयतानी चारी रोजाचे वाइदे केले छ १७ रमजानी जमान देवे यी गोस्टी कोणाकडून अंतर पडल त्याचे व्याहार खोटा दैव लोक मैत्री बाहीर केला. म्हणून राजीनामा दिल्हे." (२) सर्व नांवें कानडी. (३) क्र. १४६ ते १४९ वरून पहातां कर्नाटकांतील 'दैव' ही संस्था महाराष्ट्रांतील 'गोत' संस्थेशीं सदृश अशीं दिसून येते.

— १५० —

[अ] शि. च. सा. खं. ५, ले. ८२९; शि. च. सा. खं. ३, ले. ६४१.

[आ] सबजी वलद महादाजी व बाजी वलद रुपजी यास त्याची कदीम देशमुखी या महजरानें दिली आहे. मध्यंतरीं ती उमाजी वलद संबाजी भोसले यानें जोरावरीनें दाबली होती.

[इ] प्रारंभास सुमारे ७ गांवच्या मोकदमांचीं नांवें.

[ई] (१) "...... पातशाही अमल जाल्यावरी कदीम देशमुखी परागंदा होऊन गेले होते म्हणौन पाा मजकुरास जो जागीरदार आले त्यांनीं तनखीयामध्ये देशमुखी खात आले यावरी सन १०९३ कारणे कदीम देशमूख हुजूरपाशी उभा रांहिले." व पातशाहाकडून आपलीं वतनें घेतलीं तेव्हां सदरहू देशमुखी कदीम वतनदारास दिलीं.

— १५१ —

[अ] सनदापत्रें प्रकरण २, ले. ३३.
इ. स. १६९६ (?)

[आ] शेखबावा पाटील विा गबा पाटील. कसबे करकमच्या निमे पाटिलकीचा वाद गबा गैरहाजीर झाला. शेखबावास पूर्वील महजरावरून वतन दिलें.

[इ] मजलस दिलेली नाहीं. हुजूर खान वालशान खान याजकडून शेखबावानें, देवराय पाा माारचा ठाणेदार यास मनसुफीविषयीं परवाना आणला. ठाणेदारानें निर्णय करून महजर दिला.

[ई] (१) देशपांडे पाा माार यास आटकावून गबाजीस हजर करण्याविषयीं ठाणेदारानें सांगितलें. परंतु गबाजी हजर झाला नाहीं. (२) महजराचा शेवट—"यावरून जाहीर होते जे गब्जी पाटील शेखबावा यासी मोकदमी कसबे मजकूरची जबरदस्तीनें करीत आहे. हा महजर लिहिला सही."

— १५२ —

[अ] वतनपत्रें व निवाडपत्रें, ले. १५.
"बारकीर्द छ २६ रबिलाखर, सन तिसा" (?) इ. १७९३।९४ (?).

[आ] श्री क्षेत्र पंढरपूरचे बडवे व बेणारे यांमधील श्री देवाची पालखी व पालखीचें उत्पन्न घोडे वगैरेबदल गर्गशा होता. बडवे खरे झाले. त्याचा महजर.

[इ] —हाजीर मजलसी ठाणे पा। कासेगांव सरकार आकलोज सुभे विजापूर बेहुजूर.

राजमुद्रा—फौजदार पा। मा।र (शिका), बहिरजी मुसळे (शिका), नरसो श्रीनिवास रत्नखाना (शिखा), जागीरदार (शिका), दिवाणजागीर, शेखदार.

देशमूख पा। मा।र २ (शिका); मोकदम का। मा।र; सेटे महाजन का। मा।र व पोतदार, आणि भोवरगांवचे पाटील, कुलकर्णी, चौगुला वगैरे मिळून सुमारें ३५ सभासद.

— १५३ —

[अ] **संकीर्ण.**

पंधराव्या शतकांतील असावा. भाषा ओवी लिखाणाप्रमाणें. कागदाचा आकार ४″ × ५″ असा आहे. अक्षर शिवपूर्वकालीन बारीक व स्पष्ट आहे.

[आ] संभाजी अनंत व लहीमानी दताजी. पहिलीलपण तश्रीफ पाने व कसबाचे कुलकर्णविषयीं वाद.

[इ] प्रारंभा पुढीलप्रमाणें—पा। वाई

अग्रवादी	**पश्चिमवादी.**

"हे उभे वर्ग स्थळ मा। आले होते. तेथें माहाजर लेहून दिला सभानायेकी यैसा जे……"

[ई] (१) साक्षीचा प्रकार महत्त्वाचा. "……साक्ष आणिली विसो बलाल व रुद्रभट देऊलातीं श्री पिंपलेस्वर महाघंटिका स्थानी बेलाचे माळ गळा घालुनु स्नान करुन श्रीपिंडिवरील बेल आणिला……"

— १५४ —

[अ] **संकीर्ण.**

पहिला बंद गहाळ. अक्षर, भाषेवरून महजर शिवपूर्वकालीन असावा.

[आ] मौजे चिंचोळे व मौजे खर्सोंडी पा। माण दहिगाऊ या मधील शिवेचा वाद.

[इ] **का। मा।र.**

हवालदार (फा. सि.)	मजमुदार
देसाई (,,)	नाईकवाडी
देशकुलकर्णी	

सेडफळ, कौठाळी, नेलकरंजी, पिंपरीबु।, विजली तीवाड, पळसखेल, अवळावी, करगरणी, दिघंची, मांडगोल, गोमेवाडी दर्गिकी, घाणंद, झरें, निदवडे, विठलापूर, वोळवण इत्यादि भोंवर गांवचें पटेल व कुलकर्णी.

[ई] (१) रवा दिव्यानें शिवेचा निर्णय केला आहे. (२) "……सभानाईक बोलिले की सिवेचे कामास खासापाटील रवा घेऊं नये मिरासी महार असतील त्या……"

– १५५ –

[अ] **म. इ. सा. खं. २०, ले. २१९.**

पहिला बंद गहाळ. मजकुरावरून महजर शिवकालीन दिसतो.

[आ] पुंडलीकभट बेणेराय विा कृष्णाजी वडवे. श्री देवाचे पालखीपुढील वस्तूंविषयीं वाद. बेणेराय खरे ठरले.

[इ] " हे मुख्य करून समस्त देशक व समस्त महाजन क्षेत्र पंढरपूर प्रा माण दहिगाऊं यांच्या विद्यमानें जाहाला महाजर ऐसाजे".

[ई] (१) वडव्यांस २०० होनु दंड झाला परंतु देशक महाजनांच्या विनंतीवरून साहेबी तो माफ केला असा उल्लेख आहे. श्री देवापुढील विडा प्रथम ज्यानें उचलला त्यास १० होनु दंड केला. असा दुसरा उल्लेख आहे.

(Later additions)—

– १५६* –

[अ] **गोमांतकच्या इतिहासाचीं साधनें, ले. २९.**

सुा १०६८ रमजान १७; श. १५८९ फा. व. ३ गुरुवार; इ. १६६८ मार्च २०.

[आ] फटजोतीसी बिन विठल जोतीसी विा दुर्गा जोसी. तपे अंतरुज व बाजे तपेहाये मामले गोवा येथील सरजोतिश व सरधर्माधिकरणाचा वाद.

[इ] बिहुजूर हाजीरानी मामले गोवा.

उजव्या बाजूस (१९)—×खान सुबेदार, ×खान ठाणेदार, नाजीर, मुतालीक दबीर, सबनविस, ×खान सरगुरो, ×सैद सरनाईकवाडी, ६ नायेकवाडी पो पांचजण मुसलमान, सरदेसाई, सरदेसकुा, २ पंडीत, १ हुदेदार.

डाव्या बाजूस (१५)—×खान हवालदार, मजमदार, सरसमत, ×सरनोबत, ×२ सरगुरो, ७ नायेकवाडी पो पांचजण मुसलमान, २ सरदेसाई.

एकूण ३४ सभासद.

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*The following Mahzars are not included in the classification, given at the beginning.

– १५७ –

[अ] गो. इ. सा. ले. १०, नकल.

श. १६१६ चैत्र वाा ५ भौमवासर (ख.ज.बुधवार); इ. १६९४ एप्रील ४.

[आ] सफरे विाा वालावलीकर ढाणा मामले माारचें जोतिशाविषयीं वाद.

[इ] दरजागा तपे सांकली मामले फोंडा हाजीर मजालसी ब्रिाा ताा (मजलीस नीट लिहिलेली नाहीं).

– १५८ –

[अ] गो. इ. सा., ले. ४२.

सु. १०९६ मोहरम १; श. १६१७ श्रावण शु. २; इ. १६९५ ऑगस्ट २.

[आ] सदरील महजरानें अनंत जोतिसी वलद फट जोतिसी याचे मामले फोंडाचे जोतीश वतन पुरातन असल्याचें जाहीर केलें आहे.

[इ] हाजीरानी मामले गोवा.

सरदेसाई मामले माार (४);

देशमत तपे अंतरुज—दहा गांवांचीं नांवें दिलीं आहेत;

ग्रहस्तान पुरातन फोंडेकार—सुमारें २०, शेणवी मंडळींचीं नांवें आहेत;

सेटिये महाजन (४).

एकूण २८ सभासद.

[ई] (१) 'देशमत' शब्द विचाराई आहे.

– १५९ –

[अ] संकीर्ण (छायाचित्र क्र. २ चा महजर).

श. १६२४ आश्वि. शु. १; इ. १७०२ सप्टं. ११.

महजर शिस्तवार लिहिला आहे.

[आ] दत्तो रघुनाथ कुलकर्णी व जोतिसी काा पांचवड पाा कराराबाद विाा खंडो शंकर कुलकर्णी व जोतिसी कुडालकर. काा माारच्या कुलकर्ण व जोतिशाविषयीं वाद.

[इ] हाजीर मजालसी राजमुद्रा व गोत पाा कराराबाद.

प्रारंभीं दिलेलें छायाचित्र क्र. २ पहा.

[ई] (१) गोत व देशक यांचें स्वरूप समजण्याच्या दृष्टीनें महजर उपयुक्त आहे. (२) न्यायप्रक्रियेच्या दृष्टीनें फारच महत्त्वाचा आहे. परगण्यास वाद दाखल झाला असतां

तेथील, “ कुल लहानथोर गोत होते त्यानीं सांगितले कीं, वादांचा विचार गावा विरहित होत नाहीं साहेबी हरदो जणास गावांस पाठविणे······”

– १६० –

[अ] गो. इ. सा., ले. २०.

श. १६४० का. व. १३; इ. १७१८ नोव्हें. ९.

प्रारंभीं फा. मजकूर; त्याच्या उजव्या बाजूस ७ म. व ५ फा. सिके व सरदेसाई मामले गोवा, देसाई तपे भतग्राम व कडवाड, त्यांचे कारकून, ×सुभेदार व शेणवी मंडळी मिळून १५ सह्या आहेत. त्याचप्रमाणें मराठी मजकुराच्या डाव्या बाजूस दोन सरदेसाई मामले गोवा याच्या वकिलाच्या निशाणी दिल्या आहेत.

[आ] नारायण बिन अनंत सरजोतिशी विा बिदादर जोतिसी व सफरे; मामले फोंड्याचे सरजोतिशाविषयीं वाद.

[इ] ······सभा मंडलीक सदर कोट फोंडा;

कुपेनिवीस, हरकारे, दिा शारीयेतपना, हजारी २, ×किलेदार किले मर्दनगड, ×सुभेदार मामले फोंडा, ३ नाईक व चतुर वर्ग सरदेसाई यांचे कारकून व हवालदार व मजमदार, नाडगौडा व देश तपे अंतरुज व सेटिये महाजन काा गजापूर व समस्त ग्रहस्त याणी केला माहाजर येसाजे;—असा प्रारंभ आहे. स्वतंत्र सभा नाहीं.

[ई] (१) “मुतसदी दिा राजे सवंदे याही आम्हा समस्तासी सांगितले कीं याची सरजोतिश वृत्तीचा काये मजकूर आहे.” “तुम्हा समस्तावरी राजी होऊनु करीनें लिहून दिले आहेत.” हे उतारे त्या भागांतील निर्णय पद्धतीच्या दृष्टीनें विचारार्ह आहेत.

– १६१ –

[अ] गो. इ. सा., ले. ५६.

श. १६५३ मार्ग. शु. ५ सोमवार (मो.जं.मंगळवार); इ. १७३१ नोव्हें. २३.

[आ] भास्करभट सफरे जोरावरीनें मामले फोंडे येथील पुरातन उपादे याशीं वेव्हार लावीत होता. तो खोटा असल्याचें या महजरानें सभेनें जाहीर केलें आहे.

[इ] माहजर हाजिरान बहुजूर बतपसील.

प्रारंभास सुमारें १८ शेणव्यांचीं नांवें दिलीं आहेत.

देश तपे अंतरुज

सुमारें ११ गावांचीं नांवें दिलीं आहेत व प्रत्येक गांवापुढें ‘ग्रामाची वोप’ अशीं कानडी अक्षरें आहेत.

सेटिये महाजन कसबा फोंडा

सुमारें ९ शेटींचीं नांवें आहेत.

[ई] (१) महजराचा प्रारंभः—“ येवं समस्त मंडलीकं तपे अंतरुज मामले फोंडा याणी केला माहाजर यैसाजे.” (२) “समस्त माहाजन व मधेस्त व उपाधे निवाडेस बैसिले होते.” (३) “······तुमचा कथला वारावा याकरिता समस्त पीर यांचे सदरेवर बैसले आहेत तेथें······आपली नीति असेल ती सांगणे म्हणौन त्यावर तेथे आपण जात नाहीं म्हणौन बोलला. ते वर्तमान राो सुभेदार यास विदित जाहाले. नंतर सफरा मजकूर दुर्बुधीने उपाधे याबराबर वेल्हार करीत होता·········हा मजकूर कोणहि समई कोठेहि सर्वांस जाहीर असावा याकरिता हा महजरनामा लिहिला आहे.······वृत्ती बाबेस भास्करभट यास समंध नाहीं; म्हणौन महजरनामा लिहिला. सई धर्मकीर्ति यशः स्थिरं.”

THE TIME ANALYSIS OF MAHZARS ANALYSED ABOVE

(I) ACCORDING TO DIFFERENT PERIODS IN THE HISTORY OF MAHARASHTRA

S.No.	शा. शक	महिना व तिथि	वार	Date
		Period I; A. D. 1300–1347 = 1		
1	१२५५	कार्तिक शु. १	रविवार	10–10–1333
		Period II; A. D. 1347–1500 = 1		
2	१३९६	मार्गशीर्ष व. ४	रविवार	27–11–1474
		Period III; A. D. 1500–1650 = 58		
3	१४७०	श्रावण शु. ५	मंगळवार	10– 7–1548
4	१४८६			1564
5	१४९२	ज्येष्ठ शु. १	शुक्रवार	6– 5–1570
6	१४९४	कार्तिक शु. १२	सोमवार	18–10–1572
7	१५०१	भाद्रपद		1579
8	१५०५			1583
9	१५२०	वै. व. १०	शुक्रवार	19– 5–1598
10	१५२०			1598
11	१५२३	मार्गशीर्ष शु. १३	शुक्रवार	27–11–1601
12	१५३०	श्रावण शु. ३	मंगळवार	5– 7–1608
13	१५३०	कार्तिक शु. १२	बुधवार	9–11–1608
14	१५३०	कार्तिक व. ११	बुधवार	23–11–1608

S.No.	शा. शक	महिना व तिथि	वार	Date
15	१५३२			1610
16	१५३२			1610
17	१५३२	श्रावण व. १३	मंगळवार	7- 8-1610
18	१५३२	माघ शु. १०	सोमवार	14- 1-1611
19	१५३८	चैत्र व. १०	सोमवार	1- 4-1616
20	१५३८	मार्गशीर्ष शु. १२	मंगळवार	10-12-1616
21	१५३८	मार्गशीर्ष शु. १२	मंगळवार	10-12-1616
22	१५४०	ज्येष्ठ व. ७	शुक्रवार	5- 6-1618
23	१५४०	मार्गशीर्ष व. १२	ब्रहस्पतवार	3-12-1618
24	१५४३	आश्विन व. ७	गुरुवार	27- 9-1621
25	१५४३	माघ शु. १३	मंगळवार	15- 1-1622
26	१५४३	माघ व. २	शनिवार	19- 1-1622
27	१५४३	फाल्गुन व. १०	रविवार	24- 2-1622
28	१५४४	ज्येष्ठ व. १२	रविवार	26- 5-1622
29	१५४७	ज्येष्ठ शु. २	शनिवार	28- 5-1625
30	१५४७	मार्गशीर्ष व. ३०	सोमवार	19-12-1625
31	१५४७	फाल्गुन शु. ११	रविवार	26- 2-1626
32	१५४८	फाल्गुन शु. १	मंगळवार	6- 2-1627
33	१५५०	आश्विन शु. ३	रविवार	20- 9-1628
34	१५५२	आश्विन शु. १३	शुक्रवार	8-10-1630
35	१५५२	माघ शु. ३	मंगळवार	25- 1-1631
36	१५५४	ज्येष्ठ शु. २	शुक्रवार	11- 5-1632
37	१५५५			1633
38	१५५५	आषाढ शु. १३	गंगळवार	8- 7-1633
39	१५५५	आश्विन शु. १२	शुक्रवार	4-10-1633
40	१५५८	भाद्रपद शु. १२	शुक्रवार	2- 9-1636
41	१५५८	आश्विन शु. २	बुधवार	21-10-1636
42	१५५९			1637
43	१५५९	माघ व. ७	शुक्रवार	26- 1-1638
44	१५६०	ज्येष्ठ व. १२	बुधवार	30- 5-1638
45	१५६१	श्रावण व. ५	गुरुवार	8- 8-1639
46	१५६१	भाद्रपद शु. ८	सोमवार	26- 8-1639

S.No.	शा. शक	महिना व तिथि	वार	Date
47	१५६२	माघ शु. १३	गुरुवार	14- 1-1641
48	१५६३	आश्विन शु. १५	शुक्रवार	8-10-1641
49	१५६३	माघ व. ८	शनिवार	12- 2-1642
50	१५६४	ज्येष्ठ शु. १०	रविवार	29- 5-1642
51	१५६४	ज्येष्ठ शु. १४	बुधवार	1- 6-1642
52	१५६४	ज्येष्ठ व. ७	गुरुवार	9- 6-1642
53	१५६४	फाल्गुन शु. १३	मंगळवार	21- 2-1643
54	१५६५।६६			1643/44
55	१५६६	पौष शु. ७	बुधवार	25-12-1644
56	१५६८			1646
57	१५७०	वैशाख शु. २	शनिवार	15- 4-1648
58	१५७१	भाद्रपद व. २	बुधवार	12- 8-1649
59	१५७१	मार्गशीर्ष शु. १	शनिवार	24-11-1649
		Period IV; A. D. 1650-1700 = 59		
60	१५७३			1651
61	१५७३	माघ व. १२	मंगळवार	27- 1-1652
62	१५७४	आश्विन व. १२	मंगळवार	19-10-1652
63	१५७४	पौष व. ३	गुरुवार	6- 1-1653
64	१५७६			1654
65	१५७५	पौष व. ८	रविवार	1- 1-1654
66	१५७६	वैशाख व. १०	सोमवार	1- 5-1654
67	१५७९	चैत्र व. २	शनिवार	21- 3-1657
68	१५७९	ज्येष्ठ व. १४	मंगळवार	31- 5-1657
69	१५७९	भाद्रपद व. १	रविवार	13- 9-1657
70	१५७९	आश्विन शु. १	सोमवार	28- 9-1657
71	१५७९	मार्गशीर्ष व. १३	मंगळवार	22-12-1657
72	१५८०	आश्विन व. २	रविवार	3-10-1658
73	१५८०	पौष व. १	गुरुवार	30-12-1658
74	१५८३	चैत्र शु. १५	गुरुवार	4- 4-1661
75	१५८३	आश्विन व. १०	सोमवार	7-10-1661
76	१५८३	पौष शु. ३	शनिवार	14-12-1661
77	१५८५	आश्विन शु. २	बुधवार	23- 9-1663

S.No.	शा. शक	महिना व तिथि	वार	Date
78	१५८६	श्रावण शु. १०	शुक्रवार	22- 8-1664
79	१५८७	श्रावण व. १	बुधवार	16- 8-1665
80	१५८९			1667
81	१५८८	माघ शु. १	मंगळवार	15- 1-1667
82	१५८८	माघ शु. १०	गुरूवार	24- 1-1667
83	१५९०			1668
84	१५९०			1668
85	१५८९	माघ व. १	सोमवार	20- 1-1668
86	१५९१	ज्येष्ठ शु. ७	शुक्रवार	28- 5-1669
87	१५९२	मार्गशीर्ष शु. ८	शुक्रवार	10-11-1670
88	१५९४	श्रावण शु. १	सोमवार	15- 8-1562
89	१५९५	आश्विन व १	गुरुवार	16-10-1673
90	१५९७	माघ व. १३	मंगळवार	1- 2-1675
91	१५९७	कार्तिक शु. २	रविवार	10-10-1675
92	१५९८	अधि. श्रावण व. ५	बुधवार	19- 7-1676
93	१५९८	भाद्रपद शु. १३	रविवार	10- 9-1676
94	१६०१	ज्येष्ठ व. ३	सोमवार	16- 6-1679
95	१६०२	मार्गशीर्ष व. ८	शुक्रवार	3-12-1680
96	१६०२	माघ व. ३	बुधवार	26- 1-1681
97	१६०३	ज्येष्ठ		6-1681
98	१६०४			1682
99	१६०४	श्रावण शु. १०	शुक्रवार	2- 8-1682
100	१६०७।०८			1685/86
101	१६०८			1686
102	१६०९	माघ शु. ७	रविवार	29- 1-1688
103	१६१०	कार्तिक शु. १२	भृगुवार	26-10-1688
104	१६१०	पौष शु. ११	रविवार	23-12-1688
105	१६१०	माघ शु. ५	बुधवार	16- 1-1689
106	१६११	वैशाख व. २	शुक्रवार	26- 4-1689
107	१६११	आश्विन व. १२	सोमवार	30- 9-1689
108	१६११	पौष शु. ६	रविवार	8-12-1689
109	१६१४	आषाढ व. २	सोमवार	20- 6-1692

S.No.	शा. शक	महिना व तिथि	वार	Date
110	१६१४	भाद्रपद शु. ८	गुरुवार	8- 9-1692
111	१६१६	चैत्र व. १३	गुरुवार	12- 4-1694
112	१६१६	श्रावण शु. ९	शुक्रवार	20- 7-1694
113	१६१६	माघ शु. ४	मंगळवार	8- 1-1695
114	१६१८	श्रावण व. ३	बुधवार	5- 8-1696
115	१६१९			1697
116	१६१९	ज्येष्ठ शु. ६	रविवार	16- 5-1697
117	१६२१	कार्तिक व. १	रविवार	29-10-1699

Period V; A. D. 1700–1750 = 28

S.No.	शा. शक	महिना व तिथि	वार	Date
118	१६२३	भाद्रपद व. १४	शनिवार	20- 9-1701
119	१६२४			1702
120	१६२४	वैशाख शु. १०	रविवार	26- 4-1702
121	१६२५	वैशाख व. १२	शनिवार	1- 5-1703
122	१६२५	श्रावण व. ७	रविवार	22- 8-1703
123	१६२५	मार्गशीर्ष शु. १२	बुधवार	8-12-1703
124	१६२८	वैशाख शु. ७	सोमवार	8- 4-1706
125	१६२९	ज्येष्ठ व. ७	बुधवार	11- 6-1707
126	१६३१	फाल्गुन शु.		2-1710
127	१६३३	पौष शु. ६	गुरुवार	3- 1-1712
128	१६३४	कार्तिक शु. ५	बुधवार	22-10-1712
129	१६३८	श्रावण शु. ५	बुधवार	12- 7-1716
130	१६३९	ज्येष्ठ व. ८	भृगुवार	21- 6-1717
131	१६४०	आश्विन व. ८	सोमवार	6-10-1718
132	१६४१	ज्येष्ठ शु. १	शनिवार	9- 5-1719
133	१६४७			1725
134	१६४६	फाल्गुन व. १३	रविवार	1- 3-1725
135	१६५२			1730
136	१६५२	माघ व. ५	मंगळवार	15- 2-1731
137	१६५३	आश्विन व. १४	सोमवार	18-10-1731
138	१६५५			1733
139	१६५६	कार्तिक शु. ८	गुरुवार	24-10-1734
140	१६५६	फाल्गुन शु. ५	सोमवार	16- 2-1735

S.No.	शा. शक	महिना व तिथि	वार	Date
141	१६६१	चैत्र व. १३	भौमवासर	24- 4-1739

Period VI; A. D. 1750–1818 = 2

142	१६९२	श्रावण व. ४	शुक्रवार	10-10-1770
143	१७२६	चैत्र व. १	बुधवार	25- 4-1804

144	१४९५			1573
145	१५९६	मार्गशीर्ष शु. ७	मंगळवार	24-11-1674
146	१६३१	मार्गशीर्ष व. १४	शनिवार	18-12-1709
147	१६३१	मार्गशीर्ष व. १४	शनिवार	18-12-1709
148	१६३७	वैशाख शु. १३	गुरुवार	15- 5-1715
149	१६४२	आषाढ व. ८	शनिवार	16-7-1720

Nos. 150 to 155 are without dates

(Later additions)—

156	१५८९	फाल्गुन व ३	गुरुवार	20- 3-1668
157	१६१६	चैत्र व. ५	भौमवासर	4- 4-1694
158	१६१७	श्रावण शु. २	शुक्रवार	2- 8-1695
159	१६२४	आश्विन शु. १	शुक्रवार	11- 9-1702
160	१६४०	कार्तिक व. १३	रविवार	9-11-1718
161	१६५३	मार्गशीर्ष शु. ५	सोमवार	23-11-1731

(II) ACCORDING TO SEASONS :—

Hot Season—36;
Fālguna-6; Nos.—27,31,32,53,134,140.
Chaitra-6; Nos.—19,67,74,111,141,143.
Vaishakh-7; Nos.—57,66,106,120,124,121,148.
Jyeshta-17; Nos.—5, 9, 22, 28, 29, 36, 44, 50, 51, 52, 68, 86, 94, 116,
125, 130, 132.

Rainy Season—39;
Āshādha-3; Nos.—38,109,149.
Shrāvaṇa-14; Nos.—3,12,17,45,78,79,88,92,99,112,114,122,129,142.
Bhādrapada-7; Nos.—40,46,58,69,93,110,118.
Āshvina-15; Nos.—24,33,34,39,41,48,62,70,72,75,77,89,107,131,137.
Cold Season—48;
Kārtika-9; Nos.—1,6,13,14,91,103,117,128,139.
Mārgashirsha-14; Nos.—2,11,20,21,23,30,59,71,87,95,123,145-47.
Pausha-8; Nos.—55,63,65,73,76,104,108,127.
Māgha-17; Nos.—18,25,26,35,43,47,49,61,81, 82, 85, 90, 96, 102, 105,
113,136.
= 123 in all, excluding later additions.

THE GEOGRAPHHICAL ANALYSIS OF MAHZARS ANALYSED ABOVE

S.No.	The import. place	The place of Majlis
१	प्रा चाकण पाो ८४ गांव	
२	दरुज व कुरोली पाा खटाव	प्राा खटाव
३	रावेत पाा पुणें	आऊंध प्राा पुणें
४	कांहीं गांवची वृत्ती	मामलें चेऊल
५	कोल्हापूर	स्थळ अस्टें पाटोलियाचें
६	प्राा खटाव	प्राा खटाव
७	काा तळियें	मामलें तलियें
८	यैनापूर पाा रायबाग व तागडी प्राा विजापूर	
९	पेठ कालवठ	पाा वाई
१०	तपें वाळवें	किले पन्हाळा
११		चाकण
१२	वणपुरी	प्राा पुणें
१३	कुमठें बुाा पाा वाई	पाा कऱ्हाड
१४	घाटण तपे करकंब व भोस तपे उंदरगांव	
१५	काा वेंणी	काा कनासी प्राां बागलाण
१६	कडेगांव व पारगांव प्राा पुणें	प्राा पुणें
१७	भौगवली पाा सिरवळ	पाा सिरवळ
१८	तपे मसूर	स्थळ काा प्रतिष्ठान
१९	पाा सिरवळ	
२०	तपे कानदखोरें	किले पुरंदर प्राा पुणें
२१	,,	,,
२२	काा आटपाडी	पाा माणदहिगांव
२३	काा सुपे व मौजे वढाणें	
२४	माळशिरस पाा सुपे व टेकवडी व पिसरवे ताा कऱ्हे पठार	
२५	परगणे खेडले (कऱ्हाड)	
२६	आंबवडे ताा भोर	ताा मोर
२७	भिवरी	प्राा पुणें
२८	पाा शिरवळ	पाा शिरवळ
२९		काा नाशीक
३०	चामिली प्राा पुणें	
३१	कोढीत बुाा काा सासवड	काा सासवड
३२		स्थळ गुरसाळे ताा करकंब
३३	कापसी पाा फलटण	

S.No.	The import. place	Tne place of Majlis
३४	निरगुडे	किले फत्तेमंगल
३५	पाा सुपें–पुणें व काा सासवड पाो गांव	मामले दौलत मंगल
३६	वेळें, धानेब, कानंद व पासली; तपे कानद खोरें	स्थळ किले कोंढाणा
३७	पाथरी पाा माण	काा आटपाडी पाा माण
३८	काा कोल्हापूर	पाा कोल्हापूर महाल
३९	निरगुडे काा बायडे किले फत्ते मंगल	
४०	काा संगमेश्वर	किले खिळणें
४१	बाहे ताा वाळवे	तपे वाळवे
४२	सप्तशृंगी	किले अहिवंत
४३	ताा गुंजणमावळ	किले कोंढाणा प्राा पुणें.
४४	कोढीत प्राा पुणें	काा खेडेबारे प्राा पुणें
४५	बोरी पाा इंदापूर	पाा इंदापूर
४६	रावेत पाा पुणें	किले कोंढाणा
४७	ताा खेडेबारे	,,
४८	काा नाशीक	ठाणें मामलें गुलसनाबाद
४९	झिराड ताा झिराड व सारळ ताा अष्टागरु प्रां चेऊल	
५०	मळद प्राा पुणें	प्राा पुणें
५१	काा पुणें	काा खेडेबारें
५२	कातरज प्राा पुणें	,,
५३	मेखली	किले कोंढाणा
५४	पाा सिरवळ	
५५	पारनेर	पाा पारनेर
५६	काा नासीक	ठाणे मामले गुलसनाबाद
५७	पाा आकोलें	पाा आकोलें
५८	ताा रोहिडखोरे	किले रोहिडा प्राा पुणें
५९	सुपें खुाा पाा सुपें	
६०	ताा मोसेखोरें	
६१	काा खानापूर	मामले मूर्तजाबाद
६२	ताा भोर	किले रोहिडा प्राा पुणें
६३	काा उत्रोली ताा भोर	,,
६४	रहाटवडे ताा खेडेबारें	
६५	पेड मामले मूर्तजाबाद	मामले मूर्तजाबाद
६६	लोणी पाा खटाव	पाा खटाव
६७	तपे गुंजणमावळ	काा पुणें
६८	काा सासवड	काा सासवड
६९	जुन्नर	स्याहार जुन्नर प्राा पुणें

S.No.	The import. place	The place of Majlis
७०	कोल्हाळे बुा पा सुपें	प्रा पुणें
७१	सालसी ता जाउली	का बामणोली
७२	पारगांव	पा सुपें
७३	का अथणी	पा जंबखिंडी
७४	ता भोर	
७५	भवाली पा सिरवळ	
७६		चौत्रा पा येदलाबाद
७७	का तळबीड	महाबळेश्वर
७८	पा कुडाळ	प्रा का कुडाळ
७९	वडगांव ता गुंजणमावळ	ता गुंजणमावळ
८०	का पुणें	पा पुणें
८१	पसर्णी	पा वाई
८२	तपे कानदखोरें	धानीब तपें कानदखोरें
८३	का पुणें	पा पुणें
८४	,,	,,
८५	पंढरपूर	पंढरपूर का कासेगांव
८६	कविठे पा निवासें	कविठे पा निवासें
८७	तांदळी ता रांजणगांव पा जुन्नर	तांदळी पा जुन्नर
८८	पा सिरवळ	पा सिरवळ

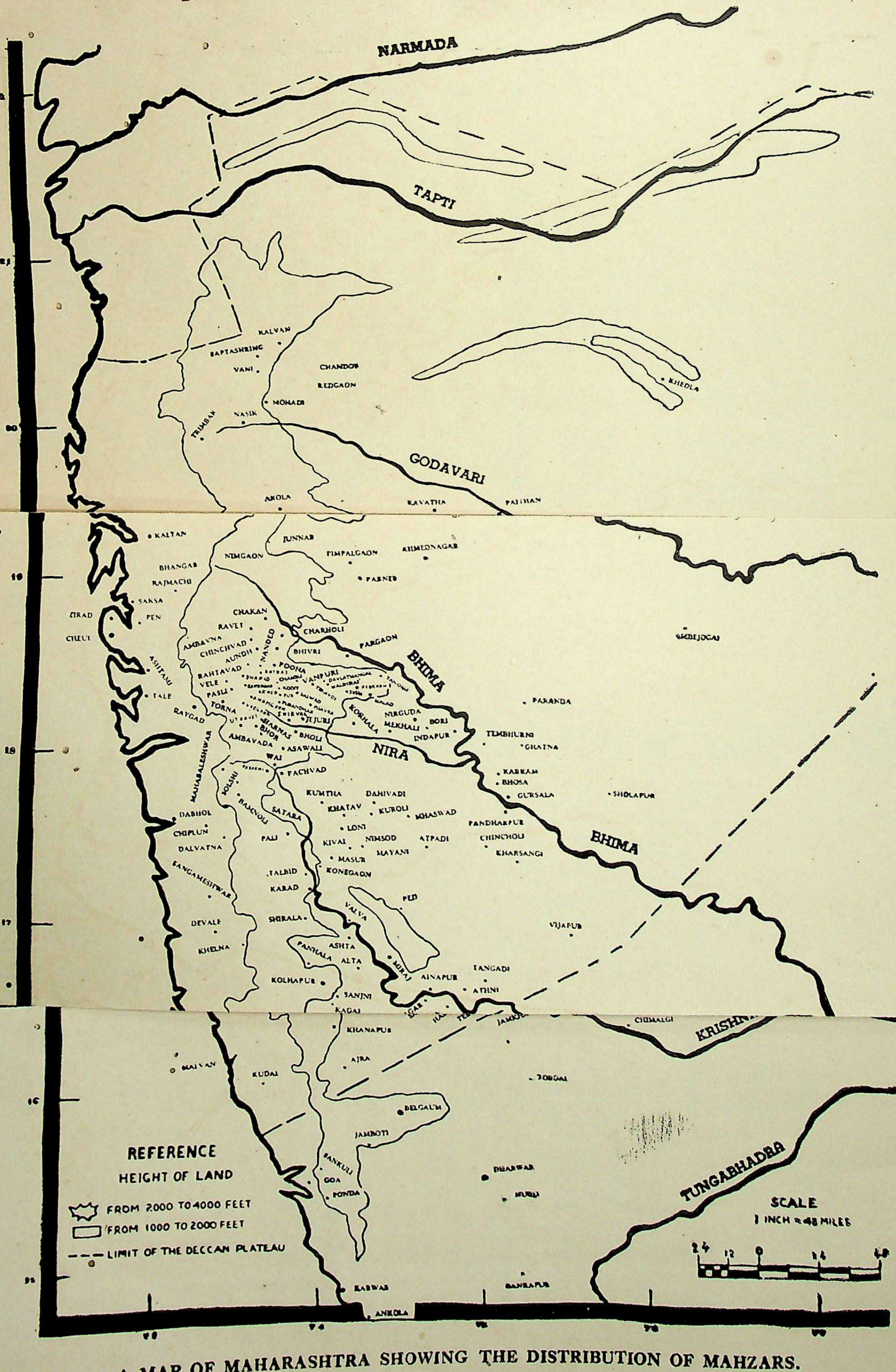
S.No.	The import. place	The place of Majlis
८९		संमत् कागीनेलें मामले बंकापूर
९०	पाली पा कऱ्हाड	पाली पा कऱ्हाड
९१	खामगांव का मावळ	ता मावळ
९२	देहुणे पा निवासे	घिवरी पा सेवगांऊ
९३	जेजुरी पा पुणें	पेठ नारायणपुर किले पुरंधर प्रां पुणें
९४	भंगारें प्रा चेऊल	प्रा चेऊल मूर्तजाबाद
९५	पा सिरवळ	का हरणस ता वेलवंडखोरे
९६	कोले कानडी पा आंबेजोगाई	
९७	चिंचवड	चिंचवड पांढरी ता हवेली प्रा पुणें
९८	कोणेगाऊ पा कऱ्हाड	ढाणे का मसूर
९९	आबेपुरी सा मुऱ्हे	प्रा वाई
१००	तपे अस्टमी	मामले चेऊल
१०१	का आंबेजोगाई	
१०२		तुलापूर लस्कर
१०३	पा वाई	पा वाई
१०४	गांवगन्ना पा पुणें	प्रां वाई
१०५	सिवरे पा टेंभुर्णी मामले परांडे	

S.No.	The import. place	The place of Majlis
१०६	लव्हाळे ताा काा मावळ	काा पुणें
१०७	ताा काा मावळ	लस्कर तुलापूर
१०८	जेजुरी ताा कऱ्हे पठार	
१०९	काा पुणें	काा पुणें
११०	काा देवळें ताा देवळें	किले विशाळगड
१११	साकसें ताा पेण	राजमाची
११२	ताा मसूर पाो गांव	किवळ ताा मसूर पाा कऱ्हाड
११३	तांा आजिरें पाो गांव	काा जांबोटी ताा खानापूर
११४	पंढरपूर	पंढरपूर पाा कासेगांऊ
११५		सुपे साा जुन्नर
११६	दलवटणें	काा चिपळूण मामले मुस्तफाबाद–दाभोळ
११७	खोडसी	काा मसूर पाा कऱ्हाड
११८	सांजणी काा मांजरी प्राा कागल	बोरलें काा वांग किले पन्हाळा
११९	पाा कऱ्हाड व कडेगाऊ पाा आऊंध	थळ पाा खटाव
१२०	नागेवाडी साा मुऱ्हे	पाा वाई साा पन्हाळा
१२१	काा मावळ पाा पुणें	
१२२	पिंपळगाऊ पिसा पाा पारनेर साा जुन्नर	
१२३	पाा चिमलगा सुभा विजापूर	सुभा विजापूर
१२४	पाा वणी	
१२५	पाा खटाव	ढाणें पाा खटाव
१२६	कुरोली	स्थळ पाा खटाव
१२७		पाा सिरवळ
१२८	नरसींपूर पाा सिराळें	पाा सिराळें
१२९	चऱ्होली ताा हवेली पाा पुणें	
१३०	नांदेड ताा काा मावळ	नांदेड ताा मावळ
१३१	मामले रायरी व दाभोळ	किले सातारा
१३२	काा निमसोड	स्थळ सातारा
१३३	मामले परांडे पाो गांव	
१३४	काा मावळ पाो गांव	
१३५	काा खेडे ताा खेडेबारे	
१३६	असवली ताा निरथडी	काा पुणें
१३७	काा कल्याण	प्रांा कल्याण भिवंडी
१३८	रेडेगांऊ खुाा मामलें चांदवड	मामले चांदवड
१३९	निंमगाऊ नागना ताा खेड साा जुन्नर	

S.No.	The import. place	The place of Majlis
१४०	मळवली	ताा कानदखोरे
१४१	मोसेखोरे व ताा कानदखोरे	
१४२	पेठ माधवराव	किले सोलापूर
१४३	त्र्यंबकेश्वर	ताा त्रिंबक
१४४	बावधण, कण्हेरी व नागेवाडी पाा वाई	पाा वाई
१४५	मोहाडी प्राा दिंडोरी	प्राा गुलसनाबाद
१४६	ससागड	काा तेरदळ
१४७	काा तेरदळ पाो गांव	,,
१४८	हारोगेरा व रसूलपूर पाा तेरदळ	पाा तेरदळ
१४९	काा तेरदळ	ठाणें काा तेरदळ साा तोरगळ
१५०		
१५१	काा करकम	पाा करकम
१५२	पंढरपूर	ठाणें पाा कासेगांव
१५३	काा वाई	स्थळ पाा वाई
१५४	चिंचोले व खर्सोंडी पाा माण दहिगांव	काा मार
१५५	पंढरपूर	पंढरपूर पाा माणदहिगांव

(Later additions)—

S.No.	The import. place	The place of Majlis
१५६	तपे अंतरुज व बाजे तपे हाये मामले गोवा	मामले गोवा
१५७	ठाणे मामले फोंडा	सुांकली मामले फोंडा
१५८	मामले फोंडा	मामले गोवा
१५९	काा पांचवड पाा करारावाद	पाा करारावाद
१६०	मामले फोंडा	सदर कोट फोंडा
१६१	मामले फोंडा	


NARMADA
TAPTI
KHEDLA
KALVAN
SAPTASHRING
VANI
CHANDOS
REDGAON
MOHADI
NASIK
TRIMBAK
GODAVARI
AKOLA
KAVATHA
PAITHAN
KALYAN
JUNNAR
NIMGAON
PIMPALGAON
AHMEDNAGAR
PARNER
BHANGAR
RAJMACHI
SAKSA
PEN
CHAUL
CHAKAN
RAVET
CHARHOLI
PARGAON
AMBAVNA
CHINCHVAD
AUNDH
NANDED
BHIVRI
AMBEJOGAI
POONA
VANPURI
BHIMA
RAHTAVAD
VELE
PASLI
TALE
RAYGAD
TORNA
PURANDHAR
SASWAD
SHIRVAL
JEJURI
KORHALA
NIRGUDA
MEKHALI
BORI
INDAPUR
PARANDA
TEMBHURNI
GHATNA
BHOR
BHOLI
AMBAVADA
ASAWALI
NIRA
MAHABALESHWAR
WAI
PACHVAD
KARKAM
BHOSA
GURSALA
SHOLAPUR
KUMTHA
DAHIVADI
KHATAV
KUROLI
KHASWAD
SATARA
DABHOL
CHIPLUN
PALI
LONI
KIVAI
NIMSOD
ATPADI
PANDHARPUR
CHINCHOLI
MAYANI
KHARSANGI
DALVATNA
MASUR
KONEGAON
TALBID
KARAD
SANGAMESHWAR
PED
VALVA
SHIRALA
DEVALE
KHELNA
ASHTA
PANHALA
ALTA
MIRAJ
AINAPUR
TANGADI
ATHNI
VIJAPUR
KOLHAPUR
SANJNI
KAGAL
KHANAPUR
CHIMALGI
KRISHNA
AJRA
MALVAN
KUDAL
TORGAL
BELGAUM
JAMBOTI
DHARWAR
SANKULI
GOA
PONDA
TUNGABHADRA
KARWAR
ANKOLA
SANKAPUR
REFERENCE
HEIGHT OF LAND
FROM 2000 TO 4000 FEET
FROM 1000 TO 2000 FEET
LIMIT OF THE DECCAN PLATEAU
SCALE
1 INCH = 48 MILES
24
12
0
24
48
22
21
20
19
18
17
16
15

A MAP OF MAHARASHTRA SHOWING THE DISTRIBUTION OF MAHZARS.

CLASSIFICATION OF MAḤZARS ANALYSED ACCORDING TO MODERN ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS* :—

Poona District—69; Nos.—1,3,11,12,16,17,19,20,21,23,24,26,27,28, 30,31,34,35,36,39,43, 44,45,46,47,50,51,52,53,54,58,59,60,62,63,64,67,68, 69, 70,72,74,75,79,80,82,83,84,88,91,93,95,97,102,106,107,108,109,115, 121, 127, 129,130,134,135,136,139,140,141,150. Satara District—27; Nos.—2,6,9, 13,33,41,61,66,71,77,81,90,98,99,103,104,112,117,119,120,125, 126, 128, 131, 132,144,153. Sholapur District—11; Nos.—14,22,32,37,85,114,142, 151,152,154,155. Ahmedanagar District—6; Nos.—55,57,86,87,92, 122. Nashik District—9; Nos.—15,29,42,48, 56, 124, 138, 143, 145. Khandesh District—1; No.—76. Thana District—1; No.—137. Kulaba District—7; Nos.—4,7,49,65,94,100,111. Ratnagiri District—3; Nos.—40, 110, 116. Kolhapur—5; Nos.—5, 10, 38, 113, 118. Belgaum District—3; Nos.—8,73,78. Dharwad District—1; No.—89. Vijapur District—5; Nos.—123, 146, 147, 148, 149. Varhad (Berar)—1; No.—25. Hydarabad Deccan—5: Nos.—18,96,101, 105,133.

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*Later additions are excluded.

ALTERATIONS AND CORRECTIONS

Page	Line		
260	5	read	by pasting together
261	9	,,	122 instead of 121.
,,	27	,,	6,107;
,,	28	,,	=8.
,,	33	,,	Nos. 17,61,66,103,137,148 = 6.
,,	35	,,	Nos. 35,70,85 = 3.
262	5 and 6	,,	(Dharmādhikāri) Nos. 29,38,40,56; Of a priest (Upādhye) Nos. 4,5,7,69; (Pujāri) Nos. 42, 149 = 10, in all 80.
,,	7	,,	Nos. 26,71,84,100,133 = 5.
,,	10	,,	24, instead of 26.
,,	12	drop	149 and read = 7.
268	27	read	शि. च. सा. खं. ७
274	10	,,	तक्षिमेविषयीं पैशाचा वाद.
284	7	,,	इ. १६२८ सप्टेंबर २०.
285	5	,,	देशमुख
285	7	,,	विकली.
286	24	,,	(हलगी व लहान काठी ?).
289	26	,,	तपे वालवे
290	17	,,	वीा ॐ.
298	21	,,	म्हैसणे
300	19	,,	गैरहजर
313	10	,,	विचारे धर्मता
313	16	,,	काा कुडाळ येथील
320	last line	,,	माघ व.
331	26	,,	श. १६१० पौष
332	3	,,	परगणे पुणे खाली
332	20	,,	इ. १६८९.
333	4	,,	मिरासदाराचे हक्क
338	27	,,	श. १६१९
346	6	,,	दोढाई
360	23	,,	रैयानी काा मार

NOMINAL COMPOSITION IN PĀLI

By

GULAB V. DAVANE

While nominal composition in Old Indo-Aryan has been subject to studies by many Indian and foreign scholars, that in Middle Indo-Aryan has not yet received sufficient attention from linguists, though various Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) texts have been published during the last fifty years. Even standard grammars of these languages like GEIGER's *Pali Litteratur und Sprache* and PISCHEL's *Grammatik der Prakrit Sparchen* fail to take notice of this interesting and important phenomenon. Except for one short study by WILLMEN-GRABOWSKA, dealing with the nominal compounds in the Aśokan inscriptions, very little has been done in this respect. An analytical and critical study of these compounds, therefore, will be very helpful in tracing the developments of MIA languages. As a preliminary to such a detailed study, I have tried here to analyse the nominal compounds occurring in a small old Pāli text 'Mahā-pari-nibbāṇa-sutta' contained in the *Dīgha Nikāya.*

Therein I found 443 nominal compounds.

I—INITIAL MEMBERS

The following is the analysis of the first members of all these compounds.

(1) A majority of these i. e. 235 out of 443 are made up by nouns. If these nouns are further classified according to their genders and the final vowel or consonant, the following results are discernible.

A majority is formed by masculine nouns (118); neuter nouns come next (60), and feminine nouns (47) stand last.

In MIA we have no vocable ending in a consonant. Most of the masculine and neuter nouns end in *a*, and the feminine nouns in *ā* or *ī*.

Masculine nouns ending in a (106)

addhāna, ajjhatta, ariya (3), assa, assāsa, atta (4), ācariya (2), ākāsa, bhāva, bhoga (2), brahma, brāhmaṇa (2), buddha, dhamma (13), deva (4), gaṇḍa, gandha, Gotama (2), kāka, kāla, kāma, kaṇikāra, khattiya (2), kumbha, loka (2), loma, mādhuraka, Magadha, Malla, Mandārava, mutiṅga, nāga (2), nāya, nirodha, padesa, paloka, pamoda, paṇḍita, piṇḍa (2), purisa (4), rāga (2), ratha, rukkha, sagga, samaṇa (2), saṅga (3), sannipāta, siṁha, sunidha, tala (2), thūpa, upāsaka, uppāda, vaṇṇa, vaya, vegha, vinaya.

Masculine nouns ending in i (5)

hatthi, Licchavi, sakkhi, vajji, vatti.

Masculine nouns ending in u (2)

sādhu, satthu.

Masculine noun ending in ū (1)
abhibhū.

Neuter nouns ending in a (62)
bala, brahmacariya, cakka (2), cela, cetiya, dukkha (3), geha (2), gāma, gīta, hema, janapada, jīvita, kamma (3), kappa (2), kapila, kula (2), maṇḍala, nānatta, nibbāṇa, pada, patta, pāpa (4), puṇṇa, puṭa, rakkhāvaraṇa, ratta, rūpa, samma (4), sarīra (3), sīla (5), sukha, tela (2), titthiya, udaka (3), ujjaṅgala, upatthāna, viriya (2), yuga.

Neuter noun ending in u (1)
āyu.

Neuter nouns ending in o (4)
āpo, ceto, mano, yaso.

Feminine nouns ending in ā (23)
abhijjhā, avijjā, bhāsā (3), devatā, kaṅkhā, kathā, kāyā (2), mātikā, niddā (2), paññā, saṅganīkā (2), saññā, sākhā, sikkhā, Ummā, vijjā, vinā, vassā.

Feminine nouns ending in i (14)
chavi, diṭṭhi, iddhi, jāti, khanti, kitti, osadhi, pasaḍḍhi, pīti, samādhi (2), sati, sambodhi.

Feminine nouns ending in ī (7)
Ambapālī (2), palhavī, vedehī, vesāli, saṅghātī, vācī.

Feminine noun ending in u — Matu (2)

Pronouns—sva, para, aṇṇa, pacceka, sabba.

Most of these nouns are common nouns, but there are also a few proper nouns, such as *Gotama-dvāram*, *Licchavi-parisā*, *Ambapāli-gaṇikā*, etc.

The following nouns deserve some notice :*ceto-samādhi*, *āposaññā*, *mano-kamma*.

Here the case-ending '*o*' of the masculine nominative seems to have been preserved, but the real case with these compounds is that they have been inherited from Old Indo-Aryan. The fact is that the MIA languages, during the course of their development, coined some compound-words of their own, while some were inherited either *ad verbatim* or with normal phonological change from OIA.

The compound *vaṇi-ppatho* also lays evidence to the same effect. This compound is phonologically derived from the OIA compound *vaṇik-patha*, as against the normally expected form *vaṇija-patha*.

A careful survey of these compounds, with a noun as the initial member, brings the following facts to our notice :—

All nouns, when initial members of compounds, as a rule, stand in their stem forms. The masculine and the neuter nouns ending in *a*, and the feminine nouns ending in *ā* and *i*, undergo no change here. But in the case of feminine nouns ending in *ī*, the final *ī* is in most of the cases shortened into *i*, e.g. *vāci-kamma*, *saṅghāti-patta-cīvaram*, etc.

There is only one feminine noun ending in *u*, viz. *Mātu-gāme*, indicating its inheritance from Sk. (< *mātṛ*) by the correspondence *-u-* < *-ṛ-* especially in kinship terms.

The compounds with nouns as initial members are generally Tatpuruṣas or Bahuvrīhis.

(2) *Adjectives*—Next to nouns come the adjectives. Here out of 443 compounds 110 have adjectives as their initial members.

As adjectives have no independent gender and number, they take the gender, number and case of the nouns qualified by them. Hence they undergo no change, when standing as the first members of compounds.

These adjectives can be sub-divided into further groups.

(i) *Adjectives of Quality*—acchedi, agga, adhipāteya, ādīnava, bhīma, caṇḍa, dalha, dīgha, jara, khuḍḍa (2), lahita (5), mahā (7), nīla (5), odāta (5), orama, pacchima, pahāṇa, parima, pita (5), samasama (2), sādhāraṇa, sāta, sīta, sunna, suvaṇṇa, uju, uttama, uttara, visesa.

(ii) *Adjectives of Quantity*—aneha, appa, bahu (7), sabba (4).

(iii) *Numeral Adjectives*—catuttha, catu (2), dutīya, paññāsa, paṭhama, sata, satta, tāvatiṁsa, tutiya.

(iv) *Past Passive Participles* (ppps.) *used as Adjectives*—āraddha, atikkanta, atīta (2), āgata, ākiṇṇa (2), bhūta, chinna, diṇṇa, diṭṭha, kata, khīṇa (4) onīta, pariyutthita, pasanna, sallāpita, samapajjita, sunisiṇṇa, thita, vijita.

The compounds having adjectives of quality, quantity or numeral adjectives as the first member are generally Karmadhāraya or Descriptive determinative compounds e.g. *agga-nagaram*, *dīgha-rattam*, *mahā-paṭhavī*, *pathama-jjhānam* etc.

They may also be Bahuvrīhis as—*pita-alaṅkārā*, *bahu-kiccā*, *sīta-udikā*, etc.

Occasionally these adjectives may also form compounds, known as Upapada-Tatpuruṣa, e.g. *aṇṇa-apekkho*.

When the ppps. stand as the initial members of compounds, they generally form Bahuvrīhis like *āraddha-cittā*, *thita-citta* (*ssu*), *khīṇa-nirayo*, etc.

Sometimes they may also form governing compounds known as Avyayī-bhāva compounds e.g. *chinna-papātām*, *diṇṇa-pubbam*, *atīta-satthukam*, etc.

Here is one Dvandva—all the members in which are ppps. *atīta-anāgata-paccupann*(*esu*).

(3) *Adverbs*—Here 35 compounds have adverbs as initial members. cīra, divā, ittha, mithu, pacchā (3), pono, pubba, puna, purattha, sakad, samīpa, santika, tathā (2), ubhato, tuṇhi, yathā (6), abhiṇha.

Adverbs of manner and time, when initial members, form Avyayī-bhāva or Governing compounds, e.g. *yathā-bhūtam*, *pacchā-bhaṭṭam*.

They may also form Karmadhāraya compounds as *divā-vihāra*, *puna-bbhavo*.

Sometimes they give Upapada Tatpuruṣa as *samīpa-cāri*, *santiha-avacaro*.

Very rarely they form Bahuvrīhis like *ittha-hāmo*.

(4) *Prepositions*—Here 24 compounds have prepositions as their initial members.

abhi (3), anu (2), pari (2), paro, pati, sa (10), sama (2), vi (2).

sa (along with, accompanied by) and *vi* (especially or opposite of) are very common among these prepositions.

They form a variety of Determinatives known as Prādi or Gati compounds, e.g. *abhi-pasanna*, *vi-suddha*, *pari-kkhayā*, *pari-nibbāna*, etc.

Sometimes these prepositions give Avyayībhāva compounds like *anu-dhammam*.

The preposition *sa* gives a variety of Bahuvrīhis known as Saha-bahuvrīhis. *sa-amacce*, *sa-devake*, *sa-putto*, *sa-bhāriyo*, etc.

Other prefixes also may occasionally give Bahuvrīhis as *vi-rūpa*.

(5) The prepositions *su* and *dus* come very often as initial members of compounds. Here we have 15 such compounds—*dul-laddham*, *dur-gati*, *dus-karaturam*, *dus-sīlam*, *su-bhikkhu*, *su-patipaṇṇo*, *su-kilāntu-rūpo*, etc.

They form in a majority of cases Prādi determinatives as *su-gati*, *du-laddha*, *su-bhikkhu*, etc.

They also give Bahuvrīhis like *su-kilanta-rūpa*, *dum-mano*, etc.

Rarely they may give Upapada Tatpuruṣas e.g. *suharm*, *dus-karataram*.

(6) Negative particles *a*– and *an*– often stand as the first members of compounds. They generally come with some adjective or noun whose sense they reverse, e.g.

a-cira, a-jāta, a-kāla, a-kammāsāni, a-khanalāni, ana-achariyam, an-āgata, an-alapa, an-anna, an-anta, an-anubodhā, an-āsavam, an-āvatti, an-āgariyam, an-āvila, a-subha, a-nicca, a-nimittam, a-sabalāni, etc.

Here we have 35 such compounds. They form either a variety of Determinatives known as Nañ-Tatpuruṣas as *a-visārado*, *an-ayata*, *an-uttaram*, *an-acchariyam*, etc., or a variety of Bahuvrīhis known as Nañ-bahuvrīhis as *a-jāta-sattu*, *a-rūpa-saññi*, *an-āvatti-dhammā*, etc.

The context only can determine whether a compound of this type is Tatpuruṣa or Bahuvrīhi.

Rarely these particles form Avyayībhāva compounds like *a-nimittam*.

II—Final Members

(1) *Nouns*—Here also a majority is formed by nouns. Out of 443 compounds 312 have nouns as their final members. The following is the detailed classification of these nouns :—

Masculine nouns ending in a—

adhigam (ena), sadd (ena), suddo, adharā, mokkha, saraṇā, putto, dhammo, dhammā, patho, puggala (ssa), bhāva, padipa (m), sāvako, patihār (āya), agaro, nādo, brahma (ke), thūpā, nirodham, nāyakā, diṭṭhiko, vipākā, alaṅkārā, vaṇṇo, mittā, kālo, buddho, visayo, vinipāto, āsavā, saṁsāra (m), sankhāram, raṇṇo, dīpa, rāga, mano, etc.

In all there are 153 masculine nouns ending in *a*.

Masculine nouns ending in i—

maṇi (m), pāni (m), sārathi, mutthi, patayo, dundubhiyo.

Masculine nouns ending in in—

saññi (2), anupassi, brahmacāri (su).

Masculine nouns ending in u—

satthu (kam), sattu.

The only example of masculine noun ending in *tṛ* is *pitara*.

Neuter nouns ending in a—

āyatanam, aṅgam, āyatan (āni) dassanam, kamma, cetiyāni, puppham, nagara (ke), jhāṇam, cittā, nibbāṇam, saṁvattikam, karaniy (āni), kiccā, phalā, khettam, vatthā, nibbhās (āni), gāme, nāmo, rattam, hit (āya), saccāṇam.

In all there are 101 such compounds, with a neuter noun in *a* as the final member.

Here I found no neuter noun ending in *i* or *u*.

Femine nouns ending in ā—

sunisā, gaṇikā. sañña (m) (7), saññā (2), saññāṇam, taṇhā, parisā (2), parisa (m) (3), māla (m), mālā (ni), tārakā, icchā, pūjā (ya), udikā (2), bhikkhā, patiṭṭhā, doṇi (yā), dhā, dhārā, upasākā (yo), sālā (yam), bhariy (o).

Femine nouns ending in i

gutti, vimutti (2), kucchi (m), sambodhi (m), vipatti (yā), gati (m), gati, jāni, samādhi (m), yoni (yo).

Feminine nouns ending in ī—

paṭhavī, itthi (yo), kumāri (yo), bhikkhuṇi (yo).

Feminine noun ending in u—

dhātu (yā).

(2) From a mere glance at the list, we may draw the following conclusions :—

(i) As the initial members, the nouns stand in their stem forms, but here they stand in their inflected forms, and we may see them occurring in any of the 7 cases, corresponding to the case of the word, to which the compound refers.

(ii) The gender of a noun, when standing as final member of a compound, cannot always remain the same as its normal gender. Especially when the compound stands in the capacity of an adjective, like the Bahuvrīhi compound, the gender of the final noun changes according to that of the word qualified by the compound, e.g. *citta* has masculine gender in the compound *pasaṇṇa-citto*. So also *vattha* has masculine gender in *vatthā*. *Mala* and *bhāriya* have neuter and masculine genders in *maṇḍala-mālāni* and *sa-bhāriyo* respectively.

When it is the final member of an Avyayībhāva compound, a noun ends in *am* which gives it an appearance of neuter noun or of accusative case, e.g. *a-nimittam*, *yathā-sambhavam*, etc.

(3) Most of the masculine and neuter nouns end in *a*, and the faminine ones in *ā*.

(4) The suffix *ka* is added to nouns, many a time, usually to give an idea of a diminutive. This suffix is often added to the word *nagara* e.g. *Sākhā-nagarake*, *kudda-nagarake*, etc.

This suffix is also added to the names of cities to denote 'a native of the city', e.g. *Rāmagāmikā*, *Allakappakā*, etc.

This *ka* suffix is also added to nouns to denote "a possessor of the thing or quality", e.g. *saṁ-diṭṭhika*, *atīta-satthukam*, etc.

It is very often added at the end of saha-Bahuvrīhis, e.g. *sa-devake*, *sa-brahamake*, etc.[1]

(5) Occasionally there is an internal change in the body of the final member e.g. *udaka* is changed to *udikā* in *Sītā-udikā*.

(6) As a peculiar Buddhistic text, the technical terms like *āyatanam*, *sambojjhaṅgam*, *saṁvattikam*, come very often at the end of these compounds.

(7) The compounds having a noun as a final member are generally Determinative (both Tatpuruṣa or Karmadhāraya) and possessives or Bahuvrīhis.

2. *Adjectives*

Here also adjectives come next to nouns. 74 compounds have adjectives as final members. These can be further grouped as follows:—

(i) *Adjectives of Quality*—uttara (m), ussuko, sabalā (ni), vidure, visārado, abhimukho, padhānā, pamokhā, suddh (ena), parihāniye, āvilo, sunno, pamukha (m), paṇḍitā (3).

(ii) *Adjectives of Quantity*—samadhikāni, bahulā.

(iii) *Numeral Adjectives*—satam, sahassen, satāni, satehi, paññāsa.

(iv) ppps. *standing as adjectives*—kanta, pasaṇṇa, pakkant (esu), paṭipanno, rato, āgatā, kant (ehi), sallin (ena), paccupaṇṇ (esu), ssuto, patto, ratā, chinnam, samappitā, etc.

46 compounds have ppps. as final members.

We can conclude the following facts about these adjectives :—

(i) The compounds having adjectives as final members have their gender, case and number agreeing with those of the nouns qualified by these adjectives.

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[1] WACKERNAGEL §45 (pp. 102–5).

(ii) Such compounds are generally Bahuvrīhis like *sannipāta-bahulā*, *sammā-padhānā*, etc. or Tatpuruṣas like *Buddha-pamukham*, *brahmāna-paṇḍitā*, etc.

(iii) A majority of these adjectives is made up by ppps. e.g. *cira-pabbajjitā*, *bahu-ssutā*, *vijjā-caraṇa-sampannā*, *niddā-rutā*, etc.

These ppps. form according to the context either Bahuvrīhi compounds like *buhu-ssutā*, or Tatpuruṣa compounds like *vijjā-caraṇa-sampanna*, *niddā-ratā*, etc.

(iv) When a numeral stands as final member of a compound, it takes invariably the singular number and neuter gender. This type of compounds is known as Dvigu. Here are some illustrations of this type such as *kappa-satam*, *rūpaka-sahassam*, etc.

3. *Verbal Kṛdantas or Action and Agent Nouns*

Verbal kṛdantas often stand as final members of compounds. Here we have 18 such compounds

apekkho, cāriṇo, itho, vatti(ssu), cārikam, vassipatto, abhisambhavataram, karataram, peyya, vidu, hamsaṇo, -vatti, āgamino, cāri, avacaro, bhogi, arha.

Some of these verbal nouns and adjectives have an independent use e.g. *avacaro*, *bhogi*, *cārika* etc., but most of them do not admit of independent use. They can be used only in combination with another word e.g. *apekkho*, *vidu*, *uha*, *arha*, *hamsano*, etc.

These compounds always act as adjectives to some preceding or following noun.

They form a variety of compounds, known as Upapada-Tatpuruṣa, e.g. *ākāsa-ttho*, *sakad-āgāmino*, *samīpa-cāri*, *loka-vidu*, *cakka-vatti*, *dus-karataram*, etc.

4. *Adverbs*

Out of these compounds 11 have adverbs as final members.

bhuta-pubbam, atīta-satthukam, diṇṇa-pubbam, gathā.bhūtam, anna-titthiya-pubbo, kata-pubbam, sallāpita-pubbam, samapajjita-pubbam, udaka-salato.

These adverbs can be divided into two groups (i) words originally occurring as adverbs e.g. *pubbam*, *pacchā*, *yathā*, etc. (ii) words which are originally nouns, but which take the form of an adverb by the addition of certain suffixes or prefixes.

Accusatives of noun are often used adverbially, e.g. *atīta-satthukam*.

Adverbs are also formed by adding suffixes to nouns, e.g. *visva-to* = *visvato* in *visvato-dhi* or *sālā-to* = *sālato* in *udaka-sālāte*.

The compounds with adverbs as final members are governing or Avyayībhāva compounds.

5. *Compounds with more than two Members*

We have so far analysed initial and final members of all the compounds. Now we find in literature many compounds, which have more than two members. A compound word sometimes further combines with another simple or compound word. Thus a compound has sometimes 3, 4 or even more members.

Here we get 59 such compounds :

acchedi-sāta-udakam, addhāna-magga-patipaṇṇo, a-jāta-satta, an-aṇṇa-saraṇā, an-anta-saññam, an-āvatti-dhammā, anu-dhamma-cārino, an-upādi-sesāya, anu-pariyāya-patham, a-ppati-puggalo, a-rūpa-saññi, a-subha-saññam, atīta-an-āgata-paccupaṇṇesu, a-vinipāta-dhammā, a-vīta-rāgā, bahu-jana-hitāya, bahu-jana-sukhāya, baha-khattiya-mahā-sālā, cātu-māhā-pathe, ceto-dukkha-samappitā, daḷha-pākāra-toraṇam, dhamma-anudhamma-patipaṇṇā, dhamma-visaya-sumbojjhi-aṅgam, dev'-inda-nāg'-inda-nara-inda-pūjito, diṭṭhi-sāmāṇṇ-āgatā, dukkha-nirodha-gāminiyā, dussa-yuyu-sutāni, gaha-pati-paṇḍitā, Malla-pajā-pataya.

Each compound in these compound words is to be resolved separately and the compound resolved last is to be taken as the principal compound of the whole word, e.g. *deva-inda* is a Genitive Tatpuruṣa, devinda-naginda-narinda is a Dvandva compound, but as (*devinda-nāginda-narinda*)-*pūjito* is an Instrumental Tatpuruṣa, the principal compound of the whole word is Instrumental Tatpuruṣa, so also *dhamma-anu-dhamma* is an Iterative compound but *dhamma-anu-dhamma-patipanno* is an Accussative Tatpuruṣa.

III—Classification of the Compounds

(i) *Co-ordinatives or Copulatives*—Here two or more co-ordinate members are compounded together by dropping conjunctions like 'and', 'or', etc.

Here we have 16 Copulative or Dvandva compounds :

assāsa-passāso, sunidha-vassakārā, samaṇa-brāhmaṇā, bhikkhu-bhikkhuniyo, deva-manussānam, suvaṇṇa-dubbaṇṇāni, upāsaha-upāsikāyo, atīta-an-āgata-paccupaṇṇesu, Rāga-dosa-mohānam, ācariya-pācariyāṇam.

As there is no dual form in Pāli, here we have plural dvandvas even with two members e.g. *samaṇa-brāhmaṇā*, *bhikkhu-bhikkhunīyo*, *deva-manussānam*, etc.

When there are more than two members, the Dvandva is naturally plural, e.g. *atīta-anāgata-paccupaṇṇesu*.

The members of a Dvandva belong to the same category i.e. in *samaṇa brāhmaṇā* both the members are nouns, in *suvaṇṇa-dubbaṇṇāni* both the members are adjectives, in *atīta-anāgata-paccupaṇṇesu* all the members are past passive participles. A majority of Dvandvas is formed by nouns. Next to it are adjective Dvandvas.

As a rule we get the first member of a Dvandva compound in its stem-form. The compound, as we have already seen, always ends in plural. The gender of the compound word corresponds to that of the final member, e.g. *bhikkhu-bhikkhuniyo* ends in feminine as the second member is feminine.

The sense of the compound is generally copulative, but sometimes alternative also.

In the compounds *rāga-dosa-moha-khayā*, and *devinda-naginda-narinda-pūjito*, a Dvandva compound has further combined with another word. But as herein the last compound is not a Dvandva, these compounds cannot be classified under Dvandva.

(ii) *Singular Dvandvas*—The Dvandvas which invariably end in neuter singular form a class by themselves. As they always express a collective sense they are designated as Samāhāra Dvandva by the Hindu grammarians. Here we have two illustrations of this type viz. *abbhijjhā-domanassam* and *patta-cīvaram*.[2]

2. *Determinative Compounds*

Here the sense of the initial member is determined by the final member. The first member may either be dependent in a case relation on the final member, or it may stand in appositional or attributive relation with the final member.

Here the final member may be (A) a verbal noun, (B) a verbal adjective, (C) an ordinary adjective or (D) a substantive.

(A) Determinative compounds with verbal nouns as final members:

A verbal noun may be either an (i) agent noun or (ii) an action noun.

(i) *Agent Nouns*—Agent nouns are formed from verbal roots by the addition of certain suffixes. The agent nouns are formed from roots by adding suffixes like *-a*, *-ana*, *-i*, *-in*, *-van*, *-man*, etc.

In the following compounds these agent nouns are formed by adding the suffix *-a* to the roots :

añña-apekha, *visesa-apekkho*, *tāla-avacaram*, *ākāsa-ttho*.

In the following the verbal formations have passive sense :

dus-kara (*taram*), *atta-sambhavam*, *dur-abhisambhava* (*taram*).

Agent nouns with suffixes -i *and* -in

dhamma-anupassi, kāyā-anupassi, padesa-vatti, samīpa-cāri, sādhāraṇa-bhogi, sakad-āyāmino, dukkha-nirodha-gāminiyā, pacchā-vi-palisāriṇo, cakka-vattissa, anu-dhamma-cāriṇo, brahma-cārisu.

Agent noun with suffix -u

loka-vidu.

Agent nouns with suffix -ana

loma-haṁsano.

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[2] WACKERNAGEL 70, pp. 165.

Agent nouns with suffix -aka, -ika

pāpa-sampāvanaka, sukha-saṁvattikam, samādhi-saṁvattikāni, vanna-saṁvattikam, āyu-saṁvattikam, adhipātepa-saṁvattikam, yasa-saṁvattikam, sagga-saṁvattikam, cetiya-cārikam, pono-bhāvikāya.[3]

Some of these agent nouns are used as final members of compounds only, and have no independent use. The following are the illustrations of the type: *anna-apekho, ākāsa-ṭṭho, loka-vidu, samīpa-cāri, cakka-vattisa, thūpa-arha, sādhāraṇa-bhāgi.*

(ii) *Action Nouns*—Action nouns are formed from roots by adding suffixes like *-a*, *-an* (mas. or neuter) and *-ā* or *-ī* (feminine), *-ya* etc. While forming the action nouns from roots there is occasionally a Guṇa or Vṛddhi change in the vowels of the roots.

Action nouns with -a

visesa-adhigamena, Mithu-bhedā, pari-kkhaya, puna-bbhavo, bhikkhu-bhāvāya, bhāva-āsavā, kappa-avasesam, kathā-sattapam, mahā-bhūmi-calo, mahā-pari-nibbāṇa, sarīra-bhaṅge, para-ppavāda, khanti-vādo, piṇḍu-pātam, siṁha-nādo, su-ppatihārāya.

Feminine action nouns with -ā *and* -ī

su-gatim, dur-gati, ceto-vimuttim, sammā-sambodhim, rakkhāvaraṇa-gutti, sarīra-pūjāya, loka-anukampāya, su-patiṭṭhā, su-bhikkhā.

Neuter action nouns with -ana

puṭa-bhedanam, vesāli-dassanam, sanghaṭi-patta-cīvara-dhāraṇe, bramha-cariya-pariyosānam.[4]

Action noun used only in compound

Mahā-bhūmi-calo

(B) *Verbal Adjectives as Final Members*

Besides Agent and Action nouns, gerundives and participles also often stand as the final member of Determinative compounds.

Gerundive adjectives as final members

a-parihāṇiye, kāka-peyyā, saṅgha-karaṇiyāni (*substantively used*), bāhu-jaññam.

Verbal adjectives i.e. ppps. as final members

acira-pakkantesu, vijjā-caraṇa-sampanno, uju-paṭipanno, sīla-vipanno, vass-ūpāgatassa, dhamma-laddhā, sammā-sambuddha, diṭṭhi-sāmann-āgatā, niddā-ratā, kamma-ratā, saṅgaṇikā-ratā, nāga-patipanno, mādhuraka-jato, janapada-ttha-variyapatto, piṇḍa-pāta-paṭikkanto, sabba-phāliphulla, samādhi-paribhāvitā, satta-ratana-samanna-āgata, sādha-sammatā, sāmici-paṭipanno, sva-akkhāto, abhi-pasanna, ajjhata-rato, ariya-kantehi, bala-ppatto, cakka-chinnam, ceto-dukkha-samappitā, devaṭā-anukampito, an-āgatā, a-paññāttam, a-sallinena, a-vyavattā, cira-pabbajitā, dul-laddham, su-palipanno, su-samvihitā, ubhato-bhāg-vimaṭṭham, abhi-khanta, pacceka-buddho, canola-cunnāni.[5]

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[3] Wackernagel 75, pp. 174–5.

[4] Wackernagel 75g.

[5] Wackernagel 82, pp. 191–3.

Thus here 69 compounds have verbal nouns as final members.

Let us now see the initial members of these compounds.

With action or agent nouns as final members, the initial member may be (i) a preposition like *pari-kkhaya*, *pari-nibbāna*. (ii) an adverb e.g. *puna-bbhavo, samīpa-cāri, santika-avacaro, sakad-agamino* etc. (iii) a noun, acting as an object to the action or agent noun, e.g. *cakka-vattissa, loha-vidu, thūpa-arha, bhūmi-calo, dhamma-anupassi, anu-dhamma-cārino, sukha-saṁvattikam*, etc. A noun expressing the locality, e.g. *ākāsa-ttho, padesa-vatti*. (iii) Prefix *su–* or *dus–*, e.g. *su-patiṭṭhā, dur-gati*, etc.

When the final member is a verbal adjective (gerundive or participle), the initial member is (i) a noun acting as an agent, when the verbal adjective has a passive sense as in ppps., e.g. *sīla-paribhāvito, devatā-anukampito*, etc.

–a noun expressing instrument or source, *cakka-chinnam* (instrument), *bahu-jaññam* (source).

(ii) *Preposition* su– *or* dus–

su-samvihitā, dul-laddham, dus-karam, etc. su-patihāra.

(iii) An adjective adverbially expressing the manner in which an action is done e.g. *uju-paṭipanno*.

(iv) A preposition like *abhi-kkanta, abhi-pasanna*.

(v) An adverb *ubhato-bhāga-vimaṭṭham, puna-bbūto*, etc.

(vi) Negative particle *an-āgata, nis-kkanta, a-vyāvatta, a-paññātam*, etc.

The compounds with verbal nouns as final members are (i) Upapada Tatpuruṣa (ii) Tatpuruṣas or Dependant Determinatives and (iii) Descriptive Determinatives or Karmadhāraya compounds.

(i) Compounds with agent nouns or verbal adjectives as final members are Upapada Tatpuruṣas e.g. *aṇṇa-apekkho, anudhamma-cāriṇo, ākāsa-ttho, laka-vidu, cakka-vattissa*, etc.

Here are 20 such compounds. The initial member in these compounds may be a (i) a noun as in *ākāsa-ttho, cakka-vattissa, loka-vidu*, (ii) adverb as in *sakad-agāmino, santika-avacaro, samīpa-vatti* or (iii) a pronoun as in *aṇṇa-apekkho*.

(ii) Compounds with action nouns as final members are Dependent Determinatives mostly Genitive Tatpuruṣas when initial member is a noun.

bhaia-āsāva, sarīra-bhaṅge, kappa-avasesam, kathā-sallāpam, bhikkhu-bhāvāya, etc.

When the initial member is a preposition or an adverb these action nouns form Prādi Tatpuruṣas e.g. *pari-khayā, pari-nibbāṇa, puna-bbhavo*.

With *su–* and *dus–* as initial members these action nouns form Karmadhāraya compounds e.g. *su-gatim, su-bhikkhā*, etc.

(B) (iii) When the final member is a verbal gerundive adjective, the compound may be a Tatpuruṣa as *kāka-peyyā, saṅgha-haraṇiyāni*, or negative (nañ) Tatpuruṣa as *a-parihāniye*.

When the final member is a ppp. the compound may be (i) an Accusative, instrumental or ablative or locative Tatpuruṣa e.g. *vijjā-caraṇa-sampanna, sīla-vipanno, vass-upagatassa, niddā-ratā, nāya-paṭipanno, dhamma-laddhā, ariya-kantehi, cakkha-chinnam, devatā-anukampito.*

Here the initial member is a noun.

(ii) a Karmadhāraya compound e.g. *su-samvihitā, dul-laddham, cira-pabbajitā.*

Here the initial member is prefix *su–* and *dus–* or an adjective like *cīra, uju,* etc. (iii) with a negative particle as initial member, a ppp. forms Negative Tatpuruṣa e.g. *a-vyuvattā, a-sallinena, an-āgatā,* etc.[6]

(C) *Determinative Compounds with Ordinary Adjectives as Final Member.*

Here 17 compounds have ordinary adjectives as final members.

Herein the initial member may be (i) a substantive in the relation of a case to the last member, e.g.

Malla-pamokhā, purisa-vara-uttamassa, brāhmaṇa-paṇḍitā, dussa-yuga-sutāni, kappa-satehi, yuga-satehi, paññasu-samadhikāni, sata-sahassena, puratha-abhimukho, pacchā-abhimukho.

These compounds come under Tatpuruṣa compounds, (ii) a prepositional prefix e.g. *vi-sudhena, paro-paññāsa.*

These also form a variety of Determinative compounds known as Prādi Tatpuruṣa. (iii) a negative particle e.g. a-visārado, a-vidūre, an-āvilā, a-sunno.[7]

These form Negative Tatpuruṣa compounds.

(iv) Adjectives as initial members *appa-ussuko, aneka-sata, sata-sahassa.*

(D) *Determinative Compounds with Substantives as Final Members.*

Here the first member may be (i) a substantive dependant in the sense of an oblique case on the final substantive. The five members are mostly connected by genitive and dative cases and sometimes by instrumental and ablative.

In the following compounds the members are connected by a genitive case :

deva-dundubhiya, dukkha-nirodhassa, dukkha-samudāyassa, gaha-patayo, gaṇa-ācariyā, Gotama-dvāram, Gotama-tittham, gīta-saddena, hatthi-saddena, iddhi-pādā-kamma-kāraputtassa, kumbha-thūpo, kula-kumāriyo, kula'-itthiyo, kitti-suddo, khattiya-parisam, kāyā-kammā, kānkha-dhammo, Licchavi-parisam, Magadha-mahā-mattam, Malla-pajā-patayo, mutiṅga-saddena, mātu-kucchim, mātu-gāme, mano-kamma, maṇḍala-mālāni, Malla-sunisā, Malla-puttā, sīla-sampadāya, satthugāravena, sarira-thūpo, suñña-vedayitā-nirodham, saṅgha-pitaro, saṅgha-parināyakā, samma-saddena, rukka-mūle, ratha-saddena, purisa-yugāni, purisa-dhamma-sārāthi, pāpa-sahāyā, pamāda-adhikaraṇam, nibbāṇa-dhātuyā, nāga-apalokitam, nāga-rājā, uccāra-passāva-kamma, bhāva-taṇhā, tāla-saddena, ratha-saddena, assa-saddena, tela-ppadipam, tela-doṇiyā, udaka-dhārā, udaka-maṇim, udaka-sālalo, vajji-cetiyāni, vajji-malallakā, vatti-dhammu, vani-ppatho, vāci-kamma, videhi-putto, vīṇā-saddena, osadhi-tārakā, jāti-saṁsāram, jīvita-saṅkhāram, ante-vasa-abhisekena, abhibh'-āyatanam, dhamma-raṇṇo, dhamma-vinaye, dhamma-pariyāyam, chavi-vaṇṇo, ceto-samādhim, brāhmaṇa-parisam, bhoga-khandam, bhoga-jāni, bhikkha-saṅgho, sukara-maddam, vegha-missakena, Ambapāli-vanam, aṅgāra-thūpo, ācariya-muṭṭhi, bheri-saddena, cela-vitānāni, kaṇikāra-puppham, Mandārava-pupphāni, Ummā-puppham, Sati-paṭṭhāna, pubba-anha-samaye. (WACKERNAGEL, 98, pp. 243–46.)

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[6] WACKERNAGEL 84–87, pp. 197–209. [7] *Ibid* 95, pp. 232–40.

Dative case—upatthāna-satayam.

Locative case—gāma-khettam.

Ellipitical instrumental—gandha-mālā (gandhena yuttā mālā).

Sometimes the case termination of the initial member is preserved as in *ante-vāsa*.

A majority of compounds in any piece of literature is always formed by Genitive Tatpuruṣa compounds. Here 85 are Genitive Tatpuruṣas.

The first substantive loses its case termination and stands in a stem form. The position of the members is changed in *pubba-anha*, as the final member is *anha*.

(ii) *Adjective as initial member*—The following compounds have an ordinary adjective of quality as initial member :

agga-nagaram, bhīma-sanako, akāla-pupphehi, ariya-saccanam, ariya-sāvako, aveccha-ppasādena, brahma-daṇḍo, dīgha-rattam, jara-sakatam, mahā-kudda-nagarake, lohita-pakkhandika, mahā-hagarāni, mahā-padese, mahā-pathavī, mahā-vātā, orama-bhagiyānam, paṇḍita-jātako, pacchima-yāme, pārima-tiram, phāsu-vidhāram, puñña-khettam, sunna-āgāra, uttama-puggalassa.

Possessive adjectives in *-in* and *-iya* as initial member: *sakkhi-savako, titthiya-sāvakānam.*

The following compounds have adjectives of *Quantity* as initial member.

patham-jjhānam, dutiya-jjhānam, tatiya-jjhānam, catuttha-jjhānam, cātu-mahā-rajika-parisā, bahu-jana-hitāya, bahu-jana-sukkhāya, sabba-gandhānam, sabba-nimittānam.

These compounds with adjectives as initial members have been given the designation "Karmadhāraya" by Hindu grammarians. Here the first member i.e. adjective, stands in its stem form, i.e. it loses the case and gender termination agreeing with the final substantive.

The adjective *mahat*, however, stands here in its masculine form *mahā*, irrespective of the gender of the final member.

When a numeral stands as initial member of such a compound, it undergoes some change i. e. these numerals have different bases in compounds e. g. '*catur* (four)' is changed into '*cātu*' in *cātu-maha-rūjika*. (WACKERNAGEL 101, pp. 253-5).

The first member in these compounds describes the second. The relation between the members is attributive or adverbial.

The following compounds have substantives in both the members, but as they are not connected by an oblique case, the relation between the two is appositional and hence these can come under Karmadhāraya compounds :

Ambapāli-gaṇikā, dhamma-cakkam, dhamma-ādāsam, dhamma-nvago, purisa-puggalā, sākhā-nagarake, ujjangala-nagarake, ākasañca-āyatanam, akiñcañña-āyatanam, viññañca-āyatanam, neva-sañña-na-asaññā-āyatanam, viriya-sambojjh'-aṅgam, sati-sambojjh'-aṅgam, piti-sambojjh'-aṅgam pa-saddhi-sambojjh'-aṅgam, dhamma-visaya-sambojjh'-aṅgam.

(WACKERNAGEL).

(iii) *A preposition or adverb as initial member*—pari-nibbāṇa, vi-makhā', pati-bāhāya, sam-yojanānam, tattha-pari-nibbāyinī, divā-vihārāya.

These form the compounds designated as Prādi-Tatpuruṣas by Hindu grammarians. These compounds with adverbs as initial members are, however, Karmadhāraya compounds e.g., *divā-vihārāya*.

(iv) Prepositions *su* and *dus* often combine with these substantives, e.g. *Dus-sīlam*, *subhikkhā*, etc.

(v) Negative particles *a*, *an*, *ni*, etc. often stand as initial members of these compounds e.g. *an-upādi-sesāya*, *an-agariyam*, *an-acchariyam*, *an-anubodhā*.

These form Negative Tatpuruṣas known as Nañ-Tatpuruṣa.

Traditional grammarians divide all these Determinative compounds in two groups : (i) Tatpuruṣa and (ii) Karmadhāraya.

(i) In Tatpuruṣa compounds, the first member is a substantive dependant in the sense of an oblique case on the second which may be an ordinary substantive or a verbal noun. When the first member is connected with the last by accusative, instrumental, ablative or locative the last is a verbal noun, but when the relation between the two is of a dative or genitive case, the final is an ordinary substantive.

(ii) In Karmadhāraya compounds the first member describes the second. The relation between the two is attributive or appositional when both the members are substantive or when the first is an adjective, adjectival or adverbial when the first is an adverb and the final a verbal **adjective.**

(3) *Bahuvrīhi Compounds*

These are secondary adjectival or possessive compounds. The final member is practically always a substantive. The relation of the first member to the last is mostly attributive, sometimes dependent and rarely co-ordinate.

(i) *Both the members substantives viz. nouns*—āpo-saññā, nirodha-saññam, nānatta-saññānam, virāga-saññam, hema-vaṇṇo, sambodhi-parāyaṇā, vinaya-ādhārā, vaya-dhammā, uppāda-vaya-dhammiṇo, sikhā-kāmā, saṅgaṇikā-ārāmā, rūpa-saññi, pathavi-saññā, pakka-dhammam, niddā-ārāmā, mātikā-ādhārā, kapilā-vatthavā, kamma-ārāmā, dhamma-saraṇā, dhamma-dīpā, dhamma-ādhārā, bhassā-ārāmā, atta-ramaṇā, atta-manā, atta-dīpā.

The first member here is connected with the second by a case relation and both together refer to a third object or person not mentioned at all, e.g. *kapila-vatthavā*. Here *kapila* is connected by a locative case with '*vatthavam*' and both refer to the 'inhabitants of Kapila city'.

The first noun stands in its stem form, but the final noun has its gender and number agreeing with those of the word, to which this adjectival compound refers, e.g. *vattham* changes to *vatthavā* corresponding to *janā*.

These compounds are attributive and always qualify some preceding or following noun.

Sometimes a comparison is involved between the two members e.g. *hema-vaṇṇa*.

(ii) A substantive as the final member and an ordinary adjective as the initial member :

asubha-sāññam, ananta-saññam, anicca-saññam, ādīnava-saññam, bahu-kiccā, bahu-karaṇiyā, dalha-pākara-toraṇam, dalha-uddāpam, Lohita-vatthā, lohita-vaṇṇā, lohita-alaṁkārā, maha-phalo, nīla-vatthā, nīla-vaṇṇā, nīla-nidassanāni, nīla-nibhāsāni, nila-alanhārā, odāta-vatthā, odāta-vaṇṇā, odāta-alaṅkārā, pāpa-mitta, pāpa-icchā, pīta-alaṅkārā, pīta-vatthā, pita-vaṇṇā, pahāṇa-saññam, sama-sama-vipākā, acchodi-sata-udikam, sīta-udikam, samma-padhānā, Budha-pamukham, añña-titthiya-pubbo, sama-sama-phalā, sāta, udikā, sannipāta-bahulā.

Here the first adjective qualifies the final substantive, which has taken an adjectival form, as it again in its turn refers to a third person or object, e.g. *mahā* qualifies *phala* which has become *phalo* as it refers to the preceding noun *samādhi*.

The first member i.e. 'adjective' stands in its stem form, while the final member undergoes various changes of gender and number.

Sometimes the order of the member is changed as in *sannipāta-bahulā*, *buddha-pamukham*, etc.

(iii) Bahuvrīhis with ppp. as initial member, and a noun as final member :

ākinna-manussā, ākiṇṇa-yakkhā, āraddha-cittā, atikkanta-manussena, āgat'-āgamā, bahu-ssutā, āraddha-viriyā, thīta-cittassa, pasanna-cittā, Pariyutthita-citto, khīna-pāpa-dur-gati-vinipāto, khīna-tiracchāna-yoniyo, khīṇa-petti-visayo, khīṇa-nirayo.

Here the ppp. stands as adjective and qualifies the final member, which is almost always a noun. In *Bahu-ssutā*, the order of the members is changed, and there ppp. is used as a substantive.

(iv) Bahuvrīhis with prefix *sa-* as initial member :

sa-putto, sa-devake, sa-mārake, sa-bhāriyo, sa-deva-manussāya, sa-atirekani, sa-āmācco, sa-brahmake, sa-samaṇa-brāhmaṇiyā.

These Bahuvrīhis have received a very significant designation Saha-Bahuvrīhis. Suffix *ka* is often added at the end of these compounds.

(v) Preposition *su* or *dus* as initial member :

su-samahita-saṅkappā, du-mmanā, sa-kilānta-rūpo, su-patiṭṭhita-cittā.

(vi) Indeclinables other than *su* and *dus* as initial member :

sam-diṭṭhiko, *ittha-nāmo*, *abhinha-sannipātā*.

(vii) Bahuvrīhis with a negative particle as initial member :

an-uttaram, an-āvatti-dhammā, a-ppamāṇā, a-ppati-puggalo, a-rūpa-saññi, a-vihañña-mano, a-vinipāta-dhammā, avīta-rāgā, a-cchiddāni, a-khaṇḍāni, a-kammāsani, a-paramatthāni, a-shabalāni, an-añña-saraṇā, an-ālāpo, a-jāta-sattu.

(viii) Some Bahuvrīhis are substantively used e.g. *A-jāta-sattu.*

Dvigu—Bahuvrīhis with a numeral as initial member form a class by themselves. They have invariably a neuter gender and singular number. Like collective Dvandvas these also express a collective sense. These are designated as 'Dvigu' by Hindu grammarians, e.g. *catu-mahā-pathe*. (WACKERNAGEL §117).

(4) *Governing Compounds*

In these compounds the second member which is a noun or an adjective is governed by the first, which is a preposition, an adverb or a verbal noun.

Though the sense of these compounds be adjectival, they differ from Bahuvrīhis in that herein the first member is never a substantive or adjective, but always a preposition, adverb or a verbal formation. These compounds have received the designation 'Avyayībhāva'.

(a) Governing compounds with a preposition as initial member :

anu-pariyāya-phalam.

Here the final member is a noun and it always stands in its accusative case. The ending of the final member is preserved if *a*, otherwise it is turned into *a* by the addition of suffix *pa* or *ka*.

(b) Governing compounds with adverbs as initial members :

yathā-bhūtam, yathā-sandiṭṭham, yathā-abhirantam, yathā-mittam, yathā-sambhattam, pacchā-bhattam.

(c) Adverbs often combine with adverbially used accusative of nouns and adjectives (mostly ppps.).

Governing compounds with a ppp. as initial member :

atīta-satthuham, dinna-pubbam, chinna-pupatam, bhūta-pubbam, sattapita-pubbam.

(d) A verbal noun also may stand as initial member of a governing compound. Here an agent or action noun may come governing the final member as its object.

A present participle or a simple present stem also may occasionally come there.

Here, however, we have no illustration of this type. (WACKERNAGEL §119).

(5) *Iterative Compounds*

We often find some substantives, adjectives, pronouns, numerals and adverbs repeating themselves.

These are put under compounds called Iterative compounds as they have only one accent. There repetition denotes frequency or intensity.

The two members may simply come one after the other, or a connective like 'anu' may come in between them.

Adjectives—bhaddehi-bhaddehi, khudda-anu-khuddāni.

Nouns—daharāṇam-daharāṇam.

Adverbs—piṭṭhito-piṭṭhito.

Compounds repeated—kula-parivattaso-kula-parivattaso.

(WACKERNAGEL §121, pp. 321-4).

APPENDIX

An Alphabetical Index of the Compound-Words

1. abhibh'-āyatanāni, p. 28, 1.33
2. abhijjhā-domanassam, p. 18, 1.29
3. abhi-kkanta, p. 12, 1.17
4. abhi-pasanna. p. 52, 1.5
5. abhiṇha-sannipātā, p. 2, 1.10
6. abhi-samparāyo, p. 16, 1.17
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WADI-NAMES OF THE RATNAGIRI DISTRICT

By

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The department of Sociology at the Institute has undertaken a study of the place-names of the Maratha country. In the course of this study it was found that there were small units or settlements which ran in thousands and the inclusion of which would have made the task very unwieldy. They were, therefore, excluded from the study of place-names which without these numbered about 25,000. It was, however, necessary to study separately the names of these small settlements which ended in the suffix "Wadi". The work was assigned to me and I have chosen the Ratnagiri district including the states of Savantvadi and Janjira for my study.

This district has 2045 such settlements, the record being made from the survey maps of India. These settlements are either simply called "Wadis" or are made up of two parts, the second being the suffix "Wadi".

The term "Wadi" is derived from the Sanskrit word *Vāṭikā* meaning a garden plot. A "Wadi" in modern Marathi means a garden plot of fruit trees and vegetables or a small group of hutments near the cornfields. "Wadi" when used as a place-name generally means the latter, though the former meaning is not altogether absent from certain place-names. Wadis are thus small settlements not big enough to be called villages. Originally they are part of villages and are administered and looked after by the hereditary village officers. Every village generally has Wadis. What the exact relationship between the Wadi and its village is will be discussed at the end after analysing the Wadi-names.

All the Wadi-names have been classified under the following twelve heads. Wadis are named after (1) Villages, (2) Other kinds of settlements, (3) Castes, (4) Family names, (5) Personal names, (6) Trees, (7) Crops, (8) Animals, (9) Topographical positions, (10) Gods, Spirits and Temples, (11) Miscellaneous names, and (12) Unclassified names.

1. *Villages*: (A) "*Wadis*".—Among settlements there are some which are simply called Wadis, as the term "Wadi" is here used by itself as a name proper and not as a suffix though this may be implied. There are 546 settlements which are called Wadis and are shown in the maps near or around villages to which probably they belong.

(B) There are 395 Wadi-names after villages to which they belong. Here the Wadi-name consists of two parts—the first consisting of the village name, and the other of the suffix "Wadi". There are on record the following Wadi-names, for example: Ade-*wadi*, Andurla-*wadi*, Ashti-*wadi*, Diggi-*wadi*, Gorivla-*wadi*, Karad-*wadi*, Kashi-*wadi*, Lavgan-

wadi, Mulanda-*wadi*, Newa-*wadi*, Pachgaon-*wadi*, Valanj-*wadi* and Vesurla-*wadi*—the first part of the name content in each of these cases being that of the village after which the wadi is named.

2. *Other kinds of Settlements* :—There are 135 wadis receiving their names from forts, ports, hills, passes, rivers, water-places and gardens to which they are attached. There are thus the following wadi-names, for example, after :

Forts :—Abulgadh-*wadi*, Mahipatgadh-*wadi* and Yashavantgadh-*wadi*. The suffix "Wadi" is here attached to the fort-names "Abulgadh", "Mahipatgadh" and "Yashavantgadh" respectively which in turn seem to have derived their names from the personal names "Abul", "Mahipat" and "Yashavant" which are compounded with the term "gadh" meaning a fort.

Ports :—Adur-*wadi* and Boria-*wadi* are instances where "Adur" and "Boria" are the names of the ports after which the wadis are named.

Passes :—Ratnagiri being a hilly country contains many passes which sometimes form the only means of communication with other regions. These passes give their names to wadis attached to them. There are thus following wadi-names, for example : Devkhind-*wadi*, Dhuryakhind-*wadi* and Pond-*wadi*.

Hills :—There are some wadi-names which relate to hills on which perhaps the wadis are situated, thus, for instance : Khalitem-*wadi*, Lanja-*wadi*, Najgiri-*wadi* and Sanamtem-*wadi*.

Rivers :—Wadis on the river side sometimes owe their names to their rivers. This is best illustrated by the following wadi-names : Banda-*wadi*, Ganga-*wadi* and Jog-*wadi*, where "Banda", "Ganga" and "Jog" stand for the names of the rivers in the district.

Water-places :—In Konkan many villages have separate wells and ponds generally meant for low caste people, and wadis which settled near them readily took on their names. The following may be offered as illustrative instances of this fact : Kamblivihir-*wadi*, Taka-*wadi* and *Tala-wadi*. "Kamblivihir" seems to be a particular name, while "Taka", and "Tala" mean a pond or a tank.

Gardens :—Agar-*wadi*, Bag-*wadi*, Dariyabag-*wadi* and Devrai-*wadi* are indicative of gardens of cocoanuts, mangoes, vegetables and other fruit trees.

"Agar" means a garden of cocoanuts, betelnuts or other fruit trees. Hence the wadi settled near the garden is called Agar-*wadi*.

"Bag" means a garden. Hence the wadi near the garden came to be called Bag-*wadi*.

"Dariyabag" denotes a garden on the sea-shore. Hence Dariyabag-*wadi* indicates that the wadi is situated near a garden on the sea-shore.

"Devrai" denotes a temple grove. In Konkan there are many beautiful temple groves carefully preserved, and save for the temple, no cutting of timber or branches is allowed. A wadi which is situated near a temple grove came, therefore, to be called Devrai-*wadi.*

It is conceivable that however small the number of wadi-names after gardens is, yet it brings out the significance of the fact that in Konkan maintenance of gardens has an economic aspect in that every house, generally speaking, has an enclosure around it where plantation of cocoanut, betelnut or other fruit trees and vegetables is carried on.

3. *Castes* :—Caste is a peculiar phenomenon in India. Caste segregations exist everywhere. Caste distinctions hold one caste aloof from the other. Thus different caste members have different quarters of their own. This sociological fact is brought to light by 450 wadi-names which are after various castes and functional groups. Under this class are included the following castes: (1) Brahmins, (2) Depressed castes, (3) Semi-primitive tribes, (4) Beggars, (5) Traders and Shop-keepers, (6) Husbandmen, (7) Craftsmen, (8) Dancers and Musicians, (9) Cowherds and Shepherds, (10) Fishermen, (11) Religious sects, and (12) Village servants.

1. *Brahmins* :—Brahmins consider themselves high in social position. In Konkan they sometimes own lands and live in close settlements a little apart from others. Thus there are 27 Brahmin-*wadis*, for example.

2. *Depressed Castes* :—94 wadis represent this class which includes Chambhars or leather-workers, Mahars or untouchables, and Mochis or Shoe-makers. There are 8 Chambhar-*wadis*, 85 Mahar-*wadis* and 1 Mochi-*wadi.*

Chambhars or leather-workers and Mahars are considered untouchables with the result that they live quite away and apart from other castes. These wadis are distributed in the district as follows: 48 in Dapoli taluka, 14 in Khed taluka, 27 in Chiplun taluka, 1 in Ratnagiri taluka, 2 in Sangameshwar taluka and 1 in Malvan taluka. On plotting them on a map it was found that quite a large number of them are shared by the north, whereas in the south the number becomes almost negligible. This probably suggests that the settlements of these castes have flourished admirably in the north, while in the South their growth seems to have been retarded. As it falls outside the scope of the present field of inquiry, it remains to be seen as to how they are distributed eastwards and northwards.

3. *Semi-primitive Tribes* :—There are 10 wadi-names after semi-primitive tribes as follows: 1 Bedar-*wadi*, 2 Berad-*wadis*, 1 Gori-*wadi*, 5 Katkari-*wadis* and 1 Vanjari-*wadi*.

"Berad" or "Bedar" is a tribal caste. The Marathas know the tribe as Berads and the Musalmans as Bedars. Some of them are husbandmen, some village watchmen, some hunters and others crafts.

"Gori" represents a tribal caste.

"Katkaris" are makers of catechu and are a wandering hill tribe.

"Vanjaris" or caravanmen are carriers of grain and salt on pack bullocks and are found passing through the district along the trade-routes between the coast and the Deccan.

4. *Beggars* :—Among certain castes begging is followed as a major means of livelihood. Thus one finds a class of wandering people, devotees and religious beggars who go on begging during the fair season. The following wadi-names represent this class: 2 Bhikari-*wadis*, 8 Gosavi-*wadis* and 1 Phakir-*wadi*.

"Bhikari" means a beggar.

"Gosavis" belong to the Gosavi caste. They till land, work as private servants and when at leisure go begging.

"Phakir" denotes a Muslim religious mendicant.

5. *Traders and Shopkeepers* :—There are 16 wadi-names after traders and shopkeepers. They are: 3 Bhatia-*wadis*, 2 Bhusar-*wadis*, 1 Gujar-*wadi*, 1 Lunia-*wadi* and 9 Vani-*wadis*.

"Bhatias" are a sub-caste who originally come from Sind and Cutch. Many of them are merchants dealing in cotton, grain, cocoanuts, betel-nuts, butter and oil.

"Bhusar" denotes a retail dealer.

"Gujar" and "Vanis" are shop-keepers. The Gujarvanis, however, have kept their own customs and they do not mix with the other Vanis of the district.

"Lunia" is a salt-worker.

6. *Husbandmen* :—There are 60 wadi-names representing castes that follow cultivation. Thus there are 17 Bhandari-*wadis*, 3 Gaud-*wadis*, 6 Khot-*wadis*, 15 Kulvadi-*wadis*, 4 Kunbi-*wadis*, 5 Mali-*wadis*, 9 Maratha-*wadis* and 1 Raul-*wadi*.

"Bhandaris" are chiefly found on the coastal region. Most of them are cultivators and own cocoanut trees or are engaged in the liquor-trade.

"Gauds" are the sub-division of Bhandaris.

"Khots" are the village renters. Being headmen of their respective villages they command superior power and authority over the villagers.

"Kulvadi" means a tenant or a cultivator. It is a term applied to all cultivators in the Konkan whether Marathas, Bhandaris, etc.

"Malis" or gardeners follow the profession of gardening. Some of them are cultivators.

"Marathas" are owners of land.

"Rauts" denote a class of agriculturists.

7. *Craftsmen* :—There are 80 wādi-names relating to craftsmen. They are : 1 Gavandi-*wadi*, 3 Kasar-*wadis*, 1 Koshti-*wadi*, 20 Kumbhar-*wadis*, 3 Lohar-*wadis*, 1 Sali-*wadi*, 1 Sangar-*wadi*, 9 Sonar-*wadis*, 20 Sutar-*wadis*, 3 Tambat-*wadis* and 18 Teli-*wadis*.

"Gavandi" is the mason caste.

"Kasars" and "Tambats" or Coppersmiths follow the occupation of manufacturing copper and brass vessels and tinning metal utensils.

"Koshtis" and "Salis" are the weaver-caste.

"Kumbhars" or potters follow the occupation of making tiles, bricks and earthern pots and earthern toys.

"Lohars" or blacksmiths are engaged in making and repairing agricultural implements.

"Sangars" are wool-weavers.

"Sonars" or goldsmiths work on gold and silver ornaments although some of them are agriculturists.

"Sutars" or carpenters follow the occupation of making and mending field-tools. They are a very useful caste to agriculturists. Most of them cultivate in addition to their calling as carpenters.

"Telis" or oil-pressers extract oil from cocoanuts, karla, kardi (carthamus tinctorious), groundnuts, etc. Some of them are husbandmen, labourers, cart-drivers, messengers and oil-cake sellers in their spare time.

8. *Dancers and Musicians* :—There are 5 Wadi-names connected with this class which includes Begadi, Bhand, Devli and Ghadsi, which are indicative of their profession of dancing, singing and playing on musical instruments like drums, pipes or *sanai* and *sambals* on ceremonial occasions. There are thus following *Wadi-names* : 1 Begadi-*Wadi*, 1 Bhand-*wadi*, 1 Devali-*wadi* and 2 Ghadshi-*wadis*.

9. *Cowherds and Shepherds* :—There are 50 Wadi-names after cowherds and shepherds such as Dhangar, Gavli and Gopal. There are thus : 8 Dhangar-*wadis*, 41 Gavli *wadis*, and 1 Gopal *Wadi*.

"Dhangars" are an inferior class of Shepherds who generally live among hills. A few own cows and buffaloes as well as goats and cultivate some small fields.

"Gavlis" are cattle-keepers. Some of them cultivate but their chief means of living is by selling milk and butter. Gavlis have their quarters generally a little distance away from the main village as they require separate sheds and establishments where they can tend their cows and buffaloes.

"Gopals" are cowherds. Some of them cultivate small holdings.

10. *Fishermen* :—There are 25 Wadi-names connected with fishermen. There are thus : 3 Bhoi-*wadis*, 1 Daldis-*wadi*, 2 Gabit-*wadis*, 4 Kharvi-*wadis* and 15 Koli-*wadis*.

"Bhois" are fishermen. Some of them are fresh-water fishers, palanquin-bearers, melongrowers, cultivators and labourers.

"Daldis" represent the caste of Muslim fishermen. Some of them are sailors and cultivators but most are fishermen.

"Gabits" are sea-fishers and sailors.

"Kharvis" are found near Jaygad river, on Purangad creek, and near Ratnagiri. They are sailors and fishers by calling. They also trade and a few cultivate.

"Kolis" are fishermen. Some of them belong to the Dongri or hill Kolis of the Western Ghāts and others to the coastal region of the district.

11. *Religious Sects :* — There are 25 wadi-names belonging to religious sects such as Jain, Musalman and Phirangi. There are thus following wadi-names : 1 Jain-*wadi*, 23 Musalman-*wadis* and 1 Phirangi-*wadi*.

Jains are chiefly found in the South and are believed to have come from the Karnatak. Some of them are traders and some cultivators.

Musalmans are mostly found in the North and especially along the coastal region. Some of them are sailors and cultivators but most are fishermen.

Christians are found especially in the South of the district. Calling themselves as Christis and known by the people of the district as "Feringis" or Portuguese, the bulk are natives converted in mass to Christianity during the time of Portuguese rule. There are few solely Christian settlements and Phirangi-*wadi* denotes one such settlement. The term "Phirangi" is taken here to stand for the term "Feringi".

12. *Village Servants* :—There are 47 wadi-names after village servants. There are thus following Wadi names : 1 Chorga-*wadi*, 1 Dhaona-*wadi*, 2 Faujdar-*wadis*, 3 Gavkar-*wadis*, 14 Gurav-*wadis*, 2 Jangam-*wadis*, 7 Joshi-*wadis*, 1 Kulkarni-*wadi*, 2 Mahajan-*wadis*, 1 Mujavar-*wadi*, 1 Nhavi-*wadi*, 2 Parit-*wadis*, 9 Patil-*wadis* and 1 Turop-*wadi*.

"Chorga" or balutedar is the village servant.

"Dhaona" means a runner, a messenger.

"Faujdar" is the village constable.

"Gavkar" is the village headman or khot.

“Guravs” are temple ministrants. Their chief duty is to attend at the village temple, to clean the ornaments and to minister to the wants of the idol.

“Jangam” is the Lingayat priest.

“Joshi” is the village astrologer. His duty is to tell precious times on festive occasions by referring to the Hindu calendar or almanack. On the first day of the year he goes from house to house to read out the almanack.

“Kulkarni” is the village accountant.

“Mahajan” is the village trade superintendent.

“Mujavar” is the Muslim title meaning the beadle.

“Nhavi” is the village barber.

“Parit” is the village washerman.

“Turop” is the horse-driver, a messenger.

4. *Family Names* :—There are 184 Wadi-names after family names. As various families began to settle the settlement came to receive its name from the family that had first started it. Thus, for example, Kadam-*wadi* indicates that the family of Kadam must have first started to settle there. Below are given 50 family-names as specimens, mentioning against them the number of Wadis after them. Of these Wadi-names 20 were found to belong to Brahmin families and the rest to Maratha families, the ratio being 2 : 3.

Adkar 1, Ambekar 3, Bagal 1, Bhagwat 1, Bhat 10, Bhatkar 1, Bhuvad 2, Chandarkar 1, Chavan 8, Dalvi 1, Desai 1, Dhapra 1, Digankar 1, Ghanekar 1, Ghavla 3, Ghoda 1, Gonkar 1, Jadhav 5, Jogal 2, Kadam 4, Kambla 2, Kamat 1, Kolkar 2, Korgaonkar 1, Lad 1, Madavkari 2, Malekar 2, Mandavkar 5, More 4, Palkar 1, Patkar 1, Pawar 5, Pisal 1, Raikar 1, Raje 1, Rao 7, Raut 1, Satva 1, Sarkar 1, Satha 1, Savant 3, Shelar 1, Sheta 1, Shinde 8, Sirka 2, Solkar 1, Tamba 1, Tavda 2, Thomra 2, Vitkar 1.

5. *Personal Names* :—In some cases the word or name preceding “Wadi” is that of a person, the tendency being to perpetuate the memory or eulogise an individual by naming the place after him. There are 37 wadis named after personal names which are classified into (1) Hindu, (2) Muslim and (3) Non-Indian names as noted below :

(1) *Hindu names* :—Bhaskar, Bhogiya, Chandru, Hambir, Jhambar, Lakhusalvi, Lingras, Raghu, Raja, Rajaram and Ramdas.

(2) *Muslim names* ;—Abdul Gavan, Kazi, Mohomed, Makdum, Saīd and Shaikh Bahadur.

(3) *Non-Indian names* :—Selbich.

As to what the exact significance of these personal names is it is difficult to say without firsthand knowledge about them. However, an attempt has been made to give below a few personal names whose account could be had from the Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Volume X.

Hindu names :—(1) Raja : This may be taken to denote either a title or a proper name of a person.

(2) Bhaskar[1] : This may in full be taken to mean the Pratinidhi Dhondu Bhaskar (1790) who made a name for himself by erecting the north-shore defences.

(3) Raghu : This may probably mean Raghunath Savant, the then young Chief of Savantvadi (1869).[2]

Muslim names :—(1) Gavan : This may evidently be taken to mean the minister Mahmud Gavan, one of the greatest vazirs of medieval Deccan.[3]

(2) Shaikh Bahadur : This represents a Muslim title hence meaning a person holding this title.

(3) Kazi : It means a judge. It may also, however, suggest a family name, as many high Ratnagiri families though at present following different professions are distinguished by Arabic surnames, such a one as Kazi, for instance.

6. *Trees* :—There are 130 wadi-names after trees some of which are principally found in areas which are most wooded and along the coast side. Names of trees are classified under five heads : (1) Liquor-yielding, (2) Timber-yielding, (3) Fruit, (4) Sacred and ornamental and (5) Miscellaneous kinds of trees as below.

1. *Liquor-yielding trees* :
    Tada, Fan-palm.

2. *Timber-yielding trees* :
    Ain, Terminalia tomentosa.
    Bhabal, Acacia arabica.
    Dhup, Light wood.
    Karambel, Olea dioica.
    Khair, Acacia catechu.

3. *Fruit trees* :
    Amba, Mango.
    Badam, Terminalia catappa.
    Behda, Terminalia belerica.
    Bor, Zizyphus jujuba.
    Chinch, Tamarindus indica.
    Jambhul, Eugenia jambolana.

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[1] Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency, Vol. X, p. 368.
[2] Ibid., p. 447.
[3] Ibid., p. 194.

Kaju, Anacardium occidentale.
Kavthi, Feronia elephantum.
Keli, Musa sapientum.
Naral, Cocos nucifera.
Phanas, Artocarpus integrifolia.
Pophal, Areca catechu.
Ratambi, Garcinia purpurea.
Ringi, Sapindus laurifolius.

4. *Sacred and ornamental trees* :

Aghada, A plant, Achyranthes aspera.
Bel, Aegle marmelos.
Darbha, Sacred grass.
Nandrukh, Ficus retusa.
Nim, Melia azadirachta.
Nirgud, A shrub.
Pimpal, Ficus religiosa.
Umbar, Ficus glomerata.

5. *Miscellaneous kinds of trees* :—Under this class are included forest trees, medicinal trees, fragrant trees and vegetables.

Bhalwat, A shrub, Hermiontes cordifolia.
Bhela, A forest tree.
Bibu, Semecarpus anacardium.
Chandan, Sandal tree, Santalum album.
Erand, Castor oil plant.
Kanhera, A shrub, Almond flower.
Kankar, A variety of the acacia.
Karmal, A forest tree, Dillenia pentagynia.
Karva, A tree; the tree is long and slender, and is much used in palings and fence work.
Nevali, A flowering shrub, Jasminum elongatum.
Nil, Indigo plant.
Padval, Snake-gourd, Trichosanthes dioeca or anguina.
Rajan, A tree, Mimusops hexandra or kanki.

7. *Crops* :—There are 20 wadi-names after crops some of which are peculiar to the district. Names of crops divide themselves into two groups : ( ) Rice and (2) Pulses and other crops as shown below :

(1) *Kinds of rice* :

Badas, Bhesal, Gajvel, Ganuk (forest rice), Khambad, Kude, Mohan, Vainguni (rice raised in hot season) and Vargal.

(2) *Pulses and other crops* :

Dhana, Cariander coriandrum sativum.
Irad, a kind of pulse.
Karpi, a crop burned or parched up.

Kulthi, a veitch.
Lakhan, a kind of pulse.
Rala, a panic seed.
Uyali, a pea.
Varne, Phasedus radiatus.

8. *Animals* :—There are 36 Wadi-names after animals including birds, serpents, wild and domestic animals, and fish. It is observed that some of these names are correctly representative of animals peculiarly found in this district as given below :

1. *Kinds of fish :—*

Birja, Bombil (the bommelow), Gani (Sawfish), Kankei, Kharota, Nivat, Singta, Shitak and Tambar.

2. *Serpents* :

(1) Chirad, a small creature of the serpent kind.
(2) Dhaman, ptyas mucosus, a species of coluber found in rocks. Dhamans or rock-snakes are very common in the district.
(3) Gavnag, the village serpent or coluber.

3. *Forest and wild animals* :

(1) Bhokar, a small species of deer, cervus muntjak.
(2) Dukar, a hog, pig.
(3) Khar, a squirrel.
(4) Kurli, a crab.
(5) Magar, an alligator.
(6) Sase, a hare, lepus nigricottis.
(7) Wagh, a tiger.

It should, however, be noted that the last three names "Magar", "Sase" and "Wagh" may also suggest clan-names after which perhaps the Wadis are named.

4. *Birds* :

(1) Ghar, a Kite, a paper-kite of the form and semblance of the bird.
(2) Homan, an owl.
(3) Kajva, a firefly, elater noctilums.

5. *Other kinds of animals* :

(1) Gandoli, the common earthworm.
(2) Jhara, an aquatic animal.
(3) Jolsar, a leech, a blood-sucker.

9. *Topographical Positions* :—There are 40 Wadis whose names suggest that they are descriptive of the geographical peculiarities of the district. There are thus following Wadi-names :—1 Bhagan-*wadi*, 3 Bharad-*wadis*, 1 Chikhaltali-*wadi*, 6 Dang-*wadis*, 1 Devkhor-*wadi*, 2 Jui-*wadis*, 5 Katar-*wadis*, 1 Khalchi-*wadi*, 1 Khalchikond-*wadi*,

1 Khalchi vatar-*wadi*, 1 Khol-*wadi*, 1 Kond varla-*wadi*, 9 Madhli-*wadis*, 3 Mal-*wadis*, 1 Pakhada-*wadi*, 2 Varli-*wadis* and 1 Varla vatar-*wadi*.

"Bhagan" means an unsown ridge or line in a field, left as a pathway, a balk. Hence the Wadi situated on or near such a line is named as Bhagan-*wadi*.

"Bharad" means a coarsely ground. Hence the wadi which perhaps is located on or nearabout such ground is called Bharad-*wadi*.

"Chikhaltali" denotes a muddy tank and the wadi having such a tank close by is called Chikhaltali-*wadi*.

"Dang" means the wild, hilly and ascending tract along the range of the Sahyadri Ghats. Hence wadis situated thereon are called Dang-*wadis*,

"Devkhol" indicates a god on a low or sunken ground. Hence Devkhol-*wadi* is probably so called because of the distinctly low position of the temple ground of the wadi.

"Jui" is probably "Juva" meaning a junction or a meeting place. Hence the name Jui-*wadi* indicates that the wadi is situated on the confluence of two rivers.

"Katar" means a triangular space included between two rivers or roads meeting. Hence the wadi situated therein is probably called Katar-*wadi*.

"Khalchi" means relating to the bottom or lower part. Hence Khalchi-*wadi*, Khalchi-kond-*wadi*, as well as Khalchi-vatar-*wadi* are indicative of their low position.

"Khol" means deep. Hence Khol-*wadi* indicates that the wadi is situated deep below.

"Varla" means relating to the upper part. Again "Kond" means a division of a village, composed generally of the huts of one caste. Hence Kond-varla-*wadi* suggests that the wadi is situated on an upper level.

"Madhli" means middle. Hence Madhli-*wadi* shows that the wadi occupies a middle position relating to such other positions as upper and lower.

"Mal" means an elevated and extended tract of ground especially as somewhat stony or sterile, or a level and arable land upon the acclivity of a hill. Hence wadis situated thereon are obviously called Mal-*wadis*.

"Pakhada" is a raised causeway. Hence Pakhada-*wadi* indicates the raised boundary of a field near which it is perhaps situated.

"Varla" and "Varli" mean relating to the upper part. Hence Varli-*wadi* as well as Varla-vatar-*wadi* suggest that they are situated on an upper part.

As to how far these wadi-names correctly represent the topographical features of the region, it is difficult to say without a personal visit to these places. Therefore, the interpretations suggested above may be taken to be provisional and not conclusive.

10. *Gods, Spirits and Temples* :—There are 46 wadi-names showing, that they are after Gods, Mother-goddesses, Demigods and Spirits and Temples as mentioned below :

1. *Gods* :
   - (1) Bahiri, a name of the God Bhairav.
   - (2) Dat, probably the name of the God Datta.
   - (3) Khandoba, a familiar appelation of the God.
   - (4) Malhar, an incarnation of Shiva also called Khandoba.
2. *Mother goddesses* :
   - (1) Ambai, the name of Durga.
   - (2) Bhavani, the goddess Parvati in her pacific form.
   - (3) Devi, Goddess, the wife of any divine being, but especially Durga, the wife of Shiva.
   - (4) Durga, the goddess Durga, the wife of Shiva.
   - (5) Kalkai, a form of Parvati or Durga.
   - (6) Mangalai, a name of Parvati, the wife of Shiva.
3. *Demigods and spirits* :
   - (1) Bhut, a goblin, or fiend, a demigod of a particular class, a malignant spirit haunting cemetaries, lurking in trees, animating carcasses and devouring human beings.
   - (2) Gavad Dev, a caste-god. Gavad is a caste or an individual of it. Hence "Gavad Dev" suggests the name of a caste-god.
   - (3) Jakhin, the name for the minor female demon worshipped by the lower classes.
   - (4) Kinjalai, the goddess named after the Kinjal tree. Kinjal denotes a timber tree, hence the name is probably denotative of a forest minor deity.
   - (5) Satvi, a vulgar name of the goddess "Shashthidevi" the writer of fate.
4. *Temples* :
   - (1) Katradevi, "Katra" means a triangular space. Thus the name is suggestive of the temple of Devi or goddess situated in a triangular space between two rivers or roads meeting.
   - (2) Rameshwar, a temple of the god Shiva.

11. *Miscellaneous Names* :—There are 17 wadi-names after names of vessels, food, diseases, other articles of daily or occasional use and events. Thus there are the following names, for example, after :

(1) *Vessels* : Goral, Khapra and Kulan.

"Gorala" means an oil-vessel, hence the wadi which is a manufacturing centre of oil-vessels is perhaps called Gorala-*wadi*.

"Khapra" means a vessel, especially an earthen vessel. Hence the wadi which manufactures earthen vessels is perhaps called Khapra-*wadi*.

"Kulan" means a metal vessel. Hence Kulan-*wadi* may perhaps be so called because it represents a manufacturing centre of metal vessels.

(2) *Food* : Chandir and Vaeran.

"Chandir" means a thin cake of bread.

"Vaeran" means fodder.

(3) *Diseases* : Chaikarni and Dhumak.

"Chaikarni" is a disease attacking and eating away hair and wool of animals.

"Dhumak" means a disease-wind in the colon.

(4) *Other articles of daily or occasional use* : These include Gholan, Phatakda, Sirband, Gogne and Guladi.

"Gholan" means a round sieve.

"Phatakda" means a cracker or squib.

"Sirband" means a turban.

"Gogne" means an arrow.

"Guladi" is a weaver's term meaning an instrument for making a serrature.

(5) *Events* : There are 5 wadi-names which probably show that they are connected with some events in the past. They are :

Dhapalchor-*wadi*, Dondi-*wadi*, Kharara-*wadi*, Lubat-*wadi* and Paga-*wadi*.

"Dhapalchor" means a corn-stealer and the wadi which is owned or inhabited by a corn-stealer is perhaps called Dhapalchor-*wadi*.

"Dondi" means a potbellied person. Hence a wadi belonging to such a person is perhaps called Dondi-*wadi*.

"Kharara" means a currycomb or currying a horse. It is probable that a place where this work was executed was called Kharara-*wadi*.

"Lubat" means a vulgar, a false man, and the wadi which belongs to a vulgar person is probably called Lubat-*wadi*.

"Paga" denotes a stable for horses, and it is not improbable that a place where a stable was maintained came to be called Paga-*wadi*.

It is thus seen that these wadi names suggest that they are probably related to some historical events although their dates cannot be fixed.

12. *Unclassified Names* :—There are 9 wadi-names which seem to give inexact and incomplete information about the sources from which

they have received their names. Hence they are considered unclassified names. They are : Baerang-*wadi*, Bithol-*wadi*, Dondona-*wadi*, Ital-*wadi*, Kirabiya-*wadi*, Moradgora-*wadi*, Nigarba-*wadi*, Vayari-*wadi* and Vaytag-*wadi*.

The analysis of Wadi-names as above next leads one to consider the regional distribution of Wadis in the district in relation to the number of villages with their population and area of the district as shown in the table below :

Taluka or State	No. of Wadis	No. of Villages	Total	Population	Area in square miles
Dapoli ...	306	246	552	172,523	500
Khed ...	165	147	312	115,972	390
Chiplun ...	414	213	627	228,166	670
Ratnagiri ...	211	152	363	164,271	430
Sangameshwar ...	230	192	422	158,388	538
Rajapur ...	197	185	382	180,274	632
Devgad ...	158	117	275	174,809	521
Malvan ...	96	60	156	124,410	56
Vengurla ...	25	10	35	54,653	52
Janjira ...	71	234	305	87,534	324
Savantvadi ...	172	225	397	21 ,732	900
Total ...	2045	1781	3826	1678,732	5013

A reference to the table shows that the Ratnagiri district excluding the States of Janjira and Savantvadi contains 1802 Wadis and 1322 Villages, with the result that the former exceeds the latter by 480, in the ratio of about 15 : 11.

The origin and growth of Wadis and Villages may be traced back to various factors among which physical aspects of a country are chief. In the light of this view an attempt is made below to explain the considerable growth of Wadis over villages in the whole district.

The seacoast consisting of a series of sandy bays and coves richly provides for the successful cultivation of gardens of cocoanuts and mangoes and rice-fields. The seacoast has further given rise to 13 ports and harbours, among which Ratnagiri, Rajapur, Malvan and Vengurla may be said to be places of some trade and consequence.

The Western Ghāts are crossed by numerous passes which form the only means of communication with the Deccan. They contain many forts which have offered opportunities for hilly men and numerous functional groups to settle and engage themselves in the care of the forts or cultivating small holdings on or at the foot of the hills.

Coming to the streams which form the river system of the district, it is found that though of comparatively small size and volume, they are of great local value, being navigable for 20 miles or more and having estuaries affording safe anchorage for coasting craft. There are also hot springs running halfway between the Western Ghāts and the sea. Near the towns of Rajapur, Khed and Sangameshwar similar springs are found and it is believed that their water seems strongly impregnated with sulphur.

The larger rivers and creeks which have deep water for 20 or 30 miles from the coast, it is seen, have given rise to many important towns situated at their farthest navigable points, as in so rough a country the rivers form the best highway of trade. Again the estuaries of these rivers form the most fertile land of the district.

The climate though moist and relaxing is, on the whole, healthy, and Dapoli is generally considered the healthiest station in the district on account of its equable temperature, excellent drinking water and the fine open plain on which it stands. This may partly explain why Dapoli taluka shares quite a large number of Wadis in the district.

The rainfall in the district is also abundant and comparatively regular.

Thus it is seen that physical aspects of a country play an important role in generating and encouraging human habitations represented in the form of Wadis and villages.

Why Wadis outnumber villages may be explained as follows. It is already noted that every village generally possesses a Wadi or Wadis. Thus increase in the number of villages implies a corresponding increase in the number of Wadis also. Further in certain talukas the density of population is found below the District averages which suggests that the settlements due to one reason or another are spread at various distances forming by themselves numerous separate Wadis. .

However, Chiplun and Vengurla call for special attention as the former possesses the largest number of Wadis whereas the latter the least.

Of Chiplun it may be stated that among all other talukas it is the largest in size as well as in population. Again the density which is only 284 persons per square mile is slightly below the District average which probably suggests that the people are more or less scattered giving rise to numerous settlements.

Vengurla, on the other hand, is the smallest in size as well as in population. However, the number of Wadis in the taluka exceeds that of villages in the proportion of 5 : 2 which may be due perhaps to the richness of soil in the valleys, equable climate and abundance of water.

Queerly enough, in the States of Savantvadi and Janjira villages outnumber Wadis which may be reasoned as follows :—

Sawantvadi though largest in area abounds in densely wooded hills from the sea-coast to the foot of the Ghāts, a distance varying from 20 to 25 miles. This offers few opportunities for habitation. Again the soil is chiefly light and mixed with stone and gravel and hence not suitable for the better class of crops. The staple crop is rice but the quantity grown is not sufficient for the wants of the people and a good deal is imported.

The inhabitants of the state are chiefly cultivators and are extremely poor, ignorant and superstitious. The hills are occupied mainly by the hilly tribes of Thakur, Koli and Varli. Covered with dense and almost impenetrable jungles, communication is hard. Consequently the country suffered from making any remarkable progress in line with its neighbouring countries.

Janjira possesses a larger number of villages than wadis in the proportion of almost 3 : 1.

On the coastside where gardening, fishing and palm-tapping are successfully carried on villages form the chief unit leaving Katkaris or catechu-makers and hilly men to settle inland along the banks of the creeks and on the hillsides which provide for rice cultivation. But, of course, these settlements are few and far between; because the slopes of the hills are, except in the rains, bare, and during the rains they make travel almost impossible.

Considering the population in relation to the area of the state, it may be said that the country is far from advanced in spite of the fact that the neighbouring countries, to mention Dapoli and Khed in the Ratnagiri district, have gone much ahead.

Interrelation of Wadis and Villages:—It has already been noted formerly that every village generally possesses wadis within its boundaries. These wadis are only small settlements around the main village which suits social and functional adjustments of the inhabitants. From the civic and administrative point of view it may be said that wadis are incomplete units unlike villages which possesses a compact body of villagers thoroughly equipped for the purposes of defence, police, revenue collection and judicial administration. Thus the village community has its headman, its "panchayat" or the village council, its servants and guards, and its committees of managements. Besides these a provision is also made for education, dispensary and market-place to meet the day-to-day wants of the people.

Wadis lack this organization and hence have, of necessity, to depend upon their villages every now and then. Thus, for instance, a crime occurring in a wadi needs to be reported to the village police head.

From what has been said above, it may be clear that there exists a close interrelation between wadis and their villages. In fact, wadis can hardly be thought of completely and exclusively without reference to villages they belong to.

A distinguishing characteristic of wadis in relation to their villages is, it may be added here, that they are subject to evolution. Sometimes a village tends to decay occasioning its wadi to gain into prominence. Below are mentioned instances of some wadis which have outgrown villages.

There are various factors which help to make wadis independent of the township or village to which they originally belonged. These are religious, political, commercial or industrial in nature.

Within the district may be quoted an instance of the place-name of "Savant-*wadi*" in the Savantvadi State. As Savant-*wadi* happened to be the seat of the reigning chief the place became important.

There are many instances outside this district of which some are mentioned below :

1. Narsobachi-*wadi* :—It is one of the chief places of pilgrimage in Maharashtra, situated on the confluence of the rivers Krishna and Panchaganga about three miles away from Shirol in the Kolhapur State. Originally it seems to be a lonely seat of Nṛsinhasaraswati, a great sage, where he practised his penance for twelve years. But to-day owing to its religious import it has attracted a number of people from various distances. Many mental patients suffering from disease or other evils occasioned by the fiends called "Bhut", and others suffering from leprosy especially, resort to this holy place as it is believed that the Narsoba temple gives them a cure for such diseases. Many devotees stay there long worshipping the impression of the foot of the god Datta. Besides, every year a fair is held when, it is reported, thousands of pilgrims throng there. All these factors probably account for the greatly prominent position it occupies amidst the neighbouring villages.

2. Kirloskar-*wadi* :—It is situated in the state of Aundh in the Satara district. As the place-name suggests it seems that originally the place must have been a small settlement belonging to the family of Kirloskar, whereas to-day it has become a prominent manufacturing centre running large scale iron industries manufacturing especially iron-products useful to cultivators. Not far from the factory arrangements have been made for providing for the employees of the factory housing, education, medical aid, electricity, play-ground, post office and theatres. It has also the benefit of having within its easy reach a railway station named after the same place-name.

3. Ogale-*wadi* :—Equally interesting is the place-name "Ogale-*wadi*" in the Satara district. The place, it may be noted, is highly significant for its remarkable development from a small settlement

probably owned by the family of Ogale into an industrially important centre running large scale glass industries.

4. *Wadi* :—Another striking instance may be quoted of the place-name "Wadi", a junction on the Poona-Hyderabad railway line gaining importance because of two railway lines joining there.

5. Kurdu-*wadi* :—Similar to *Wadi*, above, is an instance of Kurdu-*wadi* becoming an important place as it happened to be a junction on the Poona-Barsi railway lines.

6. Vithal-*wadi* :—It is a small wadi situated to the south-west of Poona on the Poona-Sinhgad road. It is especially noted for its delightful old temple of Vithoba, erected by the great king Shivaji, on the right bank of the Mutha river. Every year a fair is held in October-November attracting a huge number of people from Poona and other neighbouring villages.

Besides, it is one of the fine sights in the suburbs of Poona. Thus the nearness of an enormously big city and the metalled road making it easy for people to go for a day's visit and come back has obviated the necessity of houses and bazar for pilgrims.

Conclusion

An analysis of wadi-names, it is thus seen, can be attempted into various groups such as villages, castes, family names, personal names, trees, animals, topographical positions, and others which are significant for estimating the geographical, social, political, historical and religious aspects of the country.

The regional distribution of wadis in the district is significant for estimating the role physical aspects play in generating and subsequently facilitating the growth of wadis.

The interrelation of wadis and villages reveals that wadis are incomplete units and are closely interrelated to villages from the civic and administrative point of view. However, subject to the process of evolution, they may become independent of their villages and grow into larger units outgrowing villages of which many instances can be given.

It may finally be added here that the conclusions thus indicated are, indeed, provisional because of the restricted nature of the area covered and the nature of the subject itself.

A NOTE ON AN INCIDENT IN THE *RĀMĀYAṆA*

By

MRS. I. KARVE

The *Rāmāyaṇa* has the following story about Rāma's life after his return from the fourteen years' exile.

Some people in Rāma's kingdom blamed him for accepting Sītā and living with her after her stay in the kingdom of Rāvaṇa. They argued that Sītā could not have remained faithful to her husband during that long stay with the enemy. Even though Rāma was sure about Sītā's purity and faith especially as she had come unscathed through fire, he bowed down to popular prejudice and exiled her to a forest. When so exiled Sītā was far advanced in pregnancy and soon gave birth to two sons who were brought up by the sage Vālmīki. After a few years Vālmīki accompanied by Sītā and the two sons went to Rāma's court and vouching for Sītā's purity requested him to take back Sītā and restore her to her legitimate position as his wife and queen. Rāma, however, instead of accepting Sītā, demanded that she should convince the people of her purity. At this demand Sītā vowed, "If I have been always true to my husband, true in thought, speech and action, may mother earth give me room". At these words the earth cleft in two and Sītā sitting in the lap of Mother Earth vanished for ever from human sight.

This story has many points of interests. (1) Sītā had undergone a very rigorous ordeal in Laṅkā but still Rāma was powerless to stop scandalous rumours about her. (2) Rāma abandoned her in a forest where she gave birth to twins. (3) Asked to undergo an ordeal a second time Sītā chose to vanish from earth...... There are many stories in Indian mythology where the assurance of Brahmins followed by a declaration from the skies from unseen gods has sufficed to prove a woman's innocence and a child's legitimacy. The story of Śakuntalā illustrates this well. Why must Sītā pay with her life to prove her innocence? Why were the usual brahmanic miracles not sufficient in her case?

In the *Rāmayaṇa* itself the riddle remains unanswered but I think certain other evidence may point to the full significance of the situation facing Sītā. In the *Mahābhārata* there is an interesting passage. At the request of king Pāṇḍu, Kuntī, his elder queen instructed Mādri (the younger queen) in the magic art of calling a god for creating a child and gave her the magic formula. Mādṛī, after some thought, used the formula to call the twin gods Aśvins and so gave birth to the beautiful twins Nakula and Sahadeva. Asked by king Pāṇḍu to show the same favour a second time to her cowife, Kuntī in great anger and sorrow refused saying, "Mādrī has cheated me. I was a fool not to know that one got a twin by calling on twin gods. I fear that if I give her another magic formula she may play another trick on me and become my superior; let us stop this business altogether. Neither I nor she should have more children".[1] Certain gods are thought of as entities even when they are plural in number. As spiritual entities ONE call sufficed for them but being plural as persons they naturally gave birth to as many children as there were *persons*. This seems to be Kuntī's grievance. The clever Mādrī might again call in plural entities and by begetting a greater number of children might overshadow the position and performance of Kuntī as the elder queen and the mother of three sons.

I could not find in Vedic or post-Vedic Sanskrit literature any reference to a belief that twin birth indicated adultery but the above incident in the *Mahābhārata* makes it probable that a belief that plural birth indicated intercourse with a plurality of persons was in existence since ancient times. That such a belief is held in India in some regions is proved by a Marathi version of the above story sung by women in the Marāṭhā country. There are a few variations in the narrative but the main features of the story are the same. The story is as follows[2]—"After being abandoned in the forest Sītā was delivered of one beautiful boy called Aṅkuṣa in the hut of the sage Vālmīki. She went to a river to wash the baby's linen when she met a monkey-mother carrying her baby. The monkey-mother wondered very much that Sītā left her baby alone in the hut and came such a long distance. Sītā immediately went back and brought her baby-son, kept him near her on a stone-slab and did her washing. In the meanwhile old Vālmīki came back from the forest and failing to see the baby in its cradle thought that it might have been devoured by wild beasts. He was concerned about Sītā and so created another baby exactly like the first from a bundle of grass. When Sītā came back with her own child, Vālmīki begged her to adopt the new one also. Thus she came to have twins and that is why people blamed her".

The Marathi poet, whoever he was, was sure of the innocence of Sītā but could not quite reconcile it with the fact of her having twins and so changed the original story in a way to fit in with all the facts, namely Sītā's innocence and her difficulty in convincing people of it. Plurality of conceptions from plurality of lovers was a firm and well established belief—from Kuntī's words it sounds as if it was held as a "scientific" fact in those days. Brahmins and their miracles sufficed where things were vague or where there was a doubt about facts; but in the face of twins who could vouch for Sītā's innocence? She alone succeeded in proving the falsity of the belief by her supreme sacrifice of life.

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[1] *Mahābhārata*, Ādiparvan, 1.115. 21–4.

[2] *Mahārāṣṭra-Sāhitya-Patrikā*, 1941, Vol. IV, pp. 15–20.

As regards acceptance of both the children by Rāma, custom had nothing against it. According to Bījakṣetra Nyāya—the maxim of the seed and the field—Sītā was owned by Rāma as a piece of ground is owned by a farmer and whose-so-ever seed may fall into it the fruit belonged to the owner. No question was ever raised about Rāma's right to the children; the only question was about Sītā's innocence and that could not be established in the face of twin births.

ERRATA

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
2	4	Imediately	Immediately
3	14	°प्सब्रह्मचर्यं	°प्सन्ब्रह्मचर्यं
3	25	°निविष्टं	°निर्विष्टं
3	35	वन्धन	बन्धनं
4	14	कार्तिकेयस्य	कार्त्तिकेयस्य
4	39	°प्रहारण	°प्रहारेण
5	10	धम	धर्म-
5	14	पोषिद्भिः	योषिद्भिः
6	2	तथाश्विनौ	तथाश्विनोः
6	33	शाल्मलेखि	शाल्मलेरिव
7	22	कस्य चित्	कस्याचित्
8	9	कणः	कर्णः
9	19	(v. l.)	(v. l. उद्धृतभूमि, °भूति etc.)
11	19	king	kind
12	8	patronimic	patronymic
12	18	आदावेन	आदावेव
12	28	डुण्डूभान°	डूण्डुमान°
12	31	5.158.39	5.158.39;
12	34	5.149-56.	5.149.56,
13	18	प्रतिपदे	प्रतिपेदे
13	21	सूतिनी°	सूतिर्नी°
14	5 (from bottom)	fumult	tumult
15	12 ,,	5.49	5.49*
15	9 ,,	नान्यस्य	नान्यत्र
15	5 ,,	1:6	156
16	2	18.19	18,19
16	5	ह्यवश्येन्द्रियो	न ह्यवश्येन्द्रियो
16	25	°दपभ्रंशः	°दभ्रंशः
16	28	(= बाहुबलं)	(= बाहुबलं);
17	14 (from bottom)	वेष्य	वेश्य
17	2 ,,	°मेनान्	°मेतान्
17	1 ,,	क्रूर पराक्रमः	क्रूरपराक्रमः
18	10	conveyance—	conveyance,
18	17	•दद्धरन्	°दुद्धरन्
18	20	परापर	परावर
18	22	परामिक्त	परासिक्त
18	28	क्षत्रण वश्मना	क्षत्रेण वेश्मना
18	29	°माहः	°मोहः
19	17	बिषाद°	विषाद°
19	18	क्रषो	क्रमो
19	4 (from bottom)	वसत्	वसन्
20	2	समाख्याताबुभौ	समाख्यातावुभौ
21	6	समागतात्	समागतान्

Page	*Line*	*For*	*Read*
21	9	थेऽर्थाः	येऽर्थाः
21	2 (from bottom)	सर्वैर्धर्मे	सर्वैर्धर्मैः
22	13 ,,	मृध्रा	गृध्रा
23	12	जङ्ग°	जङ्गा°
23	24	See अमानुष्य	अमानुष्य
23	25	Above	5.158.30
24	20	अर्धचीदिगण	अर्धचांदिगण
24	20	पञ्चाला	पाञ्चाला
25	5	मन्यसे	मन्यसे हि
25	24	सारथीं–श्चाप्य°	सारथींश्चाप्य°
25	26	यागक्षमस्य	योगक्षेमस्य
25	27	Adenda	Addenda
25	31	आतरथ	अतिरथ
26	14	नाव्यं	नाय्यं
26	16	पापलाक्यां	पापलोक्यां
28	10	बय्यायत्तो	त्वय्यायत्तो
28	13	सहस्रघ्री	सहस्रघ्नी
28	23	अगस्त्यशास्ता	अगस्त्यशास्तां
29	1	°विभाकार:	°निभाकारः
29	7	Spread	Spared
29	8	°भुक्तायुः शालिनः	°भुक्तायुःशालिनः
29	5 (from bottom)	आस्त	आस्ते
30	22	लोकेष	लोकेषु
31	18 (from bottom)	कलकलशब्दा	कलकलशब्दो
31	4 ,,	सौमात्रं	सौभात्रं
32	16	बिषमस्थ:	विषमस्थः
32	9 (from bottom)	सेनानि	सेनानी
32	2 ,,	समय	समये
33	3	स्पर्शनो	स्पर्शनौ

ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA

On seeing the printed form of my paper, I noticed that a few errors have remained uncorrected. The following additions and corrections are given in this note which the reader is requested to note while reading the paper.

Page with line	*Read*	*For*
P. 60, line 4	ravages	revages
,, ,, 14	sculptural	sculptral
,, ,, 12 from bottom	is situated	issituated
P. 61, line 9	Megalithic	Magalithic
,, ,, 20	(2nd century A.D.)	(3rd Century B.C.)
,, ,, 21	Badiamaioi	Badameon
,, ,, 21	Petirgala	Petergal
,, ,, 7 from bottom	inscriptions	Inscrptions
P. 62, line 16	reminiscent	reminescent
,, ,, 17	Petirgala	Petergal
,, ,, 18	as stated above	as has been done by some scholars
P. 64, ,, 22	alliances	alliences
,, ,, 25	Kaṭatsuri or	Katatsuri and
P. 66, ,, 20.	Vaishṇava	Vaisenava
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P. 69, ,, 11	(or Pāḷinī (?))	Partine
,, ,, 24	noteworthy	note-worthy
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P. 72, ,, 10	above-mentioned	above-mentiened
,, ,, 15	Mallikārjuna	Mellikarjuna

N.B.—The dating of the prehistoric periods of South Indian archaeology is tentative.

R. S. Panchamukhi.

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